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THE

HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.

NEWLY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH,

AND

ILLUSTRATED WITH VERY COPIOUS

ANNOTATIONS,

EXEGETICAL, PHILOLOGICAL, HISTORICAL, AND GEOGRAPHICAL;

ALMOST ENTIRELY ORIGINAL,
BUT PARTLY SELECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ARRANGED, FROM THE
BEST COMMENTATORS, HISTORIANS, &c.

PREFIXED, IS AN ENTIRELY NEW

LIFE OF THUCYDIDES:

WITH A MEMOIR ON THE STATE OF GREECE, CIVIL AND MILITARY,
AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

BY THE REV. S. T. BLOOMFIELD, D.D. F.S.A.
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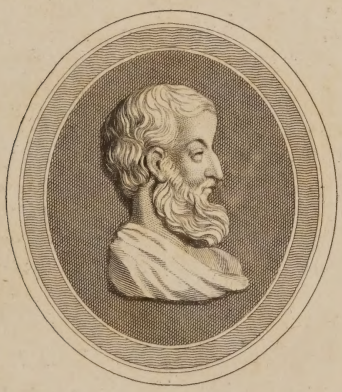
AND AUTHOR OF THE RECENSIO SYNOPTICA ANNOTATIONIS SACRÆ,
IN EIGHT VOLUMES 8VO.



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THE

HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.

BOOK III.

I. On the return of summer, when the corn was in full growth, the Peloponnesians and their allies, under the command of Archidamus son of Xeuxidamus, went on an expedition[1] into Attica, and taking post[2] there, ravaged the country. Attacks were, as usual, made upon them as opportunity offered[3], by the Athenian horse, which kept in check the numerous parties of light-armed, and prevented them from advancing before the heavy-armed[4], and ravaging the vicinity of the city. After continuing as long as their provisions lasted, they returned back, and dispersed to their several cities.

II. Immediately after the irruption of the Peloponnesians, all Lesbos[5], except Methymna[6], revolted from the Athenians.

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1 *Went on an expedition.*] Not "made incursions," as Smith renders.

2 *Taking post.*] Or occupying a fixed station.

3 *As opportunity offered, ὅπη παρείκοι.*] Or "as occasion permitted." A formula which occurs not unfrequently in the historians. There is an ellipsis of καιρὸς. The *complete* phrase is found in Arrian E. A. 6, 9, 4. Dio Cass. 803 and 516.

4 *Heavy-armed.*] As 2, 81. and elsewhere. Hack, however, explains it *camp;* as in 1, 111. And this sense is of frequent occurrence in Xenophon and Herodotus. Both senses, indeed, merge into each other.

5 *Lesbos.*] An island among the largest and most important of the Ægean sea; and, as Strabo says, λόγου ἀξία πλείστου. On this the reader will do well to consult the excellent account by Strabo, p. 885. seqq.

This they had been desirous to do even before the war; but their wishes were not met by the Lacedæmonians[7], and circumstances had compelled them to make this revolt sooner than they intended. For they were waiting[8] until they had

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Falc. It was colonized at a very early period by the Pelasgi, and was the mother of the Æolic cities in Asia. Its antiquity, indeed, would appear by the many names it had borne at the period in question, being no less than six, Pelasgia, Lasia, Ægira, Æthiope, Macaria, Himerte, and Lesbos. Of these Pelasgia had reference to its original colonists; and the rest (if we would reject mere fable) will appear to be descriptive of its appearance and qualities, as Britain was called *Albion*. Thus Lasia signifies *rough*, and even yet a considerable part of the island is covered with wooded mountains. Ægira signifies *goat island;* Æthiope, *burnt* or *brown island*. Macaria and Himerte have reference to its happy and delightful climate, soil, and temperature; this island being famous for wine and oil. See Diod. Sic. 5, 82. *Lesbos* was probably derived from the form and configuration of the island, as viewed from the sea (like Cephallenia, and many other names); for Λέσβος is, I suspect, cognate with λίσφος (an Attic word preserved by the Etym. Mag. 567, 20.), which signifies the *hip bone*; or, as applied to *animals*, the hock bone. (So the name Cercine. See Vol. I. p. 256. note 1.) The name was, probably, given it by the Attic colonists under Macaresu. It is now called Metelin, from Mytilene, its capital; and it is about forty miles long, and, on the average, twelve broad, though broken up by arms of the sea. It was probably the seat of some violent convulsions of nature at an early period: as seems to be testified by the old report preserved by Strabo, that it was torn from Ida. At the time of the Peloponnesian war it was exceedingly populous and wealthy, and was treated by the Athenians somewhat on a footing of equality, being only required to furnish a naval quota.

This island has produced many distinguished persons, as Pittacus, Alcæus, Sappho, Theophanes, Theophrastus, Pharias, Arion, Terpander, Hellanicus, and others mentioned by Strabo.

6 *Methymna.*] Situated on the northern extremity of the island; and, as Strabo says, two hundred and seventy stadia from Mytilene, and two hundred from the promontory of Sigrium. The island was divided into six independent states, of which Methymna held the second place; the rest were chiefly under the influence of Mytilene.

7 *Their wishes were not, &c.*] Hence it appears that secession from one of two great powers implied union with the other; so impossible was it for any but states of power, as Argos, Arcadia, and Thessaly, to maintain any neutrality; and even these were not always able to preserve it.

8 *For they were waiting, &c.*] The two γὰρ advert to the two causes, 1. why they had delayed the revolt; 2. why they now entered upon it so suddenly. It was certainly well-timed; for the Athenians were yet very weak from the effects of the plague, and the perpetual devastation of their country; and upon the whole (as Diod. Sic. here observes) had very indifferent hopes of the future.

The state of affairs in Lesbos is thus described by Mitford: — "The consideration of their Æolian extraction tended to dispose all the people of Lesbos to the Lacedæmonian alliance; but more especially to the Bœotian, rather than to the Athenian, to which the course of events, the naval superiority of Athens, and their own situation as islanders, had led them. But the momentary interest of faction, too commonly among the Greeks,

completed the obstruction[9] of the ports, the erection of fortifications, and the building of ships, and such supplies as had been agreed for to be sent from Pontus, both archers and corn, and whatever else they had sent for. But the Tenedians, who were at variance with them, as also the Methymnians, and some of the Mytilenians themselves, private persons[10] connected with the Athenians by ties of hospitality, and swayed by motives of faction, disclosed to them that the Mytilenians were compelling all the Lesbians to resort to Mytilene as their seat of government[11], and were hastening

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overwhelmed all other considerations; deadened all feeling for the ties of blood; and blinded to all views of enlarged policy. In Methymna the democratical party was decidedly superior, and its people held close alliance with those of the neighbouring island of Tenedos, who were influenced by the same democratical principles. The Methymnians and Tenedians were, therefore, warmly attached to Athens. But in Mytilene the aristocratical party, if not oppressed, must be always insecure, where Athenian influence prevailed." I would, however, remark that the Lesbians were partly of Athenian extraction; and Methymna was decidedly Athenian, not only, it is probable, from democratical principles prevailing, but from its having been the chief seat of the Athenian colonists.

[9] *Obstruction.*] This the Scholiast explains of raising a bank in the mouth of the port, to prevent the entrance of a naval force too strong to be resisted. This was effected, perhaps, by first sinking hulks filled with stones, and then laying on such materials as were fitted for the work. The Scholiast speaks as if this were frequently done; but so desperate a measure was not likely to be often resorted to. Only one example, elsewhere, occurs to my memory, and that is in Arrian.

[10] *Private persons, &c.*] This passage has not been well understood, partly from misconception of the punctuation and construction, and partly from the sense of a phrase being mistaken. I would place a comma after *στάσιν*, and construe the passage as follows: *καὶ ἄνδρες ἰδίᾳ αὐτῶν* M., *πρόξενοι* (*ὄντες*) A., *μηνυταὶ κατὰ στάσιν ἐγίγνοντο*. So l. 3, 34. *πολέως ἐαλωκυίας ὑπὸ* I. *καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, κατὰ στάσιν ἰδίᾳ ἐπαχθέντων*. for such should be read there. The *ἰδίᾳ* is opposed to the *δημοσίᾳ*.

On the origin of the war of the Mytilenians, Wasse refers to Aristot. Polit. l. 5. c. 4. e. 4. 5, 135. Diod. 12, 314.

[11] *Resort to Mytilene as, &c.*] Such is the real and full sense of *ξυνοικίζουσι*, which is wrongly understood by the Schol. and translators, of their abandoning their towns, and going to reside at Lesbos. A similar instance, indeed, might be adduced at 1, 58. where the Chalcideans are said to have abandoned their maritime towns, and gone to reside at Olynthus. But there the phraseology is very different. The word *ξυνοικεῖν* must here be taken in the same sense as at 2, 15. *ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν — ξυνώκισε παντὰς*, where see the note.

The orthography *Mytilene* has been rightly adopted by the recent editors; since it is supported both by Steph. Byz., Strabo, and the best MSS. and the coins, as also by the origin of the appellation, if indeed it be (as the antient grammarians tell us) derived from its founder Myton; which, however, may be doubted, since it leaves the *ilene* unaccounted for. Now

every sort of preparation for a revolt, with the co-operation of the Lacedæmonians and Bœotians, as being of the same race[12]; and that unless measures of anticipation were employed, they would be deprived of all Lesbos.[13]

III. But the Athenians (for they were suffering severely from the effects of the pestilence, the war, too, being not only on foot, but at its height) regarded it as a serious affair to have to go to war with Lesbos in addition[1], which was in

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considering that wine is the chief produce of the island, we may suppose that λήνη comes from ληνὸς, *a wine-press or vat*, and μύτις, which signifies the snout of a shell-fish; with reference, perhaps, to a small island on which old Mytilene was built, as we learn from Diod. Sic. l. 13. Strabo, too mentions that island, which he represents as forming part of the city. He also adds that Mytilene has two ports, one to the south, κλεῖστος τριήρεσι, which words Falconer renders *non triremibus aptas, sed naviculis solis*. On the contrary, τριήρεσι signifies *triremibus solis*, as is plain from the words following καὶ ἐν ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα, which denote that it would hold fifty. Such a sense, too, is contrary to fact; for, from Pococke (whom I shall cite infra), it appears that the southern port is used for large ships only. In short, κλειστὸς signifies, not *exclusus*, but *inclusus*. It is strange that so learned a man was not aware of this sense of κλειστὸς, which is not unfrequent in Strabo and Scylax; ex. gr. 1075, 29. δύο δ' ἔχει λιμένας, τὸν μὲν κλεῖστον, τὸν δὲ ἀνειμένον. And so Diod. Sic. l. 14. ὧν τὸν ἕτερον (λίμενα) κλεῖστον. I must not omit to observe that the ἐν in the above passage of Strabo seems to have no place. It arose, I suspect, from the *letter* representing fifty. After the κλειστὸς should be placed a comma; and after τριήρεσι and ναυσὶ understand ἐπιτήδειον, or something similar. The κλειστὸς denotes that it was provided with chains and other means of shutting it up. See the note supra 2, 94. λιμένων κλείσει. The northern port, Strabo adds, was large, deep, and covered by a mole. The channel between the island and Lesbos was, as we learn from Diod., called the Euripus, with allusion to the one between Eubœa and Attica. Longus, too (who has been strangely neglected by the geographers), says, Pastor. 1. init. Πόλις μεγάλη—διείληπται εὐρίποις—καὶ κεκόσμηται γεφύραις ξεστοῦ καὶ λευκοῦ λίθου. νομίσεις οὐ πόλιν ὁρᾶν, ἀλλὰ νῆσον. Hence it should appear that there were many canals cut from the Euripus to various parts both of the old and new city.

Such are the only circumstances which I can gather from the antients concerning the plan of the place, of which I shall probably give a sketch in the present work. Hence it appears that by the λιμένων τὴν χῶσιν, "obstruction of the ports," above, there is reference to Mytilene only; and it is easy to see how ports so situated might be blocked up; for the mole mentioned by Strabo was probably not then built.

[12] *Same race.*] Namely, as being descended from the Æolic colonists, who were Bœotians, and consequently of the Æolic race. See 7, 47.

[13] *And that unless measures, &c.*] The passage is imitated by Dionys. Hal. Ant. 619, 20. καὶ (ἤγγελλον) εἰ μὴ προκαταληφθήσονται φυλακῇ ἀξιωχρέῳ, ἀναστήσεσθαι κἀκεῖθεν ἀπροσδόκητον ῥαι πόλεμον.

[1] *To have to go to war, &c.*] Literally, to make an enemy of Lesbos likewise; i. e. to have Lesbos added to the number of their enemies. The

possession of a navy, and had power unimpaired by disaster.[2] Hence, at first, they would not give ear to the accusations, swayed more by the wish that they might not prove true.[3] When, however, after sending ambassadors[4], they failed to persuade the Mytilenians to dissolve the union of the town with Mytilene[5], and to stop their preparations, they were

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Scholiast seems to have rightly explained προσπολεμώσασθαι by πολεμίαν ποιῆσαι; though Dio Cass. seems to have taken it in the sense *subdue*, the word being so used by him at p. 124, 90. and 564, 43. Perhaps he was induced to adopt this sense from the phrase μέγα ἔργον, which properly signifies a difficult and arduous work. So too it is taken by the Schol.; and has that sense in Xen. Cyr. 7, 5, 26. μέγα ἔργον ἀρχὴν καταπρᾶξαι, and Herod. l. 1. It may, however, be taken in the figurative signification which I have assigned.

[2] *Unimpaired by disaster.*] On this sense of ἀκέραιος (which seems alluded to by Hesych., who explains the word by ἀνεπιπλήκτος), see Valck. on Herod. 4, 152. It seems, too, to have been had in view by Livy, 9, 41. " gentis integræ a cladibus belli.

[3] *Swayed more by, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of this idiomatical and, therefore, difficult clause μεῖζον — εἶναι. It had been rather *guessed* by the *translators*, than *proved* by the *interpreters*. The difficulty turns on the phrase μεῖζον μέρος νέμοντες, which is wrongly rendered by Kistemach. " majus quiddam curantes." Hack, alone, seized the true sense, by rendering, " plus tribuentes." Of this phrase the following are examples: — Eurip. Suppl. 241. πλέον μέρος νέμοντες τῷ φθόνῳ. Joseph. 54, 45. πλέον νέμειν τῇ ἡδονῇ. Eurip. Antiop. frag. νέμων τὸ πλεῖστον, τούτῳ μέρος. Other more critical matter I must reserve for my edition, only adding those passages which seem imitated from the present. Phil. Jud. 1002. πλεῖστον δίδοντες μέρος τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι — δοκεῖν ὦμον. Dio Cass. 118, 77. τῷ βουλήσει πλέον μέρος Νέμοντες ἢ τῇ δύναμει. which reminds me of a remark of Gibbon Decl. and Fall, vol. 4. p. 33. Oddy.: " The council rejected the suspicion of danger with a blind confidence which was not the effect of courage, but of fear." Isidor. Epist. l. 2, 197. E. ἐπειδὴ ἃ μὲν προσεῖναι ἑαυτοῖς βουλόμεθα, καὶ ἀληθῆ εἶναι ἡγούμεθα, τῶν δυσκόλων ῥαδίως ἀποκρουόμεθα τὴν μνημὴν, τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι γένεσθαι τὸ πλέον νέμοντες. which shows the *ratio* of the thing. And so Procop. p. 47, 37. 345, 37. Hence the pithy dict of Charito, p. 78, 8. (or rather of Demosth. Olynth. 3. from whom it was *borrowed*), ὃ γὰρ βούλεται τοῦθ' ἕκαστος καὶ οἴεται. Heliod. 1, 168, 10. ὡς ἕκαστος εἶχε βουλήσεως, οὕτω καὶ ἐλάμβανε. Livy 6, 21. " Et nimis credi de criminibus, quia nollent ea vera esse, appareret." Cæsar: " Fere libenter homines id quod volunt, credunt." See also Herodian 5, 4, 5. Joseph. 1156, 38. Most true as well as admirably expressed is the apophthegm of Eurip. Frag. Incert. 32. ὃ βούλεται γὰρ μόνον ὁρῶν καὶ προσδοκῶν, Ἀλόγιστός ἐστι τῆς ἀληθείας κριτής.

It is strange that none of the above passages, any more than many others which I have noted, should have been adduced by the commentators.

[4] *Ambassadors.*] Not " commissioners of inquiry and inspection," as Mitford expresses it.

[5] *Union of the town with Mytilene.*] That such is the sense is plain from the words a little before at c. 2. ξυνοικίζουσι τὴν Λέσβον ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, where see the note. Hence it is clear that the true reading here is

alarmed, and wishing to be beforehand with them, they suddenly sent thither, under the command of Clippides son of Dinias, and two colleagues, forty sail which happened then to be fitted out for cruizing round Peloponnesus. They had, too [6], been informed that there was soon to be [7] a festival of Apollo Maloeis, solemnized out of the city [8], at which the Mytilenians attend in a body [9]; and that there was reason to hope that by hastening they might *then* fall upon them suddenly and unexpectedly [10]: and if the attempt should succeed, well and good [11]; but, if not, they were to order the Mytilenians to deliver up their fleet and destroy their walls, and, in case they refused, to commence hostilities against them. So those ships departed; but ten Mytilenian triremes, which happened then to be there on service, as the naval auxiliary

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ξυνοίκισιν, which Bekker and Goeller ought to have edited from at least three MSS., and, as it seems, the Scholiast.

[6] *Too.*] Literally, *for*, which refers to the "*suddenly.*" They wished to anticipate the Mytilenians; and they especially struck the stroke *speedily*, because they had been informed, &c.

[7] *Was soon to be.*] Such must be the sense; unless the festival were of long continuance. Indeed this sense of the indicative (as here, of the optative, in a narrative sense) may be elsewhere found.

[8] *Out of the city.*] i. e., as it should seem, at the promontory of Malea, where, doubtless, the temple stood; and I have before remarked on the custom, among the Greeks, of building temples on promontories, for the benefit of mariners. Indeed it is probable there were few of any note without them. Malea was, as we learn from Strabo, seventy stadia from Mytilene.

[9] *In a body.*] i. e. en masse. Mitford adds, that they went in procession; yet that cannot be gathered from the words

[10] *Suddenly and unexpectedly, ἀφνω.*] The latter is *implied* in the former.

[11] *If the attempt should succeed, well and good.*] At this *aposiopesis*, which is per *antanaclasin* (a figure which the genius of modern languages will not bear), the commentators supply καλῶς ἂν εἴη. Matthiæ, in his Gr. Gr. p. 939. Blomf. (who cites Homer. Il. α. 139., the present passage, and one of Plato), supplies καλῶς ἔξει. I add the following examples. Herod. 8, 62, 4. σὺ εἰ μένεις αὐτοῦ, καὶ μένων ἔσεαι ἀνηρ ἀγαθός — εἰ δὲ μή, κ. τ. λ. where, as Valckn. observes, must be supplied εὖ ἂν ἔχοι. Eurip. Antiop. frag. 19. εἰ νοῦς ἔνεστι — εἰ δὲ μή, κ. τ. λ. Theogn. ap. Athen. 36. C. Liban. Epist. 1372 and 1451. Which passages prove that the μὲν is not essential to the phrase. Matthiæ (intending to show a rarity of form, as occurring after δὲ), to the examples above mentioned, subjoins from Plato, εἰ μὲν βούλεται ἐψέτω, εἰ δ' ὅ, τι βούλεται, τοῦτο ποιείτω. But that is no example of the ellipsis in question; for after εἰ δὲ must be supplied from the context μὴ βούλεται. With respect to the former clause, it contains rather an example of the *plena locutio*, and brings to mind a *plenissima* locutio in Ruth 3, 13. ἐὰν ἀγχιστεύσῃ σε, ἀγαθόν, ἀγχιστεύετω. ἐὰν δὲ μή, &c.

quota, the Athenians seized, and put their crews in custody.[12] The Mytilenians, however, were apprized of the sailing of the fleet by a man from Athens, who, crossing over into Eubœa, and proceeding by land to Geræstus[13], and there meeting with a merchant-ship[14] just sailing, and having a fa-

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[12] *Ten Mytilenian triremes, &c.*] As a measure of precaution, since the news must have come to their ears; for (as Mitford rightly supposes) a vote of the assembly would be necessary to authorize the measure. It may not be improper to remark, that there seems no reason why the article should have been employed, nothing having been before said about these ships. I was formerly of opinion that we should point τὰς δὲ τῶν Μυτιλ.αν δέκα τριήρεις αἵ, &c.; but that would not remove the difficulty. It should rather seem that the article is here employed in the use of insertions κατ' ἐξοχήν (on which see Middlet. p. 47.), *ten* being, it should seem, the regular and *well known* quota furnished by Lesbos.

[13] *Geræstus.*] Some MSS. and authors have *Geristus.* Those writers, however, where it is found are only later ones. Wasse and Duker have done right in retaining the textual reading; but they might have added that it is confirmed not only by Homer and Herodotus, but by Xen. Hist., 3, 44, 5. 4, 61. Eurip. Orest. 994. Cycl. 294. Strabo, Hesych. and Arrian.

Ger. appears from Steph. Byz. and the Etym. Mag. to have been both a promontory, and a port and *town.* Nay, it is reckoned among the *cities* of Eubœa by Pliny and Solinus. The origin of the name is referred by Steph. Byz. to a certain Geræstus, a *son of Jupiter.* But far more rational (and indeed, it should seem, true) is the account given by the Etym. Mag. who says it is a promontory, and temple of Neptune (Strabo, too, says it was the most famous temple of those parts), and so called from the worship there of that divinity. It may be observed that the appellation, being more antient than the time of Homer, ascends to a period when (it should seem) the custom of erecting temples on promontories had not grown into general use, as it afterwards did, and when therefore such an epithet might be *distinctive.* The word is derived from γεραίζω, cognate with γεραίω, which is used for γεραίρω. See Steph. Thes. whence it appears that γεραίρω was used of the religious honours paid to the gods.

The reason why the man took the road to Geræstus appears from Strabo l. 10. init. where it is said to be opportunely situated for those crossing from Asia to Attica; and, consequently, vice versâ. And (what is still more to the purpose) Arrian E. A. 2, 1, 3. says of Sigrium, that it is the προσβολή, or landing-place, or point of approach, for merchant-vessels from Geræstus. How antient this passage was, appears from Hom. Od. 3, 177. Ὦρτο δ' ἐπὶ λιγὺς οὖρος ἀήμεναι· αἱ δὲ μάλ' ὦκα Ἰχθυόεντα κέλευθα διέδραμον· ἐς δὲ Γεραιστὸν Ἐννύχιαι κατάγοντο.

The accumulation of participles, in this sentence, is almost as remarkable as the *sigmatism* of a well known line of Euripides. This beauty (if such it be) is, however, *improved* upon by an imitation in Polyæn. 8, 46. ταῦτα πάντα νύκτωρ λαθοῦσα, πάλιν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατελθοῦσα, ἀκάτιον εὑροῦσα, πνεύματος ἐπιτυχοῦσα, τὸ ἀπόγειον ἐλκύσασα, μόνη ἀναχθεῖσα, κατέπλουσεν. where, indeed, Casaubon would insert *another* participle after πάντα. But that may, perhaps, be left to be understood, and the comma should be removed after λαθοῦσα. Finally, for πάλιν I would read πόλιν.

vourable voyage[15], arrived at Mytilene on the third day[16] from leaving Athens. On this information, the Mytilenians went not out to Maloeis[17], but set themselves to barricade the unfinished parts of the walls and ports, placing proper guards for their defence.[18]

IV. Not long after, the Athenians arrived, and saw the preparations. The commanders, however, delivered the orders with which they were charged, and, when the Mytilenians

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[14] *Meeting with a, &c.*] This passage is imitated by Procop. 121. ὀλκάδος ἀναγομένης ἐπιτυχῶν, and 155, 37. 241, 41. Plutarch Camill. 4. See a very similar passage in 1, 137. and the note there.

[15] *Having a favourable voyage.*] Or quick passage. Πλοῦς is used κατ' ἐξοχήν, as at 1, 137. where see note. Of the present phrase examples may be seen in Irmisch's note on Herodian 5, 4, 22.

[16] *On the third day.*] This use of τριταῖος (as of the other ordinals) is an elegant Atticism, as the following examples will show. Xen. Anab. 5, 3, 2. ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Κ. τριταῖοι. Diod. Sic. t. 6, 87. τριταῖοι παραγενηθῆσαν εἰς Κ. Arrian E. A. 1, 3, 1. τριταῖος ἀφικνεῖται. Joseph. 87, 37. εἰς Βελεφῶντα τριταῖοι παραγίνονται. Lucian, t. 2. 97. Herod. 2, 117. τριταῖοι ἐς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἀπήχθημεν, and 6, 106 and 120. Diphil. ap. Athen. 292 B. Theocr. Id. 2, 4. All of which passages seem to have sprung fonte ex Homerico. Thus Odyss. l. 14, 257. πεμπταῖοι δ' Αἴγυπτον ἱκόμεθα.

The passage was indeed quick ; but that of Nestor from Lesbos to Geræstus was quicker ; since Homer says, Odyss. 3, 177. Ὦρτο δ' ἐπὶ λιγὺς οὖρος ἀήμεναι· αἱ δὲ μάλ' ὦκα Ἰχθυόεντα κέλευθα διέδραμον· ἐς δὲ Γεραιστὸν Ἐννύχιαι κατάγοντο. which, however, Eustath. and other commentators have wrongly interpreted of making the passage in *one night*. As the distance is about a hundred miles, that is an incredibly short time. Nor is such a signification inherent in the word, which only imports that they arrived there in the *course of the night;* and as they perhaps left Lesbos on the first dawn of day, the thing is not incredible. There is something much to the same purpose in Dorv. on Charit. p. 273.

[17] *Maloeis.*] This seems here to signify the *close* or sacred precincts of the temple, wherein the festival was held. See Steph. Byz Μαλλόεις.

[18] *Barricade the, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of the passage, which has been somewhat misconceived by the interpreters. Τὰ ἄλλα is for εἰς τὰ ἄλλα, as often in Thucydides and the best writers, to signify *cætera quod attinet*. The construction is: τά τε ἄλλα, ἐφύλασσον περὶ τὰ ἡμιτέλεστα (μέρη) τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων φραξάμενοι (αὐτά). The passage is imitated by Arrian E. A. 2, 20, 12. τὸν ἔσπλοῦν φραξάμενοι ἐφύλασσον. So φράξασθαι is used in the best writers. It is, therefore, not well rendered by Hobbes and Smith *making up* or *stopping the gaps*.

Since writing the above, I find that Hack perceived the sense of τὰ ἄλλα, and has indicated the construction.

By the building of walls mentioned here and at c. 2. we are, perhaps, not to understand the city walls in general (for of such we can hardly suppose the city was destitute), but such additional fortifications as were judged necessary.

would not listen to their demands, commenced hostilities. The Mytilenians, unprepared and suddenly forced into hostilities, made sail, indeed, with their fleet a little way out of the harbour, as for an engagement; but, being driven back by the Athenian fleet, they asked a parley with the commanders, being desirous, if possible, to get the fleet sent away, for the present, upon some moderate conditions. The Athenian commanders granted the request, being themselves afraid lest they should not be able to stand a contest with all Lesbos. Having, then, obtained a suspension of arms, the Mytilenians send to Athens both one of those who had impeached them (but who had already repented), and others, if by any means they might persuade the Athenians to remove the fleet; as though they were not going to attempt any change of policy.[1] Meanwhile, however, they sent a trireme with ambassadors to Lacedæmon, eluding the vigilance of the Athenian fleet, which lay at anchor off Malea, to the north [or south] of the city[2]; for they placed reliance on their nego-

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[1] *Change of policy.*] So, 1, 116. *νεωτερίσας τὴν πολιτείαν.* Perhaps a change of *polity* was also intended; and indeed one implied the other.

[2] *To the north of the city.*] There is a difficulty connected with these words, which, though it be not noticed by the commentators (except Poppo), is by no means inconsiderable, and engaged my attention many years ago. It is this. By all the accounts we have of Mytilene and Malea, it is clear that Malea was to the *south* of Mytilene. Poppo thinks that the only mode of removing this difficulty, is to suppose that the old city was on a different situation from the more recent one. He also refers to Schneider (or rather Wolf) on Xen. Hist. 1, 6, 27. as being of the same opinion. It is, he thinks, clear, from the words of Xenophon, that Malea was beyond the Euripus, and situated to the north, over against Mytilene; and to the *new* city belonged the promontory, with a port. The meaning of this commentator is not very clear; but he appears to suppose that old Mytilene was close under and somewhat *south* of Malea; though new Mytilene was *north* of it. It should seem, however, that the whole is a mere imagination, and founded on no antient warrant or evidence whatever; for certainly the words of Diodorus give no countenance to it, and it is at variance with those of Strabo. Those writers, though they both distinguish the old and the new city, and represent the old one as an island, and the new one as on the opposite coast of Lesbos, yet say that the Euripus, or channel, was very narrow; and that the new one was very near to it is clear from the words of the former, *ἡ δὲ ὕστερον προσοικισθεῖσα*, &c. Besides, Strabo says that Malea was seventy stadia from Mytilene; and Xenophon describes it as *ἀντίον τῆς Μιτυλήνης.* This, then, altogether destroys the whole hypothesis, which is, indeed, encircled on all sides with difficulties more than it is necessary to state. Now, as Strabo says that Malea was *τὸ νοτιώτατον ἄκρον.* and as it is impossible to get rid of the testimonies which show that Mytilene was to the *north* of Malea; and as no place to the

tiations [3] with the Athenians, that they would be successful. And those ambassadors, after a stormy and difficult passage to Lacedæmon, negotiated the means by which assistance might reach them.

V. The ambassadors who had gone to Athens, having returned without effecting any thing, the Mytilenians and the rest of Lesbos prepared for the war (except the Methymnians [1],

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south of it can be supposed probable; I see no reason to abandon the opinion which I many years ago entertained, that Βορέαν is an error of the scribes for *νότον*. Perhaps the words, denoting the four cardinal points were expressed by *initials*, or *siglæ*, which would afford room for mistake, as in the case of letters from figures. Hobbes, indeed, thinks that this was some *other* Malea, and not the promontory. But it were more probable that the word itself Μαλέα is corrupt; only that it again occurs just after (ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ) which precludes the supposition.

I have, then, ventured in the text, after *north*, to place in brackets *south*. As serving to confirm the foregoing, I shall introduce the following graphic description by Pococke:—"Mytilene, the antient capital of the island, was situated on the spot of the present city of that name, which is called Castro. It is on the north side of the island towards the east end, and is only seven miles and a half from the most eastern point of the island, which was antiently called Cape Malea. The old city appears to have been built on the plain near the sea, and on the side of the hill to the south of it, and to have extended along the plain to the east of that hill. There was an island before the city about a mile in circumference, which was well inhabited, and is now joined to the land by an isthmus, which may be about a furlong wide, and of much the same length; and they have still a tradition of its being once an island. *There was a port on each side of it*, as there is at this time; that to the south-east was defended by two moles, of which there are now some ruins; the entrance is between them. The other port, to the north-west, was defended by a mole, of which there are great remains. The port to the south-east only is now frequented by large ships. The city was formerly very large, and one sees in all parts many fine pieces of grey marble, the remains of antient buildings. The present city is on the neck of land which leads to the peninsula; and on each side of it on the shore, and likewise to the south, it extends up to the side of the hill. It is about a mile in circumference, and is well built. The castle is on the top of the high rocky peninsula. The ruins of the old city are many, and extend a considerable way to the west."

[3] *Reliance on their negotiations.*] At τοῖς there is an ellipsis, which some supply by ἐλπιζόμενος (others seek some word) πείσειαν. That were, however, too arbitrary and irregular an ellipsis. It is sufficient to suppose the usual subaudition of πράγμασι, with an adaptation of the word to the subject. And this is confirmed by 5, 46. οὐδὲν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος πεπραγμένον.

[1] *Methymnians.*] This city was, as we learn from Strabo, two hundred and seventy stadia from Mytilene, two hundred and ten from the promontory of Sigrium, and seventy from the continent of Asia. All these distances are made in the best maps too little; and, indeed, the whole island would seem to have been larger that it is laid down in our maps. Methymna was next in power to Mytilene, and had already, as we find

who, as well as the Imbrians and Lemnians, and some few of the other allies, had come to the assistance of the Athenians). Then the Mytilenians made a sally in full force upon the Athenian camp, and a battle arose, in which the Mytilenians, though they were not worsted [2], would not venture to encamp in the field [3], but, distrustful of their own strength [4], retired within the walls. After this they kept quiet, intending, if reinforcements should come from Peloponnesus, again, with fresh preparations, to try their fortune.[5] For by this time Meleas, a Lacedæmonian, and Hermæondas, a Theban, had arrived, who had been despatched [6] before the revolt, but not being able to arrive before the Athenian fleet, had afterwards got secretly into harbour after the engagement. These urged the Mytilenians to send out *another* trireme, and ambassadors with them; which they did.

VI. The Athenians, exceedingly encouraged by the Mytilenians lying quiet, summoned to their aid their allies, who

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from Herod. 1, 151., subjected *one* of the six states into which Lesbos had been divided, namely Arisba, situated in the interior.

[2] *Not worsted.*] The words οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες might, by *meiosis*, denote that they had the *better*; at least it must import that there was a drawn battle, neither party being able to claim the victory.

[3] *Encamp in the field.*] Or, "in the face of the enemy." So the Schol. In this manner ἐπαυλίζασθαι is used at 4, 134., and Arrian Ind. 13, 2. τόπον — ὅσον μέγαλα στρατοπέδα ἐπαυλίσασθαι. The *reason* why they did so is just after subjoined, that they were diffident of themselves. Now, it must be observed, that this not encamping on the field, but retiring, was held to give up all claim to the victory, which had been doubtful. So at 4, 134. it is said, respecting a battle between the Tegæans and Mantineans: καὶ ἀγχωμάλου τῆς μάχης γενομένης, καὶ ἀφελομένης νυκτὸς τὸ ἔργον, οἱ Τεγεᾶται μὲν ἐπηυλίσαντό τε, καὶ εὐθὺς ἔστησαν τροπαῖον. Hence may be illustrated, and, perhaps, emended, an obscure passage of Lucian, t. 2, 100, 93. ἐπηυλισάμεθα τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ τροπαῖον ἐστήσαμεν. The Lesbians felt this as an acknowledgment of defeat, by afterwards keeping close within their walls; as did also the Athenians, by their taking fresh courage from it.

[4] *Strength.*] i. e. strength of forces; as in Xen. Hipp. 7, 13. and 8, 24. τὸ ἰσχυρὸν and τὰ ἰσχυρά. Also Dio Cass. 263, 14. οὐδὲν ἰσχυρὸν παρεσκευάσαντο. and 426, 71. οὐδὲν ἰσχυρὸν εἶχεν. and 509, 85. ἰσχυρόν τι παραλαξεῖν. Mitford paraphrases, "they began to have a worse opinion of their affairs."

[5] *Intending, if, &c.*] Goeller construes thus: ἐκ Πελ. εἰ προσγένοιτό τι, καὶ μετ' ἄλλης παρασκευῆς (εἰ προσγένοιτο), βουλόμενοι κινδυνεύειν.

[6] *Had been despatched.*] Namely, by the Lacedæmonians and Thebans. Smith erroneously interprets it of their having been despatched on business by the Lesbians; the contrary to which plainly appears from c. 13., where it is said the Bœotians solicited them to revolt.

joined them with so much the more alacrity, as they perceived no indications of strength on the part of the Mytilenians. Having brought round the fleet to an anchorage on the south side of the city [1], they fortified two camps on either side of the city, stationing blockading squadrons [3] at *both* ports. Thus they hindered the Mytilenians from the use of the *sea*, who, however, being already reinforced by the other Lesbians, were masters over the *land*, excepting that the Athenians occupied that in the immediate vicinity of their camps (which was not much [4]); for the promontory of Malea was only [5] a roadstead [6] for their

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[1] *Having brought round, &c.*] The translators have been not a little perplexed with περιορμίσαντες τὸ νότον τῆς πολέως; while the commentators avoid the difficulty by passing over the words. Portus renders, "cum classe circumdedissent australem urbis partem." And so most other translators, as Smith and Gail. But that would require περιορμησάμενοι, which is indeed found in some MSS., but is inapposite, because, in the same sentence, it is said that they stationed blockading squadrons at *both* ports, namely, both the north and south. Such, therefore, cannot be the meaning, in order to attain which, we must consider the idiom of the word. Now ὁρμίζω ναῦν signifies to bring a ship into port, or into anchorage; and ὁρμίσασθαι is used in the sense *come to anchor*, or mooring. See 1, 46. 2, 41. 7, 34. 2, 86. 1, 51. 3, 76. 7, 30. This is sometimes used with εἰς, denoting the place of anchorage. Of the same import is ἐφορμίζεσθαι ἐς λιμένα (see Steph. Thes. nov. ed.), also καθορμίζειν πρὸς, and Thucyd. l. 6. καθορμισαμένου ταῖς ναυσίν. See Schaefer there. Μεθορμίζεσθαι ἐς is used of change of port or anchorage. Thus περιορμίζω must mean *in stationem circumago*, as Steph. Thes. explains, who also cites Demosth. ap. Pollux, περιορμ. τὴν ναῦν ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα. And so in p. 1229, 9. 1230, 9. And such is, no doubt, the sense in the present passage, where, at τὸ νότον must be understood ἐπὶ, or some such preposition; unless τῷ be the true reading. The περὶ has reference to the promontory of Malea, which they had to double.

It may be observed, that they took the *south* side of the place for their mooring, because there was better anchorage there.

[2] *Two camps.*] These were both, doubtless, in connection with the respective squadron moored at the two ports. Of the custom of forming separate camps where a city could not be regularly invested, we have elsewhere vestiges. So Plutarch Luc. 9. Κυζικήνους δὲ Μ. δέκα μέν ἐκ γῆς στρατοπέδοις περιλαβών, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν, κ. τ. λ.

[3] *Blockading squadrons.*] Literally, "their blockading ships;" for the article has here the sense of the pronoun possessive. See Middleton.

[4] *Which was not much.*] The words οὐ πολὺ should be pointed off from the rest of the sentence. Here, perhaps, ἐπὶ is to be understood, and (as the Schol. says) μέρος γῆς.

[5] *Only.*] Or, rather than any thing else.

[6] *Roadstead.*] That τὸ ναύσταθμον was more Attic than ὁ ναύσταθμος, has been sufficiently shown by Duker, who has, however, not remarked that the word was used of a situation which could not perhaps properly be called a *port*, as being only safe in certain winds, while, in others, it was a mere *roadstead*; in short, to use the words of Virgil, "tantum sinus, et

barks, serving also for a market. And this was the state of the war at Mytilene.[7]

VII. About the same period of this summer, the Athenians despatched thirty ships to Peloponnesus[1], under the command of Asopius the son of Phormio; the Acarnanians having desired some one to be sent them as commander, who should be either a son or other relative of Phormio. And as the ships were coasting, they ravaged the maritime parts of Laconia. Afterwards Asopius sent back home the greater part of the ships, retaining twelve only, with which he arrived at Naupactus. Then raising[3] the whole force of the Acarnanians, he proceeded against Œniadæ, attacking it on the sea side by the fleet up the Achelous, as the land forces ravaged the territory. When, however, they listened not to terms of surrender, he dismissed the army; but proceeding with the fleet to Leucas, and making a descent on Nericus[4], he was slain there in retreat, together with a part of his forces, by those of the country who had assembled for defence, and some guards there stationed. After this the Athenians, having

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statio male fida carinis." The πλοίων has reference to the transports belonging to the fleet, or which touched there to supply the armament with provisions. Ἀγορᾶς is for εἰς ἀγοράν, "in loco mercatus."

7 *And this was, &c.*] Literally, "was the posture of affairs respecting the war at Mytilene."

1 *To Peloponnesus.*] i. e. to cruise about Peloponnesus. "This new crisis (observes Mitford) roused the spirit of the Athenian administration and people. It was indeed become of the utmost importance to show that they had still resolution to dare, and still strength to execute. The formidable state of their navy at this time, which enabled so small a commonwealth to command such extensive dominion, and to resist such a powerful confederacy, is, indeed, truly wonderful, and does the highest honour to the foresight and exertions of Themistocles, by whom it was first raised, and of Pericles, by whom principally it was maintained and improved."

2 *A son or other relative of Phormio.*] This seems to show that Phormio was, by this time, too much worn out to encounter service so harassing as that of predatory cruising.

3 *Raising.*] This sense of ἀνίστημι is seldom found but in Thucydides. It occurs, however, in Arrian E. A. 5, 22. πολλὰ ἔθνη ἀναστήσανται, in societatem adscitis. It is well explained by the Schol. here, εἰς συμμαχίαν διεγείρειν.

4 *Nericus.*] Not *Nericum*, as Smith writes. This place is mentioned by Homer Od. ω. 376., and, according to Strabo, Pliny, and others, was the same with what was afterwards called the *city* of Leucas. See Berkley on Steph. Byz. in v., and Wasse on 3, 97. It is, however, truly observed by Poppo, that this seems at variance with Thucydides, who mentions *both*.

received their dead from the Leucadians by treaty, sailed away.

VIII. Now those ambassadors of the Mytilenians who were sent out on board the first ship, being desired[1] by the Lacedæmonians to repair to Olympia, in order that the *other* allies also might hear their representations and take counsel, accordingly went thither. It was the olympiad when Dorieus, the Rhodian, was victor the second time. And after the festival[2], being permitted to address the meeting, they spoke as follows: —

IX. "Well we know, Lacedæmonians[1] and allies, the established usage among the Greeks, that those who in war receive rebels and deserters of their former alliance, so long, indeed, as they are profited by them, hold them in favour[2], but, regarding them as betrayers of their former friends, think

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[1] *Being desired, &c.*] "They found," says Mitford, "no very earnest disposition to engage in their cause. The Lacedæmonian government would neither of itself undertake it, nor call a congress of the confederacy. The Mytilenians were coldly told that the season of the Olympian festival was at hand; they might go to Olympia, where they would find some principal persons of every state of the Lacedæmonian alliance, and so they might have opportunity to learn how each was disposed."

[2] *After the festival.*] i. e. after the religious observances had been performed, and the solemn games and ceremonies exhibited. Hence it appears, that after those duties were ended, the assemblage did not immediately separate, but held communication both on political and private matters; as it was likely men would do who were assembled together so rarely. Smith has here a long philippic on the "baseness of the Spartans in thus abusing, for private ends and party feuds, a most noble and sacred institution." But such is the influence of worldly passions in every age. Besides, the Lacedæmonians, it may be observed, were by no means eager to engage in the business.

This admirable oration contains, the Scholiast observes, three heads or topics. 1. *Justice;* q. d. we have justly abandoned the alliance of Athens. 2. *Possibility;* q. d. we ask you to engage in a project which is possible and practicable; for the Athenians are weakened by the pestilence, and their force is dispersed in various parts. 3. *Profit;* namely, that it is expedient to receive a power which can render you eminent service, and also thereby cut off one main source of Athenian revenue. The conclusion is occupied in exasperation and exhortation.

[1] *Well we know, Lacedæmonians, &c.*] The commencement of this oration is imitated by Livy, l. 27, 17. "Scire enim se transfugæ nomen exsecrabile veteribus sociis, novis suspectum."

[2] *Hold them in favour.*] Literally, hold in liking, caress them.

the worse of them.[3] Nor is this opinion unjust, if the seceders, and those from whom they separate themselves, be like-minded and one in affection[4], and are equally balanced[5] in resources and power, and if there be no sufficient reason[6] for the abandonment. Now with us and the Athenians this was not the case; nor let us be thought worse of, because, after being honourably treated[7] by them in peace and security, we stand apart from them in adversity and perils.

X. "Now, for the first point of our speech (and especially as we are come to seek for alliance), it shall be to establish the justice and rectitude of the measure: for well we know that neither any friendship of private persons, nor any connection of states, is at all stable, unless the union be formed with something like honour and rectitude[1], and the parties be in other respects of similar dispositions[2]; for from differences of mind arise disagreements in action.[3] As for the

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[3] *Regarding them as, &c.*] This sense of χείρον, in which the idea of comparison is scarcely discernible, is Attic and elegant. So Lysias adv. Diog. εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐ μόνον οἱ ἀδικοῦντες χείρους ὑμῖν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἵτινες, &c. The *sentiment* is thus imitated by Procop. p. 177, 39. ὁ γὰρ τοῦ προδότου τετυχηκὼς, τῇ μὲν χάριτι ἐς τὸ παραυτίκα νικήσας ἥσθη· ὑποψίᾳ δὲ ὕστερον τῇ ἐκ τῶν πεπραγμένων μισεῖ. Thus it has ever been; for, in the words of Tacit. Annal. 1, 58., proditores etiam iis quos anteponunt, invisi sunt; or, in those of a great general, "they love the treason, but they hate the traitor."

[4] *Like-minded, and, &c.*] The classical reader will readily bring to mind the "idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est" of the Roman orator, who seems to have had this passage of his favourite writer in view.

[5] *Equally balanced.*] Or *matched.* This signification occurs frequently in Thucydides; as 1, 91 and 142. 5, 8. 7, 38., &c. It has been thought necessary to the friendship even of *private* persons, that some sort of equality should exist. So Aristot. ap. Diog. Laert. 5, 31. τὴν φιλίαν ὡρίζετο ἰσότητα εὐνοίας ἀντίστροφον.

[6] *Sufficient reason.*] A principle uncertain enough to suit the most lax virtue; since what reason will *not* appear valid to the interested?

[7] *Honourably treated.*] Or, respected and cherished. What could induce Goeller to render it *menaces*, it is not easy to imagine.

[1] *With something like, &c.*] So Dionys. Hal. 1, 520. τὴν ἀρετὴν δοκούσαν. The ἀρετὴ is rendered by Goeller *redlich absicht.*

[2] *Of similar dispositions.*] Such is the sense of ὁμοιότροπος. So Herod. 8, 144, 7. ἤθεα ὁμότροπα. Theophr. Eth. Char. τοὺς ὁμοτρόπους, Pind. Olymp. 13. ὁμότροπος Εἰρανα. The whole passage is imitated by Procop. 281, 6. 79, 1. 145, 31. 209, 21. Dexipp. ap. Hist. Byz. Par. t 1. p. 10. C.

[3] *Differences of, &c.*] So Philostr. Vit. Soph. p. 507. ἐξ ἠθῶν γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἀντιξόων φύεται μῖσος αἰτιαν οὐκ ἔχον. The phrase, ἐν τῷ διαλλασ-

alliance between us and the Athenians, it was first formed when you abandoned the Median war, but they continued to accomplish what remained of the work.[4] However, we were allies, not so much to the Athenians for the enslaving of the Grecians, as to the Grecians for freeing them from the Medes.[5] And so long, indeed, as they led us on principles of equality, we followed them with zeal and alacrity; but when we saw them relaxing in their hostility to the Mede, but bringing slavery on the confederates, we were not without apprehensions. But the allies, being unable, by reason of their diversity of counsels, to unite together for mutual defence[6], they were subjugated, except ourselves and the Chians. We being left, forsooth, independent, and nominally free, continued to bear arms with them: but, from the examples we had witnessed, we no longer regarded them as leaders worthy of our confidence[7]; for it was not likely they would enslave those who were fellow-allies with us, and not treat *us* in the same manner, if they should ever have the power.

XI. "If, indeed, we had been[1] yet *all* left in independence, we might have been better assured that they would make no innovations. But when holding the greater part in subjection, and associating with us on terms of equality, they would, in all

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σοντι τῆς γνώμης is also found in Procop. p. 16, 2. 54, 2. Arrian, 4, 30, 4. And the whole passage is imitated by Procop. 145, 32. αἱ δὲ πράξεις ἑκάστων ἢ τῷ ὁμοτρόπῳ ἐς ξυμμαχίαν συνάπτουσαι ἢ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῆς γνώμης ἐς τὸ δυσμενὲς διακρίνουσαι.

4 *Abandoned the — but they, &c.*] Literally, when you withdrew from, &c., and they continued to the last of the work.

5 *We were allies, &c.*] Such is clearly the sense, of which Hobbes's version is only a paraphrase.

6 *Being unable, by reason of, &c.*] The ἀδύνατοι must not be too rigorously interpreted, but be taken in a popular sense. The meaning is, that they could not come to any unanimity of opinion; which prevented them from, &c. The sense of ἀδύν. was perceived by the Schol., who also saw that πολυψηφίαν must be taken not for multitudes of *suffrages*, but of *counsels*.

7 *Worthy of our confidence.*] Literally, trustworthy, i. e. faithful to their engagement, which was, not to violate the equality of the confederacy by seeking the subjugation of any of its members. This seems to be alluded to in the ἐνσπόνδους just after, which has the sense of ἐνόρκους.

1 *If, indeed, we had been, &c.*] Hobbes ill renders, "if we were now in liberty;" for the orator is speaking of what *had* taken place. Ἦμεν is to be taken, as often, for ἂν ἦμεν.

likelihood, have thought it the harder that [2] we alone, in contrariety to the greater part already in submission [3], should be in possession of equality; and especially in proportion as they might grow more powerful, and we more destitute of help. Indeed an equal reciprocity of fear is the only sure pledge of faith in alliance [4]: for he who would violate his engagements, is deterred from making any encroachment [5], because he would not do it with any superiority of force.[6] We, moreover, were left in possession of independence, for no other reason than that their plans for aggrandizement seemed more feasible by specious words, and attainable rather by means of policy than force.[7] For they, withal, used that for an example, to show

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[2] *Would have thought it, &c.*] Or, "they would ill have brooked the comparison between our equality and the yielding spirit of the subjugated majority."

[3] *In submission.*] Poppo would read ἧκον. But it should at least be ἥκειν, being dependent upon ἔμελλον. No change, however, is necessary, since, as Hack observes, the words χαλεπώτερον — οἴσειν must be referred to both members, both the preceding and the subsequent. The construction is: καὶ τοῦ ἡμετέρου (μέρους) ἔτι μόνου ἀντισουμένου πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον (μέρος) ἤδη εἶκον. Here πρὸς (as, I find, Goeller has seen) signifies *compared with*; as in Theocr. Idyll. 5, 93. Ἀλλ' οὐ συμβλητ' ἔτι κυνόσβατα πρὸς ῥόδα. Sometimes, indeed, ἀντισοῦσθαι has, instead of the accusative with πρὸς, a dative, as in Greg. ap. Steph. Thes. Hence in a corrupt passage of Joseph. p. 799, 8. ἐνεγάμητο δὲ Σατουρνίῳ τῷ εἰς τὰ πάντα ἀντισουμένῳ τῶν περὶ αὐτὴν ἀξιολόγων. I would read τῷ ἀξιολόγῳ for τῷ ἀξιώματι. Other critical matter I must reserve for my edition.

[4] *An equal reciprocity, &c.*] Literally, "an equally balanced fear." Hobbes renders: "the equality of mutual fear is the only bond of faith in leagues. See also the Schol. Smith *paraphrases*, and yet misses the sense of ἀντίπαλον. On the *sentiment* I would compare Aristot. Polit. τὸ ἀντιπεπονθὸς τὸ ἴσον σώζει τὰς πόλεις. Demosth. adv. Androt. 3, 43. ὅτι πίστιν ἂν οἴεται γενέσθαι μόνην, εἰ δείξειαν, ὅπως, ἂν ἀδικεῖν βούλωνται, μὴ δυνήσονται. Joseph. 725, 39. ἵνα ᾖ τὸ δοκοῦν εὔνουν πιστὸν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις ὧν ἐδόκει. Tacit. Germ. c. 1. Germania a Sarmatis Dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus separatur. Πιστὸν is here a substantive, which is of rare occurrence. The following are examples. Pausan. 1, 20, 2. Joseph. 725, 40. Eurip. Or. 249. Xenoph. more than once.

[5] *Encroachment.*] Literally, *aggression.* Such is the import of ἐπελθεῖν, which is ill rendered by Hobbes, *coming in.* It is rightly rendered by Smith.

[6] *Because he would not, &c.*] Literally, "by the circumstance that he would not," &c. Here I read, with Bekker and Goeller, τῷ. Hack vainly endeavours to defend the common reading; and, indeed, as to the construction, he is quite in a mist.

[7] *Their plans, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of this difficult passage, which has been more or less misapprehended by all the interpreters. The construction is: ὅσον τὰ πράγματα ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῖς καταληπτά. The words ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν are exegetical of the πράγματα.

that at least those allies who had an equality of suffrage would not be compelled, against their will, to take part in their expeditions, unless those who were to be attacked had committed some great delinquency.[8] And, moreover, they led out[9] the most powerful against the inferior in strength *first;* and by [thus] leaving those to the last, they were sure to find *them* (the rest being cut down and reduced) the weaker and easier to deal with. Whereas, had they commenced with us, while the whole body were yet in possession of their strength and had some rallying point[10], they would not so

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They are wrongly construed by Goeller with ἐφόδῳ. By εὐπρεπείᾳ λόγου is meant, *plausibility* or *speciousness of words.* Ἐφόδῳ signifies *mean, method,* as in Dioscor. ap. Steph. Thes.; γνώμης, *counsel,* or *policy.*

[8] *For they, withal, &c.*] Such seems to be the real sense of this difficult passage, which no commentator has so well explained as Goeller, by whom most of what I had here written has been anticipated. The student will observe, that this and the next sentence are meant to illustrate the foregoing: the former having reference to the εὐπρεπείᾳ τοῦ λόγου; the latter, to the γνώμης ἐφόδῳ, &c. And the ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, in the latter, is apodotical to the ἅμα in the former. At μαρτυρίῳ must be supplied, not so much ἡμῖν (as is done by Goeller), as λειφθῆναι ἡμᾶς, from the preceding. For want of discerning this true ratio sententiæ, the passage has been but imperfectly comprehended by the Schol., Steph., Port., Bauer, Kistemaker, and Poppo, who would read ἔκοντας, alike without authority and necessity. The γε refers to what might be done in other cases; q. d. "however they might treat the other allies." By ἰσόψηφοι are denoted "those who had the right of giving *vote* in a congress of the allies, as to the measures to be adopted." Thus, in the present Germanic confederacy, *all* the states have not the right of suffrage. No case, however, is so similar as that of Switzerland according to its antient constitution, by which only the principal cantons had right of suffrage; others were, indeed, members of the league, but rather subject allies.

By *delinquency* is meant some injury to the well being of the whole, as a confederacy.

[9] *They led out, &c.*] The difficulty in this sentence (which has been best treated by the Schol.) arises from the blending, or rather confusion, of the masculine with the neuter, for the masculine; as also the omitting to supply pronouns after τὰ τελευταῖα and ἀσθενέστερα, which words have reference to the τὰ κράτιστα, and the τοῦ ἄλλου περιῃρημένου refers to the τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους. The περιηρ. is rendered by Portus *circumcisis,* by Hobbes *removed.* The Schol. has better explained it *subdued.* But the term seems to be employed with allusion to these *gradual encroachments* by which the Athenians subverted the liberties of the inferior allies: for περιαιρεῖν signifies to *cut round,* and thus gradually cut *away* any thing. So at 1, 69. the Corinthians say: ἐπιστάμεθα οἷα ὁδῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅτι κατ' ὀλίγον χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας.

This passage was had in view by Liban. Or. 496. C. περικόπτοντες ἐν κύκλῳ πάντας, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἤδη δεσποζοντες, τοὺς δὲ, κ. τ. λ. and also Aristid. t 2. 258. B.

[10] *Had some rallying point, &c.*] Literally, having something to stand to,

easily have subdued them. Our navy, too, occasioned some apprehension, lest such an accession to your or any other state might create some danger to them. Partly, too, we owed our safety to our respectful attention both to their commonalty[11], and to those who in succession held the offices of government. Judging, however, by the examples of others, we could not[12] reasonably have expected long to maintain our independence but for the occurrence of this war.

XII. "What sort of friendship, then, or assured freedom was this, in which we received each other with hearts alien from our words and actions[1]: they, in time of war, caressing us, through fear; we, during peace, paying court to them?

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a *point d'appui*. A metaphor taken from persons attacked flying to some wall or other place, at which they may set their backs, and stand on their defence. This sense, which has not been well discerned by the commentators, is confirmed and illustrated by l. 7, 44. *οὐκ ἠπίσαντο πρὸς ὅ, τι χρὴ χωρῆσαι.* Aristid. t. 1. 280. B. *τόπον οὔδενα ἔχοντες, οὗ χρὴ στῆναι.* Liban. Epist. 1353. *εἰδέναι τὸ πρὸς ὅ, τι μάχεσθαι χρή.* Lucian, t. 1. 658, 29. *οὔδε σχοῖεν ἄν τι ἄλλο πρὸς ὅ, τι χρὴ ἀποκλίναντας αὐτούς.* Schol. on Eurip. Med. 770. *ἔχουσα πρὸς ὃν καταφύγω.*

[11] *Respectful attention, &c.*] This sense of *θεραπεία* is illustrated by the following examples, which seem formed on the present *passage*. Dionys. Hal. Ant. 738, 15. *μάλιστα δὲ θεραπείας τῶν δυνατῶν παρασκευάσαντας ἀποστῆναι, κ. τ. λ.* and 738, 42. *καὶ τοὺς προεστηκότας τῶν κοινῶν θεραπείαις οἰκειωσάμενοι.* Pausan. 1. 17, 6. *διὰ θεραπείας τὰ τοῦ δήμου καθίστατο.* Athen. 259. A. *περὶ τὰς θεραπείας τῶν ἐπιφανῶν.* With respect to the expression *τοῦ κοινοῦ*, it is so used in Herodotus and the best writers.

Ἀεὶ is used to denote *perpetual succession and series;* as Hom. Il. *β*. 88. Odyss. *π*. 707. and 366. v. 40. and 317. Herod. 2, 98 and 168. and 4, 10. 4, 162. Xen. Cyr. 6, 36. 3, 3, 22.

[12] *We could not, &c.*] Literally, we did not seem likely to be able to. An Atticism.

[1] *What friendship, &c.*] Such seems to be the full sense of the passage. Here Goeller well annotates thus: "Pronomen ὅ per appositionem *πίστιν* explicatur, quæ vox non suo loco posita paulisper structuram turbat, sic, ni fallor, illustranda: *ὅ, τε τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλιστα εὔνοια βεβαιοῖ, ἡμῖν τοῦτο ὁ φόβος παρεῖχε, πίστιν*, ut docent duo alii loci paralleli 1, 22. and 2, 40. Atque in his proximis duobus exemplis tenendum, relativum ὅ neque ad singulum aliquid vocabulum in priori, neque in altero exemplo aut ad *τολμᾶν*, aut ad *ἐκλογίζεσθαι*, sed utrimque ad totam præcedentem enuntiationem referri; quod si fit, Latini non *quod*, sed *id quod* ponere solent." The *τίς* is *exclamatory*, and suited to express indignation. See Abresch. There is, too, a great emphasis in the article, which ought not to be changed into *ἤ*, with Dindorf and Goeller. It is confirmed by a close imitation of the passage in Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 401, 39. *τίς οὖν ἡ τοιαύτη φιλία καὶ πίστις ἐν ᾗ παρὰ γνώμην ἀλλήλους θεραπεύειν ἀναγκασθησόμεθα*; So also Appian 2, 367, 70. The *ὑπεδεχόμεθα* here is well expressed *θεραπεύειν ἀναγκασθησόμεθα* in Dionys. Hal. Indeed the orator himself explains it by what follows.

And whereas to others good-will is the especial cement and bond of fidelity[2], with us *fear* constituted this assurance. Thus it was through the influence of fear, rather than friendship, that we were allies; and to whichsoever security should soonest impart confidence[3], those were sure[4] first to violate their engagements. So that if any one, on the ground of their *deferring* the infliction of these apprehended evils on us, should think that we have acted unjustly by commencing the separation ourselves, and not on our part waiting to be certain whether the calamities would take place, he does not judge the matter aright[5]: for if we were able equally to counterplot, and to show a return of forbearance, what occasion was there for us to be under their control?[6] But the power of attacking

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[2] *Whereas to others, &c.*] On the idiom contained in this passage, which is similar to that at 2, 40., see the note there, as also 1, 122. The words have been imitated by Aristid. 1, 428.

[3] *Confidence.*] The recent editors have here all adopted θάρσος, for θράσος, influenced by the very erudite remarks of Wasse. They might, however, have *confirmed* the reading from an imitation in Joseph. p. 834, 13. καὶ ὁποτέροις παραγένοιτο θαῤῥεῖν πρότερον ἀλλήλων ἤπτοντο. Yet θράσος is sometimes used in a good sense, for θάρσος, by the best writers, as *audacia* is by the Latin ones, as Virgil, Sallust, &c. See Facciol. Lex.

[4] *Were sure.*] Or "were likely," "*would.*" Such is the force of ἔμελλον.

[5] *So that if any one, &c.*] Such seems to be the full sense of this difficult passage, which no one has so well explained as the Scholiast. The ἀνταναμείναντες is justly retained by the recent editors, since the ἀντι signifies "*on our part, in return,*" and has reference to the ἐκείνων before. Δεινῶν signifies "*the evils apprehended;* as in 5, 22. and Herod. 1, 155. The above interpretation is exceedingly confirmed and illustrated by a kindred passage of Eurip. Cresph. frag. 8. εἰ γάρ σ' ἔμελλεν, ὡς σὺ φὴς, κτείνειν πόσις; χρῆν καί σε μέλλειν, ἕως χρόνος δῆθεν παρῆν.

[6] *For if we were able, &c.*] That the above is the sense, the best commentators are agreed. That ἀντεπιμελλῆσαι is the true reading there is little reason to doubt; and on the confusion of the two words I would refer to Dorville on Charit. p. 585. and the commentators on Lucian Dialog. Mort. § 29. Bekker and Goeller, however, have edited ἀντιμελλῆσαι, for which reading there is no authority, and not a shadow of reason for rejecting ἀντεπιμ., which is a stronger term than ἀντιμ. Indeed *both* are rare words, though I shall be enabled to adduce some examples in my edition. Aristophanes, Lysist. 527., has a similarly elegant play on two verbs with ἀντι. ἦν οὖν ἡμῶν — ἐθηλήσητ' ἀντακροᾶσθαι κἀντισωπᾷν. yet neither of these verbs is elsewhere to be met with. Indeed nothing is more frequent with the best writers, than to coin new compound verbs adapted to some *point* contained in such sentences. Ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοιόν, which seems to be opposed to ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου, signifies "equally as if it were not so." Goeller has, without reason, altered εἶναι to ἴέναι.

being always with them, so ought with us to be that of standing on our defence before we are attacked.

XIII. "Such, then, Lacedæmonians and allies, are the reasons and causes whereupon our secession from their alliance is founded — clearly such that our auditors may perceive we have a good reason for what we have done, and such as may well fill us with alarm, and induce us to seek security from whatever quarter — which we would have done *before*, when, during the peace, we communicated with you concerning our defection, but were hindered from making it by your not receiving us. And now again, on the Bœotians [1] inviting us to it, we instantly obeyed the call, conceiving that thereby we made a double secession; one from the *Greeks*, not to maltreat them with the Athenians, but to assist in freeing them; the other from the *Athenians*, so as not to be ourselves at last destroyed by them, but to be beforehand with them.[2] The measure has, however, been precipitate, and without due preparation: but on that account it is even the more incumbent on you to admit us into alliance, and send us speedy succours, in order that you may show your readiness to help those who have a claim for assistance, and at the same time annoy your enemies. The opportunity for doing this is such as never before occurred [3]; for the Athenians are consumed with disease and worn down with heavy expenditure, and their ships are part of them cruizing round your coasts, and part stationed [4] against us; so that it is not likely that they have

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[1] *Bœotians.*] There is here an allusion to Hermæondas, the Theban, mentioned supra, c. 5.

[2] *A double secession; one from, &c.*] There is something which to us seems frigid in this aim at a witty turn. See Bauer. One or two other such have already been pointed out, and can only be excused on the supposition, that such were found to please the taste of the great bulk of the auditors. From this passage it will appear that the sense which is here assigned to ἀπόστασις, &c., namely *secession*, &c., not *revolt* (as other translators render), is correct.

[3] *The opportunity, &c.*] This passage is imitated by Dionys. Hal. Ant. 599, 36.

[4] *Stationed.*] Such is the sense of τετάχαται. And ἐπὶ here signifies, as often, *against*.

any naval reserve [5] for defence, should you this summer again [6] invade them both with fleet and army; but either they will not be able to resist the attack of your fleet, or else must withdraw their fleets from *both* of us.[7] Nor let any one imagine that he will thus incur danger at home, for the sake of a foreign country. For he to whom Lesbos may seem remote, will find it yield him benefit near at hand: for the contest will be not in Attica (as one might imagine), but in the quarter from which Attica derives its benefit and support.[8] Their revenue is derived from their allies [9]; and this will be greater, if they subdue us [10]; for both no one else will revolt, and our contributions [11] will be superadded — nay, we shall suffer heavier burdens than such as aforetime had been slaves.[12] If, on the other hand, you succour us

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[5] *Reserve.*] Literally *surplus*, or to spare. The *purpose* is implied.

[6] *Again.*] i. e. the second time this summer. For there had already been *one* irruption, narrated supra, c. 1., see Dorv. Ann. Thucyd. Ἐπεσθ. is a strong term, and a rare word, of which I know no other example than Eurip. Elect. 498.

[7] *Or else must, &c.*] Smith wrongly renders, "the union of both they will not be able to withstand." The sense above assigned (which is expressed by Hobbes) is required by the words preceding, and is confirmed by the Schol.

[8] *In the region, &c.*] i. e. Lesbos and those other allied countries, chiefly in Asia Minor and the islands, which ministered to the support and benefit of Athens, by the payment of tribute and the furnishing of ships or troops.

[9] *Their revenue is derived from their allies.*] i. e. from the tribute paid by. The article is here put for the possessive pronoun. Πρόσοδος τῶν χρημάτων is a *plena locutio*, as 2, 13. and elsewhere, for πρόσοδος. By *allies* are meant *subject* and *tributary* allies.

[10] *If they subdue us.*] Because then the Lesbians will be put on the same footing with the allies in general, and become tributary: and besides, our revenue will be employed against any who meditate revolt.

[11] *Our contributions.*] Hobbes strangely mistranslates, "all that is ours will accrue unto them." Such could not be true. At τὰ ἡμέτερα must be understood χρήματα, by which is meant πρόσοδος.

[12] *Than such as aforetime, &c.*] Almost all the translators render, "than those who were under them before;" Kistem., "quam qui *prius* serviebant;" and Smith paraphrases, "as being the last who put on the yoke." But why those who have last put on the yoke should be more heavily burdened than the rest, it is not easy to see. There was surely no reason for the recent interpreters to abandon the version of Portus, which is supported by an able exposition of the Schol. The sense (which only requires to be *understood* to be approved) is, that "*they would be worse treated than such as had been slaves before their revolt*," or than if they had been slaves: for to slaves it is excusable that they should try to better their condition by

with alacrity, you will add to your league a state in possession of a considerable navy (of which you are especially in need), and you will more easily humble the Athenians, by withdrawing their allies[13] (for every one will then more boldly go over to you), and ye will shake off the imputation which ye have hitherto borne, of not assisting such as forsake their confederates.[14] Whereas if you show yourselves as their liberators, you will have a firmer expectation of victory in the contest.

XIV. " Reverencing[1], therefore, the hopes of Greece reposed in you, and the Olympian Jove in whose fane we appear[2] in quality of suppliants[3], grant succour and alliance to the Mytilenians, and reject not our entreaties[4], who are hazarding a private danger[5], but who must yield a benefit common to all by our success, and an injury yet more common, if, by your refusal to aid us, we come to ruin. Show

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seeking a change; but those who had aforetime been free could expect no such allowance, and would deserve to be worse treated, since their revolt could admit of no excuse.

[13] *Humble, &c.*] i. e. bring down. There seems to be an allusion to pulling down some lofty building, by undermining it, and gradually drawing out the stones from under it. So Isaiah 25, 12. " the high fort of thy walls shall he bring down." There is a sort of antithesis between καθαιρήσετε and ὑφαιροῦντες.

[14] *Not assisting such as, &c.*] Hobbes renders, " not — revolt unto you." Smith, " not — fly to you for protection." But that sense is quite inadmissible. There is a reference to the conduct of the Lacedæmonians, when the Samians revolted from the Athenians; on which occasion they expressed a resolution " not to receive such as might revolt from their league."

[1] *Reverencing.*] i. e. fearing to frustrate. In this sense αἰσχυνθεῖσθαι is almost always used with an accusative of person; rarely, as here, of thing.

[2] *Appear.*] Smith renders ἐσμὲν *stand.* But suppliants always *sate.*

[3] *In quality of suppliants.*] This was customary in those who went to entreat assistance. See 1, 24. and the note. The ἴσα καὶ is equivalent to *æque ac,* ἴσα being used adverbially, as is sometimes ὅμοια. So Diog. Laert. ap. Steph. Thes. 4532. ἴσα καὶ μὴ ἀκοῦσαι. Procop. de Ædif. 44, 30. ἴσα καὶ πόλις. Aristid. t. 1, 285. B. ἴσα καὶ ἀήττητος.

[4] *Reject not our entreaties.*] Literally, " cast us not off;" as a dejected suppliant at the feet of another is cast off by him who refuses his request.

[5] *Hazarding a private danger.*] In illustration of this the editors might more appositely have cited Onosand. p. 99. κίνδυνον εὐτόλμως παραβαλλόμενοι. The whole sentence is closely imitated by Aristid. 3, 289. C. τὸν μὲν κίνδυνον αὐτοῦ, τὴν δ' ὠφέλειαν κοινὴν ἐποιήσατο.

yourselves, then, to be such[6] the Greeks esteem, and our fears wish, you to be!"

XV. Thus spoke the Mytilenians: and the Lacedæmonians and allies, having heard them, admitted their pleas, and received the Lesbians as allies. As to the invasion[1] of Attica, they bade the allies present with all speed repair to the isthmus with two thirds of their force, in order to put it into immediate execution; and they themselves first went thither, employing themselves in preparing machines[2] on the isthmus, for the immediate transportation of the vessels over from Corinth to the sea opposite to Athens, in order to their making the invasion at once by sea and land. These dispositions they made with zeal and alacrity, but the rest of the allies were tardy in assembling together; being both engaged in gathering in their harvest[3], and weary of military service.[4]

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[6] *Show yourselves, &c.*] So Dionys. Hal. Ant. 169, 22. οὐκ ἂν εἴημεν ἄνδρες οἵους ἡμᾶς προσῆκεν εἶναι.

[1] *As to the invasion.*] Here there has been some difference of opinion as to the construction. The simplest method seems to be to place a line after ἐσέβολὴν (as is done by Hack), and then take the accusative in the same way as τὸν πόλεμον at 2, 62. "*quod attinet ad.*"

[2] *Machines.*] The Schol. well explains ὁλκοὺς by ὄργανα. So Hesych. explains: τὰ ὁρμητήρια δ' ὧν καθέλκονται (πλοῖα). And so Pollux 8, 191. αἱ δὲ καλούμεναι χαμουλκοί, μηχαναὶ, δι' ὧν εἵλκοντο, ὁλκοί. Dio Cass. 1143, 46. ὑπερενεγκὼν τὰ πλοῖα ὁλκοῖς. Apoll. Rhod. 1, 375. ἐν δ' ὁλκῷ ξέοντας στορέσαντο φάλαγγας. Herod. 2, 154. ὁλκοὶ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μεχρὶ ἐμεῦ ἦσαν. The word also occurs in Pseudo Eurip. Rhes. 146 and 674., but in a different sense. Hence may be defended and illustrated a controverted reading in Hor. Carm. 1, 4. "Trahuntque siccas machinæ carinas," where we may very well dispense with the conjecture of the critics, *torquentque*.

The situation at which the conveyance was made appears from Strabo, p. 551, 19. where, speaking of the west coast of Corinthia, he says, κοίλη καὶ ποιεῖ τὸν διόλκον πρὸς τὸν ἑτέραν ἠϊόνα τὴν κατὰ Σχοινοῦντα. And then l. 25. ὁ Σχοινοῦς, καθ' ὃν τὸ στενὸν τοῦ διολκοῦ. where διολκὸς signifies the *place* of conveyance. The other end terminated, doubtless, at the same point from which the canal of Nero was commenced. And there seems an allusion to this in the very name Σχοῖνος, which denotes *measuring by a rope*. See Dr. Clarke's map of the isthmus, Travels, vol. iii.

[3] *Gathering in their harvest.*] Or rather that of the fruits of the earth in general. Of the phrase ἐν καρποῦ ξυγκομιδῇ ἦσαν the following are examples: Xen. Hist. 7, 5, 14. σίτου συγκομιδῆς οὔσης. Polyb. 3, 100. ἔτι δὲ τῆς ὥρας ἀκμαζούσης πρὸς τὴν συγκομιδήν. Other more critical matter I reserve for my edition.

[4] *Weary of military service.*] Ἀῤῥωστία is well explained by Suid. ἀποθυμία. The word is rarely used of the mind, though ἐπιῤῥώνυσθαι not

XVI. The Athenians feeling that these preparations were made through contempt of their weakness [1], and being anxious to show that the sentiment was not well founded, but that they were able easily to resist the force from Peloponnesus without removing the fleet from Lesbos, manned a hundred ships, embarking in a body both themselves (except the cavaliers and the pentacosiomedimni) [2] with the sojourners, and weighing anchor, they proceeded to the isthmus [3], displaying their force, and making descents on Peloponnesus where it seemed expedient. But the Lacedæmonians, seeing things so contrary to their expectations, supposed that the representations of the Lesbians were untrue, and, thinking that their plans [4] were impracticable (especially as their allies were not come up, and news was brought of the thirty Athenian ships cruising round Peloponnesus [5] and ravaging the territory of

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unfrequently is. To the example from Isocrates adduced by Duker (and derived from Steph. Thes.) I add Xen. Apol. 30. ἀῤῥώστος τὴν ψυχήν, and Œcon. 4, 2. αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀῤῥωστότεραι γίγνονται. Smith here renders, "they were sadly tired of the war;" and so Mitford: but the sense is, "they were weary of campaigning;" for this season they had already made *one* campaign. Indeed had it *not* been the harvest time, yet (to use the words of Mitford) where the people are, at the same time, cultivators and soldiers, they cannot be always ready to go on distant expeditions, and leave the care of their domestic affairs to women and slaves.

[1] *Contempt of their weakness.*] Κατάγνωσιν does not signify *opinion*, as Portus, Hobbes, and Smith render, but *contempt*, as Acacius, Abresch, and Gail take it. The word, in this sense, governs the genitive, from the force of its primitive. Hence in Joseph. p. 885, 2. κατάγνωσιν μὲν φέρειν αὐτῷ νομίσας τὸ τῶν δωρέων. &c. I conjecture for αὐτῷ, αὐτοῦ.

[2] *Cavaliers, and the pentacosiomedimni.*] On these orders, the first and second of the state, according to the census, see Potter's Antiq., as cited by Smith, or the more accurate account of Boeck. on the revenue of Athens, t. 2. p. 29. referred to by Goeller.

[3] *To the isthmus.*] I have here followed the reading παρὰ, which is found in most of the MSS., and is adopted by all the recent editors. Yet the old reading περὶ is not to be despised. As to Hack's objection, that the isthmus could not be circumnavigated, it is frivolous, since περὶ would only signify *about*, as a little further on, c. 18. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἦσαν. It is truly observed by Mitford, that "this new crisis roused the spirit of the Athenian administration and people. It was, indeed, become of the utmost importance to show "that they had still resolution to dare, and still strength to execute."

[4] *Plans.*] At ἄπορα I would subaud πράγματα.

[5] *News was brought of, &c.*] It should seem that either the events concerning Asopus recorded at c. 7. took place late in the season, or that they occupied a longer time than we should suppose from the words; or perhaps the eighteen ships sent home by Asopus spent some time in ravaging the coasts of Peloponnesus.

their dependent provinces), returned home.[6] They afterwards equipped a fleet to be sent to Lesbos, and despatched orders to the states for furnishing the ships to the number of forty; they also appointed Alcidas to accompany it as admiral. The Athenians, on the other hand, retired home with the hundred sail when they saw the Peloponnesians depart.

XVII. About the time when those ships departed, they were in possession of the greatest number of ships[1], at once effective and handsome[2] (though there were at the beginning

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6 *Returned home.*] Nothing is said about the *fleet*, of which Mitford relates that the ships remained in their ports motionless. He must mean the ports of Nisæa and Cenchrea. It does not, however, appear that the ships were ever equipped and conveyed across the isthmus *at all*. That, indeed, is clear from the words following. The sailors, it should seem, were no more ready than the soldiers; and the various details of nautical equipment and preparation could not be carried through, for any effective co-operation with the land forces, at this late period of the season.

1 *They were in possession of, &c.*] Such is clearly the general sense of the passage; but there is some difficulty connected with one or two of the expressions. Ἐν τοῖς has occasioned great perplexity to the commentators, the earlier of whom take the article for the pronoun αὐτοῖς. But that would make the αὐτοῖς following of no use; and would not itself be Attic Greek. Others took αὐτοῖς for τούτῳ (or rather τούτῳ τῷ, scil. χρόνῳ). That, however, would by no means be Greek good enough for Thucydides. As to the methods proposed by Gramm. and Kistem., they are too intricate, not to say absurd. The most favourite method with the recent editors is that of Herman, Bredow, and Hack. "Scilicet superlativis (says Hack) cujusque vel generis vel numeri nonnunquam præfiguntur particulæ ἐν τοῖς, sensum nihil mutantes, sed fortasse augentes." And so Matthiæ, who thinks it clear that the formula stands by itself; and he espouses the last-mentioned view of it, joining it with the superlative following. The same critic and Hack adduce many passages in proof and illustration, some of which are corrupt, others ill-understood; ex. gr. Thucyd. l. 1, 6. ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι δὲ Ἀθηναίοι τὸν σίδηρον κατέδεντο, where (as I shall show there) ought to be read πρώτοις. l. 3, 81. διότι ἐν τοῖς πρώτη ἐγένετο, where ought, perhaps, to be read αὐτοῖς for ἐν τοῖς, as well as in 7, 19. ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ὁρμήσαντες ἀφῆκαν. Under these circumstances, I cannot but suspect some corruption in the present case, which, indeed, the variation in the MSS. seems to testify; and for ἐν τοῖς I would read αὐτοῖς, cancelling the αὐτοῖς after ἅμα, which seems to have been introduced there from the margin, and founded on misapprehension of the construction. The above reading is found in, or countenanced by, five MSS., and was certainly read by one of the Scholiasts. Nothing, indeed, is more probable than that αυ should pass into εν, especially as it seems by the MSS. that the scribes thought an εν was necessary to the sense. The construction is: νῆες αὐτοῖς πλεῖσται δὴ ἐγένοντο, ἐνεργοὶ ἅμα κάλλει.

2 *At once effective and handsome.*] Such seems to be the sense, which was imperfectly comprehended by the translators and commentators; though the Schol. had very well explained ἔνεργοι "doing the work of ships,

of the war about as many, if not more); for the ships on guard round Attica, Eubœa, and Salamis amounted to a hundred sail, and another hundred were cruising round Peloponnesus, besides those at Potidæa and other places: so that the total number of ships in service that one summer amounted to two hundred and fifty [3]; and the maintenance of such a force especially tended, in conjunction with the siege of Potidæa, to gradually exhaust the treasury. For the heavy-armed, employed on guarding the trenches [4] at Potidæa, were paid each two drachms [5] per diem, one for himself and another

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i. e. sound and fit for sea." The *ἅμα κάλλει* is put in the place of another adjective; a rare use, of which I have not noted one example. Of *ἐνεργ.*, in this sense, applied to things, examples are somewhat rare. I have remarked the following: — Xenoph. Hipp. c. 9, 7. *δοκεῖ δ' ἂν μοι καὶ πεζὸν* (I read *τὸ πεζὸν*) *σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἐνεργότατον εἶναι.* Herod. 8, 26, 2. *ὀλίγοι τινὲς, βίου τε δεόμενοι, καὶ ἐνεργοὶ βουλόμενοι εἶναι,* "wishing to be employed." Joseph. 1121, 1. *ἔνεργος ὕλη, καὶ συνεχής ἐστι καρπόφορος.* Other more critical matter I must reserve for my edition.

[3] *The total number, &c.*] Here one might be inclined to suspect some error of number: for, at l. 2, 13., the total number of ships, *fit for sea*, is said to have been three hundred; and we have no reason to think that there had been much diminution. Thus, the two hundred and fifty here would seem too small a number: for the home squadron and that abroad amounted to two hundred; so that only fifty would be left for Potidæa and other places. But, of those other places, Lesbos took forty; and can we suppose that ten would be sufficient for the Ægean, the Hellespont, and Asia Minor? Besides, it was just before said, that about as many, or even (i. e. rather) *more*, were employed at the beginning of the war. Now, surely, had there really been a difference of one sixth, Thucydides could not have used such a term as "rather more." I cannot, I repeat, but suspect, that there is some error in the number, and that for *ν'* we should read *ή*, i. e. ninety.

[4] *Guarding the trenches.*] It is strange that Valla, Budæus, Lipsius, Petit, and Duker should take *ἐφρούρουν* to signify *garrisoned* the city, namely, after its surrender. Now it is not likely that the Athenians would have given extraordinary pay for such a kind of service; nor could this have been necessary. I have, therefore, followed the interpretation of Portus and Hobbes, which is required by the words following. And the above signification, though omitted in Steph. Thes., is found in the best writers, and Thucyd. especially. Thus, 3, 21. *τὸ μὲν οὖν τεῖχος, ᾧ περιεφρουροῦντο οἱ Πλαταιεῖς.* 1, 64. *τὸ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος — οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποτειχίσαντες ἐφρούρουν.* And a little after, *ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ φρουρεῖν.* Arrian, E. A. 1, 7, 14. *οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὴν Καδμεῖαν διπλῷ χάρακι ἐφρούρουν ἀποτειχίσαντες.* and 4, 3, 10. *καὶ τούτους περιστρατοπεδεύσαι Ἀλέξανδρος ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἐφρούρουν.* So also 4, 5, 3. and 2, 1, 6. This signification, it may be observed, especially has place where the siege partakes of the nature of a *blockade*, and where lines and fortifications of circumvallation and contravallation are to be maintained and guarded. Thus, Thucydides uses in conjunction respecting Platæa, the terms *περιτειχίζειν*, *περιέχειν*, and *περιφρουρεῖν*.

[5] *Two drachms.*] About twenty pence. The same pay the sailors are

for his servant; and of these there were at first three thousand, and not less than that number continued throughout the siege, (for as to the one thousand seven hundred under Phormio, they left before its conclusion). The ships, too, of every kind were paid at the same rate. Thus, then, were the funds, for the first time, exhausted; and such was the number, considerable indeed, of the ships fitted out.

XVIII. At the same time that the Lacedæmonians were about the isthmus, the Mytilenians, in conjunction with their auxiliaries [1], undertook an expedition by land against Methymna [2], which they expected would be delivered up to them. But after making an assault, the affair not succeeding to their hopes, they bent their course to Antissa, Pyrrha, and Eressus[3], and having established affairs in those cities on a more secure footing, and strengthened their walls, they forthwith departed

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said to have received. But, as they would not require servants, we may suppose that none were allowed, and, consequently, that their pay was but one drachm a day. When, therefore, Thucydides says their pay was the same, he had in view that no servant would have to be paid. Now sieges were operations exceedingly expensive to the soldiers, and so fatiguing as to require an increased outlay of money; and, as the one in question was both distant and long continued, we may suppose that the pay was extraordinary, as was the service. Hence we find the pay afterwards stated as much lower, generally about a drachm a day; which grew as proverbial to denote a military life as the long accustomed "sixpence a day" of our foot soldiery.

[1] *Auxiliaries.*] These were mentioned at c. 2., and consisted of archers from Pontus.

[2] *Methymna.*] The name of this city would seem to have been given with some reference to the rites of Bacchus, and the wine for which the island was celebrated.

[3] *Antissa, Pyrrha, and Eressus.*] Of these towns the first was, probably, so called as being situated over against a more antient, but early ruined, city called Issa. See Berkley ap. Steph., who compares *Antiparos, Anticyra.* It was afterwards overwhelmed by the sea. See the note of Wasse. Pyrrha was a very small place, at the top of a euripus, i. e. long frith or arm of the sea. The name has reference to a funeral pile, or pyre. Eressus was on the south coast, and next to Methymna in power. Its name seems to have been derived from its maritime situation, ἐρέσσω *to row;* if, at least, the σσ was the true spelling; but if the single, it might have some other origin. It is, however, yet called Eresso. And Bekker has proved that the σσ are supported, in Thucyd. at least, by all the weight of MS. authority. It is also found in Scylax, Strabo, Ptolemy, Mela, and Diod. Sic. Yet the single σ is supported by Archest. ap. Athen, p. 111. E., who also graphically describes the site of the place: Ἐν Λέσβῳ κλείνῃ, κ' Ἐρέσου περικύμονι μασθῷ.

homeward. Upon their departure, however, the Methymneans undertook an expedition against Antissa; but being utterly defeated[4] in a sally made by the Antisséans and their allies, and losing many of their troops, they made a hasty retreat with the rest. But the Athenians, on hearing of these occurrences — that the Mytilenians were masters by land, and that their troops were unable to hold them in check — sent out, about the beginning of autumn, a thousand heavy-armed, under the command of Paches son of Epicurus. These troops, rowing themselves the transports which conveyed them, and having arrived thither, drew a single wall[5] around Mytilene; they erected also forts on some strong situations. Thus was Mytilene strongly besieged on both sides, both by land and by sea; and then the winter drew near.

XIX. The Athenians, however, being in want of money for the siege, now, for the first time, raised a contribution[1]

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[4] *Utterly defeated.*] Literally, *beaten;* though, as the Schol. observes, πλήσσω is a very strong term to denote *utter defeat;* as in Herod. 5, 121., and other writers.

[5] *Single wall.*] Namely, not of circumvallation only, but of contravallation likewise. This, it seems, they had not strength to accomplish; though, considering the power of the Lesbians outside of the city, it was very necessary. Its place was, however, in some degree supplied by the φρουρία, *fortlets,* erected on various commanding positions of the wall; which may bring to mind the descriptions of the great wall of China, and of Peking or Nanking. It is surprising that none of the editors should have seen that, for ἐστιν οἳ, should be read, from at least five MSS., ἐστιν ᾗ. The word ἐγκατ., *erected,* just after, shows that these fortlets were in the wall of circumvallation. That term is rare, and I know no other example except in Plutarch Lycurg. c. 9. This use is, however, imitated by Hirtius de Bell. Gall. l. 8, 9. inædificari loriculam. Hence is confirmed the reading of several MSS. in Eurip. Hippol. 30., rejected by Monk, as wanting authority, but rightly edited by Matthiæ: πέτραν ταὶ αὐτὴν Παλλάδος — ναὸν Κύπριδος ἐγκαθείσατο.

[1] *Contribution.*] It is here remarked by Duker that these contributions, or εἰσφοραὶ, were applied to the *citizens;* φόροι to the allies and provincials. It is more fully and accurately observed by Hack, from Wolf Proleg. ad Demosth. Lept. p. 90. seqq., that the εἰσφορὰ was exacted only from the wealthier citizens, and was an extraordinary tax only raised in time of war. This may, therefore, be compared with the income tax in our own country during the late wars with revolutionary France. This was, as we find, the first time that it was levied; though afterwards it was frequently resorted to, and became, as Mitford observes, a source of intolerable oppression to the higher ranks, to lessen which, and act as a corresponding tax on the lower ranks, a reduction of pay to the soldiers and

among themselves of two hundred talents; they also sent a squadron of twelve ships, under the command of Lysicles and five colleagues, to the allies, in order to collect money [2] from them. He levied money in various places, cruising up and down; and, among others, on the Carian coast, ascending from Myus [3] through the plain of the Mæander as far as the hill of Sandius, being beset by the Carians and Anæitans [4], he himself perished and many others of the army.

XX. This same winter, the Platæans (for they were yet besieged by the Peloponnesians and Bœotians), being hard pressed by the failure of their provisions, and having no hope of succour from Athens, nor any other means of preservation, concerted a project, in conjunction with the Athenians besieged with them, which was, at first, for *all* to go forth, and try if possible to force their way over the enemy's walls. The attempt had been suggested [1] to them by Theænetus son

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seamen afterwards took place. This *εἰσφορὰ*, Smith remarks, was a voluntary contribution, as the original implies. "On such occasions (he adds) the presidents of the assembly laid before the Athenians the present want of money, and exhorted them with cheerfulness and generosity to contribute towards the national support." Such as were willing rose up in turn, saying, "I contribute so much," and naming the sum. Such as, though rich, were niggardly and strangers to all public spirit, sat silent on these occasions, or, as fast as they could, stole out of the assembly.

[2] *Collect money.*] The ships engaged on this service were, as we find from the present passage, and 2, 69., and elsewhere, as likewise Aristoph. Equit. 1068., called *ναῦς ἀργυρόλογοι*; and they were often, as the Schol. on Aristoph. tells us, the Salaminian and the Paralus.

[3] *Myus.*] On this place, supposed to be about four miles from the mouth of the Mæander, see Chandler. Of this (one of the richest and most lovely spots in the world) Dionys. Perig. 835. beautifully says: Πολλοὶ γὰρ λειμῶνες ἐν Ἀσίδι τηλεθόωσιν, Ἔξοχα δ' ἀμπεδίον Μαιάνδριον ἔνθα Καΰστρου Ἤσυχα καχλάζοντος ἐπιῤῥέει ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ. The country has been of late, in some degree, become better known to us, by the interesting travels of Mr. Arundel to the Seven Churches in Asia. Of the site of the hill of Sandius we are ignorant. The name is probably correct (though some MSS., for an obvious reason, have *Sardian*); since the name, but as a *personal* appellation, occurs in Pausan.

[4] *Anæitans.*] These were from Anæa, a seaport near the promontory of Trogilium, on which Wasse refers to Eustath. on Dionys. 828. It is plain that Anæa is here regarded as not in *Caria*, though Steph. Byz. assigns it to that province. It was in Ionia.

[1] *Suggested.*] Or advised. Wasse appeals to a similar use of *ἡγεῖσθαι* in Ælian V. H. 3, 8. and the Virgilian "Dux fœmina facti." He might more aptly have cited Plutarch ap. Steph. Thes. *εἰσηγεῖσθαι γνώμην.*

of Tolmides [2], a soothsayer [3], and Eupompidas [4] son of Daïmachus [5], who was also the commandant.[6] Afterwards half of the number shrunk back from the project, regarding it as too perilous.[7] There remained, however about two hundred and twenty persons [8], who voluntarily persevered in the plan of escape, which they put in practice in the manner following. They formed ladders, equal in length to the height of the enemy's wall; taking their measure by [9] the layers [10] of bricks

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Xenoph. Hist. 1, 6, 8. *εἰσηγοῦντο πόρον χρημάτων.* Polyb. 2, 25, 8. *λύσιν εἰσηγεῖτο.* The term signifies *consilio alicui præire.*

[2] *Tolmides.*] I have here followed the reading of all the best MSS. which has been also adopted by Bekker and Goeller; and yet the old reading is defended by the name occurring without any var. lect. in Pind. Nem. 6, 106. The degrees of corruption seem to have been Τολμίδου, Τοιμίδου, Τιμιδου.

[3] *Soothsayer.*] Or augur. The *ἀνδρὸς μάντεως* savours of antique phraseology. So Hom. Od. 2, 508. *μάντις ἀνὴρ ἠΰς τε μέγας τε.* Pind. Isthm. 6, 75. *εἶπεν — μάντις ἀνήρ.* Pyth. 11, 49. *μάντιν κόραν.* And yet I believe the *ἀνὴρ* is never added by Herodotus. To turn, however, from words to things, this soothsayer, or augur, seems to have been retained for the purpose of officiating at the sacrifices, and for the performance of other religious duties; in fact, was a sort of chaplain to the garrison.

[4] *Eupompidas.*] I have here again followed the best MSS. and the recent editors; not that the old reading is destitute of authority, but because we may easily account for the change of Eupompidas into Eumolpidas, from the commonness of that word; though not vice versa.

[5] *Daïmachus.*] The textual reading Daïmachus is sufficiently defended by the origination.

[6] *Commandant.*] Not "*one* of the commanders," as Hobbes and Smith render; a signification which cannot have place, unless it is required by the context.

[7] *Shrunk back from, &c.*] The passage is imitated by Procop. p. 180, 11. *τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἰόντων οἱ ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ κατωρρωδηκότες τὸν κίνδυνον, ὀπίσω ἀπεκομίζοντο.* There is a similar phrase in Pausan. 9, 8, 3. *τὴν πορείαν ἀπώκνησε.* Demosth. 294. *οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας.* So also Arrian 7, 10, 12. Lucian t. 2, 173. 3, 630. Dio Cass. 698. Πῶς here signifies *somehow;* which hints that they felt a foreboding of extreme danger.

[8] *Two hundred and twenty persons.*] Polyænus Strat. 6, 9, 3. says two hundred.

[9] *Taking their measure by.*] Such is the sense of *ξυμμετρεῖσθαι.* And so Eurip. Phœn. 185. *προσβάσεις τεκμαίρεται Πύργων, ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω τείχη μετρῶν.* Plato in Tim. ap. Steph. Thes. *οὔτε πρὸς ἄλληλα συμμετροῦνται σκοποῦντες ἀριθμούς.* See also Procop. p. 24, 6. and Polyæn. 7, 10, 5. The following passages contain examples of the same expedient being adopted under similar circumstances, and in detailing which the writers had a view to the present one: — Procop. p. 197. *πύργους ξυλίνους ἐποιήσατο ἴσους τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ ἔτυχε γε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς μέτρου, πολλάκις ξυμμετρησάμενος ταῖς τῶν λίθων ἐπιβολαῖς.* Livy 25, 23. "Unus ex Romanis, ex propinquo murum contemplatus, numerando lapides, æstimandoque ipse secum, quid in fronte paterent singuli, altitudinem muri, quantum proxime conjecturâ poterat."

[10] *Layers.*] To the examples of this rare signification adduced by

where the wall opposite to them happened not to be white-washed [11]; many at once counting these layers, some of whom would miss of, others attain, the true reckoning; especially as there were many counting, and, moreover, the distance was not great, the wall whereto they designed [12] their attempt being easily visible. Thus, then, they discovered the true length of the ladders, guessing the measure by the thickness of the bricks employed.[13]

XXI. As for the wall of the Peloponnesians, it was built in the following manner: — It consisted of two surrounding walls [1], one against [2] the Platæans, the other to oppose any attacks from the Athenians. Now the distance between them was about sixteen feet; which intermediate space [3] was built

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Abresch, I add Diod. Sic. t. 2, 37. τρίτην δὲ ἐπιβολήν. In a similar sense must be taken δόμων πλίνθου in Herod. 1, 179. and ἁρμονίαι at Pausan. I. 8, 8, 3. and Hom. Od. ε. 248.

[11] *Whitewashed.*] Not *plastered*, as Hobbes, Smith, and Mitford translate. See Pollux 7, 124. The word occurs in Procop. de Ædif. p. 4, 22. and 27, 31. also Levit. 14, 42 and 43. 1 Paral. 29, 4. Eustath. explains ἀλείφειν τοῖχον by τὸ κονίᾳ χρίειν.

[12] *The wall whereto they designed, &c.*] At ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο the Scholiast supplies θεῖναι κλίμακας. But perhaps ἐλθεῖν will be more simple. There is a similar ellipsis in Psalm 107, 3. " and so he carries them to the haven whither they would (go)."

[13] *Guessing the measure, &c.*] From this passage we may, perhaps, infer that there was a certain measure for Grecian bricks. This, too, Weiske on Xen. Anab. 7, 8, 14. thinks may be concluded from that passage; though Schneider dissents. Be that as it may, the same measure of bricks was probably preserved in the same region, or, at least, brick-yard. And perhaps the besieged might gather the measure of the bricks used, from some which they had contrived to pick up.

[1] *Two surrounding walls.*] Similar is Liv. 5, 4. " Ita muniebant, ut ancipitia munimenta essent: alia in urbem et contra oppidanorum eruptiones versa: aliis frons in Etruriam spectans auxiliis, si qua forte inde venirent, obstruebatur.'

[2] *Against.*] Or *opposite to, fronting.* As to the reading Πελοποννησᾶς, it is from interpretation only. This signification of πρὸς with the genitive is little attended to by editors. Thus at Dionys. Hal. Ant. 457. and Pausan. 9, 19, 2. Sylburg and Facius have needlessly resorted to conjecture.

[3] *Intermediate space.*] Τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦτο, scil. χώριαν. This confirms the opinion of Valck. on Acts 12, 6, that μεταξὺ is a neuter adjective from μεταξύς. At τὸ μεταξὺ subaud κατὰ, *quod attinet ad.* The passage is imitated by Appian t. 2, 667, 10. τὸ δὲ μέσον τῶν λόφων τὰ ὀκτὼ στάδια δίοδος ἦν, κ. τ. λ.

up and partitioned out into huts[4] for the garrison; and these were continuous, so that the whole appeared to be one thick wall[5], having battlements both ways. At every ten of these battlements there were turrets, large in size and of equal breadth with the wall, reaching both to the interior and the exterior front or face of the wall; so that there was no passage by any turret, but the way lay through the midst of each. Thus, on nights when the weather was rainy[6], the sentinels left the battlements[7] and kept watch from the turrets, which were near at hand and covered overhead.[8] Such was the nature of the wall by which the Platæans were enclosed and kept in.

XXII. When their preparations were completed, they seized the opportunity of a stormy, rainy, and moonless night[1], and went forth to the attempt, under the guidance of those

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[4] *Huts, οἰκήματα.*] A vox solennis de hac re. So Herod. 1, 179, 1. ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχεος παρὰ τὰ ἔσχατα, οἰκήματα μουνόκωλα ἔδειμαν.

[5] *So that the whole appeared, &c.*] The passage is imitated by Xiphilin. p. 1251, 68. ὥστε καὶ ἓν τεῖχος παχὺ τὸ πᾶν εἶναι δοκεῖν.

[6] *Weather was rainy.*] This sense of χειμὼν and of νοτερὸς deserves attention. The latter is remarked by T. Mag. as an idiom of Thucydides. It is also noticed by the Schol. on Aristid. Panath. p. 76.

[7] *Left the battlements and, &c.*] Such has often happened on other occasions, and the neglect has afforded opportunity to a vigilant enemy for making an assault. So Pausan. l. 4, 2, 3. ἔτυχε δὲ ὕειν πολλῷ τὸν θεὸν, καὶ ἐκλείπουσιν οἱ Μεσσηνίοι τὴν φρουράν. — οὔτε ἐπαλξέων ὠκοδομημένων, οὔτε πύργων. Polyæn. 740. ὑετὸς κατερράγη ὥστε φύλακες τειχῶν λείπουσιν, οἱ μὲν τάς φυλάκας, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐπάλξεις. Livy 24, 46. Imber ab nocte mediâ coortus, custodes vigilesque dilapsos e stationibus, subfugere in tecta coegit.

[8] *Covered overhead.*] Or *roofed.* So Dionys. Hal. p. 21, 13. τύρσεις is explained αἱ ἐντειχίοι καὶ στεγάναι οἰκήσεις. Dio Cass. 1251, 10. Joseph. 1016. Appian 1, 436, 78. καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ (τῷ τείχει) κοίλῳ ὄντι καὶ στεγανῷ.

[1] *Seized the opportunity, &c.*] There are few passages that have been more the object of imitation than the present; though such has not been noticed by the commentators. The following are the principal passages which I have noted: — Pausan. 8, 50, 5. φυλάξαντες νύκτα ἀσέληνον. Diod. Sic. 9, 24, 9. Dionys. Hal. 198, 17. φυλάξαντες νύκτα χειμέριον ὕδασι καὶ ἀνέμῳ, and 52, 42. φυλάξαντες νύκτα ἀσέληνον. Dio Cass. 81, 12. ἐτήρησε νύκτα ἀσέληνον καὶ ὑετῷ λαβρῷ βρονταῖς τε χειμέριον. Aristoph. Acharn. 9, 22. βόρεαν ἐπιτηρήσας μέγαν. Posidon. ap. Athen. 25. A. φυλάξας ἀσέληνον νύκτα. Dionys. Hal. 319, 42. φυλάξαντες νύκτα ἀσέληνον. Cinnam. 133. A. νύκτα τηρήσας ἀσέληνον, καθ' ἣν ὑετίζειν ἔτυχεν. Polyæn. 1, 37. ἀσέληνον νύκτα παρατηρήσας. Plutarch Alex. 60. νυκτὸς χειμερίου καὶ ἀσελήνου.

The time when this attempt was made, was about the middle of winter.

who had been the contrivers of the project. And first, having passed the ditch which environs the place, they came in contact with the wall, escaping the notice of the enemy's sentinels, who did not discover them for the darkness, nor heard[2] their approach, the noise they made being drowned in the opposite rattling[3] of the storm. They, moreover, kept far apart from each other, lest the clashing of their arms against each other might occasion discovery. They were, too, but lightly armed[4], and shod on the left foot only, for security of tread amidst the mud.[5] They made their approaches to

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[2] *Did not discover for.*] Or *through.* Such is the sense of προιδεῖν, in which the προ has reference to the exertion made by peering eyes to penetrate through darkness, ἀνὰ τὸ σκότεινον, or ἀνὰ τὸ σκότος, as Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 53, 15. The passage is imitated by Dio Cass. 81, 12. ὥστε μήτε τι προϊδέσθαι, μήτε τι ἐπακοῦσαι αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας. and 563, 10. μήτε προϊδεῖν τι ὑπὸ τοῦ σκότους, μήτε ἐπακοῦσαι. Arrian E. A. 5, 12, 5. Dionys. Hal. 52, 47. οὐδένος προειδομένου τὴν ἔξοδον.

[3] *Opposite rattling.*] Gail renders *sifflement.* It may be observed that the term ἀντιπαταγοῦντος has great propriety, since, as T. Mag. observes, πάταγος denotes properly the rattling made by a tempestuous wind. Of this signification I have noted several examples; as Dio Cass. p. 563, 13. Arrian 5, 12, 5. Anom. ap. Suid. in ἐπιδουπῆσαι. Max. Tyr. Diss. 1. t. 1. p. 10. πνεῦμα κάτεισι λάβρον σὺν πολλῷ πατάγῳ. Procop. p. 99, 11. τῆς φλογὸς βόμβῳ ἀντιπαταγούσης. Theocr. Id. 22, 15. παταγεῖ δ' εὐρεῖα θάλασσα, κοπτομένη πνοιαῖς, &c. Exceedingly beautiful is the following descriptive passage of Orpheus, Hymn 20, 5., ἀέριοι νεφέλαι — Ἀέρος ἐν κόλπῳ πάταγον φρικώδη ἔχουσαι· Πνεύμασιν ἀντίσπαστοι ἐπιδρομάδην παταγεῦσαι. Our word *patter* comes the nearest in sound, and is, indeed, derived from πάταγος, each being an onomatop.: but it is used rather of *rain* than wind; which may here, too, partly be the sense, since the night was rainy as well as stormy.

[4] *Lightly armed.*] i. e. lightly equipped with armour and arms; not "*compactly armed,*" as Smith and Mitford translate; a sense which, I believe, the word never bears. The following examples which I have myself noted, will decide the point. Joseph. 147. διὰ τὴν ὅπλισιν εὐσταλῆ κούφοι. Æschyl. Pers. 800. εὐσταλῆ στόλον. So that the word is *not,* as a grammarian in Bekker Anecd. calls it, a Thucydidean gloss.

[5] *Shod on the left foot only, for security, &c.*] They might have had *both* feet unshod, to be as light as possible; but it was the custom of the Ætolians and perhaps other Greeks for soldiers to be shod only on one foot. So in a kindred passage of Eurip. Maleag. frag. 6, 7, 9. οἱ δὲ Θεστίου κόροι τὸ λαιὸν ἴχνος ἀνάρβυλοι ποδὸς, Τὸν δ' ἐν πεδίλοις, ὡς ἐλαφρίζον γόνυ Ἔχοιεν, ὃς δὴ πᾶσιν Αἰτωλοῖς νόμος. Virg. Æn. 7, 689. vestigia nuda sinistri Instituere pedis, crudus tegit altera pero. So Livy 9, 40. of the Samnites, et sinistrum crus ocrea tectum. Hence is illustrated Lycoph. Cass. 1310. Ταγῷ μονοκρήπιδι κλέψοντας νάκην. And Theocr. Idyll. 10, 35.

But why, it may be asked, should the *left* foot be shod in preference to the right? The question may best be answered in the words of Aristotle: δεῖ γὰρ οἶμαι τὸν ἡγούμενον ἔχειν ἐλαφρὸν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν ἐμμένοντα. No military man, indeed, will even ask the question, as well knowing that it is

the battlements[6] at one of the spaces between the turrets, knowing them to be abandoned.[7] And those who bore the ladders went first, and placed them at the wall; then twelve light-armed, having only a dagger and breast-plate, ascended, led by Ammius son of Corœbus, who mounted first, and after him his followers, six at each of the two turrets; after whom advanced others, light-armed, armed with darts, followed by others, who bore their shields that they might more easily mount, and which they were to deliver to them when they should come at the enemy. After, however, a considerable number were ascended, the sentinels perceived it from the turrets: for one of the Platæans, in fastening his hold on a battlement, had pulled down one of the tiles, which by its fall made a heavy crash[8] — and immediately there was a shout of alarm, and the Peloponnesian army rushed to the wall, not knowing what the matter was, the night being both dark and stormy; especially as the Platæans left in the city then sallied forth and made an assault upon the wall on the contrary side[9] to that by which the men had mounted, in order to draw off the attention of the enemy from them. They were thus at a stand-still, in great perturbation, no one venturing to stir from his own watch to give aid, and being quite at a loss to conjecture the cause of the alarm; whereupon those three

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with the left foot, and therefore called by Aristotle the *leading* foot, that marching is commenced.

6 *Battlements.*] What was the exact form of these ἐπάλξεις, is not very clear; but from the present passage it should seem that they were much larger than our *battlements*, and of a somewhat different form, each ἔπαλξις being sometimes provided with a certain kind of weapon, like the branching of a deer's antlers, to keep off any attempt to scale the walls. Μεταπύργιον is an antient word, for which, in the later writers, we find μεσοπύργιον. On both words I shall treat in my edition.

7 *Knowing them to be abandoned.*] This must have been ascertained aforetime by scouts.

8 *Heavy crash.*] For ψόφον I read, from one MS. and the editions of Bekker and Goeller, δοῦπον, as the sense requires; ψόφον signifying only a slight noise, as a little before.

9 *On the contrary side.*] It is very many years since I decided ἐκ τοὔμπαλιν ἢ, the reading of some five MSS., to be the true one, which has since been edited by Bekker and Goeller. As, however, they adduce no proofs, the following may not be unacceptable. Herod. 9, 56. τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ Λακ.οι ἦισαν. Lucian, 1, 677. ἔμπαλιν ἢ σὺ ἤλπίσας. and 3, 249. ἔμπαλιν ἢ οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν. Of τοὔμπαλιν with ἤ I know not any other example.

hundred [10] of them, who had been appointed to give aid at any point where it was needed, proceeded outside of the wall, and made for the place whence the shout came. And now war-lights [11] were hung out in the direction of Thebes; whereupon the Platæans in the city raised others from the walls in great number, prepared for the purpose, in order that the signals of the beacons might be insignificative to the enemy, and so they bring no aid (supposing something else had happened than what really had) until the men should have escaped and reached a place of security.

XXIII. Meanwhile those of the Platæans who first ascended had killed the guards, and making themselves masters of the turrets at either end [1], stood guard at the passages [2] of the towers, that no reinforcement should arrive through them; and applying ladders from the wall to the turrets, mounted a considerable force thereon, who by missiles from the turrets

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[10] *Those three hundred—who.*] At the use here of the article, the Scholiast and Hobbes raise a not ill-founded objection; for nothing was before said of the appointment of such a body. They therefore suppose an error of memory in the author. But as such is rarely, if ever, the case elsewhere, it is not very probable. The article may be used *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, with reference to such a *picket-guard* as was, no doubt, usual; and so I would take *τὴν σπεῖραν* at St. John 18, 3. If, however, all the MSS. did not unite in the article, one might suspect that it arose from the preceding *καί*.

[11] *War-lights.*] Hack here remarks: "Faces, quibus hostium adventus indicabatur, non solum erigebantur, sed etiam movebantur. *Φρυκτοὶ φίλιοι* contra tantummodo sursum tollebantur immotæ. Ejusmodi erant, quas Platæenses sustulerunt, *παρανίσχον*." See also the excellent explanation of the Schol., which is confirmed by Polyæn. 6, 19, 2. *Πλαταιεῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀντανέσχον πυρσοὺς φιλίους· ἵνα διὰ τῆς ἐπιπυρσίας ἀπαντήσαντες, Θηβαίους πείσωσιν ἀποστῆναι τῆς βοηθείας.* So also Aristid. 1, 393. D. *φρυκτοὶ φιλίοι καὶ πολέμιοι.* Plutarch T. Flam. 4. *πυρσὸς φίλος.* See also Etym. Mag. 699, 20. where at *παραφυλακτωρευόμενοι* supply *δι.* The best explanation of these is in the Schol. on Aristoph. 596. *φρυκτοὶ, λαμπάδες τινες ἀπὸ ξύλων γενόμεναι, ἃς τινας βαστάζοντες ἄνω τῶν τοιχῶν ἐσήμαινον τοῖς πλησιοχώροις.*

[1] *Turrets at either end.*] i. e. the two turrets which formed the extremities of the *μεταπύργιον* which was seized. The passage is imitated by Plutarch Ar. c. 7. *εὐθὺς ἀνέβαινον — καὶ τὰς ἑκατέρωθεν ὁδοὺς τοῦ τείχους διαλαβόντες, κ. τ. λ.*

[2] *At the passages.*] Namely the door-ways in the lower parts of the turrets. So Liban. Or. Par. Jul. § 120. *τὰς θύρας τῶν πύργων καταλαβόντες.* And Æn. 2, 803. Danaique obsessa tenebant *Limina portarum.* Portus and Taylor on Lys. p. 97, 15. have wrongly rendered the *ἐνστάντες resistentes.* It signifies *standing in, posted at;* as in Zosim. 4, 40, 2. *ἦσαν δὲ πρὸ ταύτης τῆς πολέως ἐνστάντες.*

held in check those of the enemy that were advancing to aid, both upwards and downwards.[3] Meanwhile the greater part, applying[4] many ladders at once, and pushing down the battlements, kept mounting by the space between the turrets and, as each effected his passage over to the bank of the ditch[5], he regularly halted and drew up, and thence, by arrows and darts, checked such at the wall[6] as should seek to hinder the crossing. When all the rest had effected their passage, then those in the towers descended and proceeded to the ditch, the last of them reaching it with great difficulty[7]; for at that time the three hundred came upon them[8], with lamps in their hands.[9] Thus the Platæans, as they stood on the bank of the ditch in the dark, had the better view of them, and launched arrows[10] and darts at their unguarded flanks[11];

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[3] *Upwards and downwards.*] i. e. from the part either above or below the turret either way; not "ex terra, et ex muro," as Kistem. explains.

[4] *Applying,* προσθέντες.] One MSS. has προθέντες. But προστιθ. is a vox solennis de hac re. So Pausan. 4, 21, 1. ὑπερέβαινον κλίμακας προσθέντες.

[5] *Bank of the ditch.*] Not *brink*, as the translators render. We are to understand the outer ditch, which is denoted by the technical term *counterscarp.* And such is meant by the var. lect. or gloss τείχους, which corresponds to our *dyke.* Of the above sense another example is found in 8, 35, 5. παρ—ἦν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐπὶ τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει χεῖλος τοῦ χοὸς ἀνασωρευομένου Arrian Jud. 13. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι τοῦ ἐπὶ χείλεος τοῦ ἔξω τῆς τάφρου. See also Spanheim on Julian p. 197.

[6] *At the wall.*] Namely, the part which adjoined to the turrets either way, and from which missiles might be launched sideways.

[7] *The last of them, &c.*] Such is the sense; for I would point πύργων, χαλεπῶς οἱ τελευταῖοι, καταβαίνοντες. Though the interpreters take it to be meant that all those in the towers descended with difficulty. But the sense above adopted is preferable; and it is required by the article at τελευταῖοι. And so, I find, the Schol.

[8] *Came upon them.*] Namely, by the way of the wall and through the turrets; though at the first alarm they had gone outside of the wall, in order to see where was the seat of the mischief.

[9] *With lamps in their hands.*] As picket-guards and night-guards used to have. So St. John 18, 3. ὁ οὖν Ἰούδας λαβὼν τὴν σπεῖραν — ἔρχεται ἐκεῖ μετὰ φανῶν καὶ λαμπάδων καὶ ὅπλων. where see my note.

[10] *As they stood, &c.*] This passage is referred to by Themist. p. 283. C. τοξεύουσι δὲ ἀφανῶς ὥσπερ οἱ Πλαταιεῖς πότε Πελοποννησίους, ἀποδιδράσκειν ἐς ἐν νυκτὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἔβαλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ σκότους διώκοντας μετὰ λαμπάδων. Hence may be emended and illustrated a kindred passage of Xen. Anab. 7, 4, 18. causelessly suspected by Schneider: τοὺς παρατρέχοντας παρ' οἰκίαν καιομένην ἠκόντιζον εἰς τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ σκότους. A comma, however, is to be placed after ἠκόντιζον, and the words εἰς — σκότος are exegetical of the preceding.

[11] *Unguarded flanks.*] i. e. unguarded by the shield, namely the right sides. As the expression has been wholly passed over by the commen-

whereas being themselves in an obscure quarter, they were less seen, because of the lamps: so that even the last of the Platæans got across the ditch, though not without difficulty and hard struggling [12]; for the water had frozen over [13], yet not so as to bear, but was rather, as it were, watery, such as it is when the wind is at east [14] [or E. N. E.] rather than north; and as the night was somewhat snowy [15], as well as so stormy, the water in it had considerably increased, which they waded over, though with scarcely their heads above water. [16] They, however, effected their escape, chiefly by the violence of the storm.

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tators, the following illustrations may be not unacceptable. Thucyd. 5, 74. Herodian 6, 5, 21. *τὰ γύμνα ἑαυτῶν, εἰς ἃ ἐτοξεύοντο.* Lucian 3, 269, 77. *ἄθλιον βαλὼν ἐς τὰ γυμνά.* Plutarch Syll. 18. *ἐπικειμένων τῶν πολέμιων καὶ τὰ γυμνὰ παιόντων.* Plutarch Æmil. Paul. 20. *τοῖς ἐκ πλαγίου κατὰ γυμνὰ προσφερόμενοι.* Polyb. 16, 33, 3. *τοὺς γυμνοὺς τόπους.* Xen. Hist. 4, 2, 22. and 4, 4, 11. *παιόμενοι ἐς τὰ γυμνά.* Laced. Rep. c. 11, 9. *ὅτε δὲ ὁ ἄρχων — οὐκ ἂν κατὰ τὰ γυμνὰ ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ ὡπλίσμενα περιἐλλοιεν ἄν.* Liban. Orat. Parent. in Jul. 135. *οἱ τοξόται τὸ βέλος ἀφιέντες ἐπὶ γυμνὰ τοῦ στρατιώτου τὰ δεξιά.* Livy l. 22, 50. in latus *dextrum, quod patebat,* Numidæ jacularentur.

[12] *Not without, &c.*] i. e. their rear being hard pressed by the foremost of the picket. So that this phrase does not materially differ from that at 1, 63. *παρῆλθε — βάλλομενός τε καὶ χαλεπῶς.* There is a similar use in the controverted *βιάζεται* at St. Matt. 11, 12. where see my note.

[13] *Frozen over.*] So Aristoph. Acharn. 138. *κατένιψε χιόνι τὴν Θράκην ὅλην.* Æschyl. Pers. 507. *κρυσταλλοπῆγα διὰ πόρον στρατὸς περᾷ.* Also Plutarch Lucull. 32. Athen. 42. D. Rhesus 141.

[14] *East.*] According to the general reckoning. See a table of the names of the winds and points of the compass in Beloe's Herod. t. 4. 120. I cannot, however, but think that the names there are sometimes adapted rather to the *later* periods of Greece. Thus when Beloe, l. 7, 188., renders *ἀπηλ.* by *east*, it seems to be in the very teeth of his author, who, in the words immediately following, says that the inhabitants of Greece call that a *Hellespontian.* But surely the Hellespont bears E. N. E. of Greece; and, indeed, in his own table, E. N. E. has Hellespontius assigned to it.

[15] *Night was somewhat snowy.*] The *somewhat* is indicated by the *ὑπό.* Smith, therefore, is wrong in speaking of "so much snow." Snow is, indeed, rarely seen in Greece; yet Dr. Clarke bears testimony to its occurrence in the district of Platæa. The word *ὑπονίφεσθαι* occurs, I believe, no where but in Thucydides. The simple *νίφω* is not unfrequent, both in the active and the passive, and is applied to objects which are (to coin a word) *besnowed;* as Pausan. 8, 28, 2. Joseph. 1195. Philostr. V. Ap. 2, 18. Diog. Laert. 9, 33. Sometimes also it is applied to living creatures; as Plutarch Mar. *γύμνοι νιφόμενοι.* Virg. Georg. 3, 468. I have also remarked a similar use of *χιονίζεσθαι* and *ὕεσθαι*; but I have no where found any of those words applied to *νὺξ* or *ἡμέρα*, which is a use altogether poetic, nay lyric.

[16] *With scarcely their, &c.*] The construction is: *ὁ ἐπεραιώθησαν, μόλις ὑπερέχοντες (αὐτοῦ).* For *ὑπερεχ.* governs the genitive. So Lucian 2, 107. *ὑπερέχοντες τῶν κυμάτων.* Herodot. *ὑπερέχ. τοῦ ὕδατος.* And so Virg. Æn.

XXIV. Proceeding from the ditch, the Platæans marched in a body on the road that leads to Thebes (having on the right the chapel of the hero Androcrates[1]), supposing that the enemy would least of all imagine that they had taken *that* road as leading to their foes. And, moreover, they saw the Peloponnesians pursuing them with lamps in the direction of Cithæron and the Oak-heads[2]; and for seven or eight stadia the Platæans pursued the road to Thebes; then turning off, they took that which leads to Erythræ and Hysiæ[3], and

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9, 314. Egressi superabant fossas. Περαοῦσθαι is used as a deponent, with an accusative, as elsewhere in Thucyd. and in the best writers.

[1] *Androcrates.*] Not, as Hobbes erroneously calls it, the temple of Juno built by Androcrates. Androcrates was a Platæan general of great fame in antient times. This very chapel or fane of Androcrates is mentioned by Herod. 9, 25., here cited by Wasse in his learned note. The historian graphically describes it as embosomed in a grove of thick and shady trees; and he notices that prayers (previously to the battle of Platæa) were offered up near the consecrated close of the chapel of Androcrates, to that hero and several others whom he mentions. Those Wasse, with great probability, supposes were the tutelary heroes whom Archidamus called to witness, before he commenced hostilities against Platæa.

[2] *Oak-heads.*] A situation probably so called from being a grove* of oak trees, of which the heads only would appear at a distance; and, in so wide and desert a country as that, be a lank-mark to the wanderer. Or, as the Bœotians called it the *Three heads*, it is probable that there were there three such *knolls* together, with each its holt.

[3] *Turning off, they took, &c.*] And yet Polyænus 6, 19, 3. says: οἱ δὲ Πλαταιεῖς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς Θηβαϊκῆς ἐκκλίναντες ἐπανῆλθον ἐς τὰς Θήβας, κἀκεῖθεν Ἀθήναζε διεσώθησαν. But for Θηβὰς I suspect he wrote Ὑσιὰς. The words might be confounded.

It is probable that the road from which they turned was that from Hysiæ to Thebes. The *place* at which they turned was, perhaps, where the road to Thebes crossed the brook Œroe.

With respect to the towns Erythræ and Hysiæ, Poppo remarks that from the situation we might suppose them to be in the territory of Platæa; but that from the words of Herod. 5, 15. and Pausan. 9, 2, 1. it seems not very probable. The site (he continues) of Erythræ is supposed by Squire ap. Walpole's Memoirs, p. 338., to be at the present village of Pigadhia. It should, however, seem difficult to fix the situation of either of the above places, since Pausanias 9, 2. informs us that both were *in his time* in ruins. On this subject Poppo 2, 289. observes: " Ut autem discas, in situ urbium definiendo quam exiguus sit tabularum geograph. consensus, teneas hæc, Hysias ab Erythris apud Danvillium recta via ad occidentem et Platæas, apud Reichardum ad occasum hibernum, apud Müllerum ad ortum hibernum, apud Gailium denique ac Bocagium ad Caurum et Asopum vergere. Disputat de situ Gailius Philol. t. 5. p. 311. seqq. Hodiernum Gondara aut

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* Or *holt*, as such is called in Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Lincolnshire; which denotes a grove on an eminence. Hence several places derive their names; especially the town of Holt in Norfolk, which is situated on a high hill, no doubt formerly occupied by such a *holt*.

having reached the mountains[4], they effected their escape to Athens, two hundred and twelve in number, out of a greater party: for some there were who turned back[5] into the city before the wall was mounted; and one, an archer, was taken prisoner at the outer ditch.[6] The Peloponnesians, however, gave up the pursuit, and kept stationary. But the Platæans of the city, knowing nothing of the event, nay, those that turned back informing them that not one survived the attempt, sent a herald as soon as it was day, and were asking a truce for fetching away the dead; but having learned the truth, they waved the matter. Thus, then, these Platæans got over the wall, and were saved.[7]

XXV. At the close of the same winter, Salæthus, a Lacedæmonian[8], is sent out from Lacedæmon, on board a trireme,

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Velia esse credit Squire." I would observe that the position in Boccage would appear from Thucydides to be completely wrong; and that Erythræ ought to occupy the place of Hysiæ, and Hysiæ that of Erythræ. It is plain that both were in the road from the place where the Athenians turned off to Athens. Both towns seem to have belonged generally to Athens; though sometimes to Thebes. *Hysiæ* might derive its name from being in a rainy situation, lying, as it does, between the gorges of Mount Cithæron. So Hyetusa, an island near Samos. And in our own country we have Rainham and other places. Dr. Clarke notices the incorrectness of Boccage's map.

[4] *Having reached the mountains.*] Not the mountain road, as Kistem. understands; for it does not appear that there was any such. They took their way, no doubt, across the mountain, without pursuing any certain road. The term λάβεσθαι, it may be observed, is a vox solennis de hac re. So Polyæn. 1, 39, 4. τῶν ὀχυροτέρων λαβόμενος; and 4, 2, 2. ὑπερδεξίων τόπων λαβόμενος.

[5] *Some there were who, &c.*] Mitford says five or six; without any authority from Thucydides, to whom he refers.

[6] *Taken prisoner at the outer ditch.*] Probably on the inner bank. It is, indeed, surprising that no *more* were taken there; since one can hardly imagine how the last few contrived to get away down the wall, unless some means were found to barricade the entrance to the turrets.

[7] *Thus, then, these Platæans, &c.*] That they were henceforward considered as Athenian citizens appears from Aristoph. Ran. 694., where he notices the measure by which the *slaves* who had fought with the Athenians at the battle of Argina were made citizens: καὶ Πλαταῖας εὐθὺς εἶναι, κἀντὶ δούλων δεσπότας. Here the interpreters fluctuate; but doubtless Πλαταῖας is to be taken for ὡς Πλαταιεῖς. It is well observed by Hellanicus (ap. Schol. ibidem. 245. *a.* E.) ἐλευθερωθῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐγγραφέντας, ὡς Πλαταιεῖς, συμπολιτεύεσθαι αὐτοῖς.

[8] *Salæthus, a Lacedæmonian.*] Λακεδ. has the *article*, which in Thucydides almost always possesses some force); we may, therefore, suppose that it is used κατ' ἐξοχήν (see Middlet.), and with reference to the story concerning Salæthus as well known.

to Mytilene; and having sailed to Pyrrha, he then proceeds thence by land, and continuing to elude observation, effects his entrance into Mytilene, by scaling the circumvallation at a certain ravine or dry channel of a torrent[9], where it is accessible. He then tells the rulers[10] that there will be another irruption into Attica, and that the forty ships which were before to have succoured them will arrive; likewise that he is sent forward to deliver this message, and to look after other affairs. And now the Mytilenians took courage, and were less inclined[11] to hearken to any proposals for treaty with the Athenians. Thus ended the winter, and fourth year of the war which Thucydides has narrated.

Aug. 24. 1852.

YEAR V. B. C. 427.

XXVI. On the return of summer, the Peloponnesians, having despatched Alcidas in charge of[1] the two and forty[2] ships,

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9 *Ravine, or dry channel of a torrent.*] Of this the commentators say nothing; nor is it easy to pronounce any thing as to it, without better knowledge than we possess of the situation and chorography of Mytilene. We may, however, suppose that this dried-up channel formed part of what in maps is represented as a *euripus* running up inland from Cape Malea to a distance somewhat beyond Mytilene.

10 *Rulers.*] In the original, προέδροις; that being, as we learn from the Schol.) a name to denote the magistracy of Lesbos, as Ἄρχοντες at Athens. So Photius: Πρόεδρος ὁ τῆς πολιτείας ἀρχηγὸς καὶ ἡγεμών.

11 *Were less inclined.*] Γνώμην ἔχειν is for γνώμην προσέχειν. So Xen. Anab. 2, 5, 29. Ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην. See also Hist. 4, 8, 17. The ξυμβαίνειν is for ξύμβασιν ποιεῖσθαι; a use almost wholly Thucydidean.

1 *In charge of.*] Such seems to be the true sense of ἔχοντα, which Steph. and others would alter to ἄρχοντα; and indeed that reading is supported by Diodor.: but it seems derived from the margin. It is true that thus προστάξαντες (which Smith wrongly renders "with pressing orders") would then seem unnecessary. And necessary it may not be; yet it is not a mere pleonasm, for it adds something to the sense. Goeller supposes a confusion of two forms. That principle, however, will scarcely apply here.

2 *Two and forty.*] There is here no little cause for perplexity; this number being at variance with what is stated in other passages, supra 16 and 25. and infra, 29 and 69., which have only *forty*. Poppo and Goeller suppose that there our author uses a *round* number. But that favourite Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς will here scarcely serve the purpose; since no reason can be imagined why, at the distance of a few lines, such a writer as Thucydides should do this in one case, and not in another. Besides, in the account given by Salæthus it is not probable that he would use a round number so as to *diminish* the total. Indeed, the above critics themselves

appointing him as their admiral, then proceeded, in conjunction with their allies, to make an irruption into Attica, in order that the Athenians, being harassed on both sides, might be less inclined to send any succours against the fleet now gone to Mytilene. This irruption was made under the command of Cleomenes, regent for Pausanias son of Plistionanax, who was king, but yet in his minority, and his father's brother. They ravaged all the parts of Attica that had been formerly devastated, and whatever had grown up, or again budded, they destroyed, as also whatever in the preceding invasions had been passed over. This, indeed, was the most severe incursion the Athenians had ever experienced, except the second: for continually expecting to hear of some achievement of the fleet now despatched to Lesbos, they went throughout the country, devastating in every direction. But on nothing falling out according to their expectations, and provisions having begun to fail them, they retired and separated for their respective homes.

XXVII. In the mean time the Mytilenians, as the fleet from Peloponnesus came not, but delayed, and their provisions had fallen short, were compelled thereupon[1] to come to terms with the Athenians. Even Salæthus himself, no longer expecting the fleet, made hoplites, or heavy-armed, of the common people, who before were light-armed[2], with a view

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seem to place little reliance on this mode of removing the difficulty; and therefore they suspect some mistake in the MSS., unless, perhaps, the number might be not known, since Diodor. makes it forty-*five*. But it is not probable that the real number was *unknown*. Had it even been *uncertain*, yet *any* historian who had once put down a *certain* number as the utmost truth he could attain, would not alter it a few lines after. Mitford supposes that the zeal of the confederacy had increased the amount from forty to forty-two. But that conjecture, though ingenious, is destroyed by the use of the article τὰς, which refers us to the preceding number *only*. Finally, as to the passage of Diodor., it gives no countenance to the reading forty-*two*, since, if I am not mistaken, the text is corrupt. The reading there of one and perhaps more MSS. is τεσσαρακόντα καὶ πέντε, i. e. μ' καὶ ε'. Now I suspect that the καὶ ε' arose from the καὶ ϛ. which follows. Thus the reading of Diodorus will be forty; and that, if I mistake not, is the true reading of the passage of Thucydides now before us; and, though it is not noted from any MSS., it is supported by Valla.

[1] *Thereupon.*] Or "on this account." Not "on this occasion," as Smith and Hobbes render.

[2] *Heavy-armed, &c.*] Hobbes incorrectly, and even absurdly, renders,

of making a sally on the Athenians. But when they had received arms, they no longer obeyed the magistracy; and assembling into seditious knots and bands, they demanded of those in power to bring forward what provisions they had, and distribute them openly to all, or else they would, they said, go and make terms with the Athenians, and deliver the city up to them.

XXVIII. Those in the administration of affairs, knowing that they were not able to prevent this, and that they should be exposed to great danger if they were excluded from the treaty, made, jointly with them, a capitulation with Paches and the army: "That it should be lawful for the Athenians to determine as they pleased concerning the Mytilenians. That the Mytilenians should receive the army into the city, and should be allowed to send an embassy to Athens to plead their cause. Meanwhile, and to the time of their return, Paches should not imprison, reduce to slavery, or put to death any Mytilenians." These were the terms of the treaty. But those of the Mytilenians who had held active communication with the Lacedæmonians, being in great alarm [1] on the entry of the

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"arms the common people, who before were unarmed." And so Portus. They might, however, have remembered, that Thucydides, at l. 8., uses ὁπλίζω in the sense ὁπλίτας ποιεῖν. The true sense, it may be observed, was first seen by Acacius.

The state of affairs at that time, at Mytilene, is well described by Mitford, as follows: — "The oligarchical party in Mitylene, according to a policy common in the Grecian commonwealths, reserved to themselves exclusively the complete armour and efficacious weapons of the heavy-armed, and allowed the lower people the use of the inferior arms, and the practice of the inferior discipline, of the light-armed only. Salæthus, who, in an oligarchy supported by the extraordinary institutions of Lycurgus, was accustomed to see all the citizens, without inconvenience, equally intrusted with the completest armour, and trained in the completest discipline, thought nothing was wanting to enable the Mitylenians, instead of starving within their walls, to meet Paches in the field, but to distribute among the lower people the arms lying in their stores. The experiment was made, under his authority, but the event was very wide of his hope. The lower people were no sooner invested with this new military importance, than they assumed civil control," &c.

[1] *In great alarm.*] "Whether doubtful," says Mitford, "of Athenian faith, or apprehensive of vengeance from their fellow-citizens, who, through their means chiefly, had been brought into their present disastrous situation." Both, it may be imagined, had their effect. And when we consider the atrocities which afterwards took place at Corcyra, there is no

army, could not restrain themselves[2], but fled to the temples, and sat as suppliants. Paches, however, having induced them to rise, on condition of[3] doing them no injury, deposits them apart in durance at Tenedos, until the pleasure of the Athenians should be known. He also sent some triremes to Antissa, and gained over the place, making also such other regulations of the affairs of the army as he judged proper.

XXIX. But the Peloponnesians in the forty ships, who should have arrived with all haste, spent no little time in sailing about Peloponnesus[1], and during the rest of the voyage proceeded very leisurely, escaping, however, the observation of the Athenians at home, until they reached Delos; and after that, making the islands of Icarus and Myconus[2], they first hear the news of the capture of Mytilene. Being, however, desirous of knowing the plain truth, they brought to at Embatum[3] in Erythræ. Now at the time of their

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reason to doubt but the latter cause of alarm was not ill founded; and the former apprehension is *implied* in ὅμως.

[2] *Could not restrain themselves.*] Could not subdue their feelings of alarm. So also 5, 45. οὔκετι ἠνείχοντο. On this sense see the very learned note of Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Choeph. 735.

[3] *Having induced them, &c.*] The editors wrongly interpret, "making or ordering them to rise." The sense I have adopted is required by the words following; and the same signification has been treated of at 1, 126 and 136. I will, therefore, only add two further examples. Joseph. 335, 8. Ælian, V. H. 6, 7.

[1] *Spent no little time in, &c.*] Or lingered in their voyage about the coasts of Peloponnesus; did not at once put to sea, and cross the Ægean.

[2] *Icarus and Myconus.*] One should rather have expected Myconus and Icarus, since Myconus comes first, and almost adjoins to Delos. But the antients were not very scrupulous to observe such minute exactness. On the former island see Wasse on 8, 99., who observes, that it is called Icaria by the later writers; though the earlier ones, as Aristotle and others, as also Ælian, Dionysius, and Pliny, wrote Icarus, by which ambiguity is avoided. On this island see also Strabo and Pliny; and, of the modern travellers, Tournefort, 2, 101., and Clarke, 2, 368. If Pliny be right in his account of its distance from Samos, all our maps place it far too near to that island.

On Myconus see the notes of Duker and Wasse.

It is clear that this delay on the voyage occasioned the ruin of Lesbos; for, had Alcidas used any tolerable speed, he must have arrived soon enough to prevent the capitulation.

[3] *Embatum.*] Not Embatus, as Hobbes, Smith, and Mitford write. The neuter form is defended both by Steph. Thes. and Polyænus, 3, 9, 27. The latter, indeed, has a *plural* form; but, undoubtedly, that is a mere error of the scribes for Ἔμβατον.

arrival there, about seven days had elapsed since the capture of Mytilene. Having now learnt the whole truth of the matter, they consulted as to what should be done, under present circumstances.[4] On which occasion Teutiaplus, an Eleian, addressed them to the following effect: —

XXX. " Alcidas, and ye other Peloponnesians who are here present in military command, my opinion is, that we should sail immediately[5] to Mytilene, before the news of our presence[6] in these seas shall have reached them: for it is probable that (as in the case of men who have lately taken a place) we shall find no little unguardedness, and especially by sea, where they are little in expectation that an enemy would come upon them, and in which our strength especially consists. It is very likely, too, that their land forces are (in the confidence of victory[7]) negligently dispersed up and down in the houses. If, therefore, we fall upon them suddenly and by night, I hope and trust that, with the assistance of those within the city (if, indeed, any well-wishers to our cause be left), the place[8] may be seized. And let us not shrink from the danger, well aware as we must be, that there is nothing so likely to give a new turn to affairs in war[9] as this sort of

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This is called by Steph. a place of Erythræ; and by an antient geographer, cited by Wasse, a promontory of the island. (He means Erythræ.) It is, however, more probable, from its signification, that it was, as our Scholiast says, the narrow gut, or *boccaze*, between Chios and Erythræ: which latter there has several promontorial projections. On one of these Embaton was probably situated, with a port. Perhaps it was the Port Cassus of Boccage's map.

[4] *Consulted as to what, &c.*] Such is the full sense of ἐξουλεύοντο ὡς ἐκ παρόντων, which is a very brief form.

[5] *Immediately.*] Literally, as we are, without further delay. On this idiom (which I have before treated on) see the note of Duker.

[6] *Before the news of, &c.*] Literally, " before we be informed of, before our presence be noised abroad." Compare Dio Cass. 524, 95. 291, 87. 556, 9. Joseph, 771, 1. Herodian, 3, 12, 15. Charit. 73. Pausan. 5, 21. Procop. 250. The word is, however, rarely used, as here, of *persons*. The only examples known to me are the above passages of Dio Cass.

[7] *In the confidence of victory.*] Ὡς κεκρατηκότων. Hence may be emended a passage of Dio Cass. imitated from the present, 329, 5. ἀμέλως, ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατεῖν, ἔχοντας. Read ἀμέλως, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατεῖν, from the Cod. Vat.

[8] *Place.*] Literally, *affairs*, the *government*. Here Smith, in attempting to be exact, quite misrepresents the sense of the idiom.

[9] *Give a new turn to affairs, &c.*] On the reading and sense of οὐκ ἄλλο τι εἶναι τὸ καινὸν τοῦ πολέμου there has been no little controversy. Three

stratagem, whereby, if a general shall be most vigilant to guard against it, in his own case, and shall espy the critical season to attack his enemy, he will generally be successful."[10]

XXXI. This counsel, however, made no impression on Alcidas. Whereupon some other persons, refugees from Ionia[1], and the Lesbians who had sailed on board, advised him, since he feared *that* danger, to seize some one of the cities in Ionia, or Cyme in Æolia, that they might have some town from which, as a seat of war[2], they might bring about the revolt of Ionia. There was, they said, a hope; for that they had come thither to the ill-will of nobody: and if they could withdraw this revenue of the Athenians (the greatest they possessed), and if, too, there was thereby an *expense* occasioned

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or four MSS., and the Schol., have κενὸν, which is preferred by Wesseling, Abresch, Reiske, Bredow, Benedict, and Coray. And they refer to Cicero Epist. ad Attic. 5, 20. Coray, however, better explains it of the tricks and devices of war; which I can confirm from Diod. Sic. l. 20, 30 and 68. Polyb. 29. 6. Plutarch, 11, 41, 6. Aristot. Eth. 3, 8. But, besides being defective in MS. authority, this reading has always seemed to me to yield a sense by no means so suitable as καινὸν; and of this opinion, I find, is Goeller, who remarks, that the terror intended to be infused into the enemy would be a real and not an empty one, or mere panic. Καινὸν is, undoubtedly, the true reading; and it is not ill explained by Levesque, "quod hostibus novum et inexspectatum accidit." The true sense, however, seems to be what I have expressed in the version. And, reserving much of critical remark for my edition, I will only add, that the two words are often confounded. Thus κενὸν has been well restored by Wolf to Isocr. in Orat. and Phil. And, at Æsop Fab. με', for κενοτομοῦσαν I would read καινοτ. Also in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 197, 36. οὔδ' εἰς πεῖραν ἦλθον μάχης, ἀλλ' ἐκταρακθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ παρ' ἐλπίδα καιροῦ παρέδοσαν ἀμαχητὶ σφᾶς. I read καινοῦ for καιροῦ.

The ὅ just after is for καθ' ὅ, "secundum quod."

[10] *And shall espy, &c.*] There is a kindred passage at 5, 9. Both are imitated by Polyb. 3, 81, 10. διόπερ, εἴ τις δύναιτο συννοεῖν τὰ περὶ τοὺς πέλας ἁμαρτήματα, καὶ τῇδέ που προσιέναι τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, ᾗ μάλιστα καὶ δι' ὧν εὐχείρωτος ἔσται ὁ προεστὼς τῶν πολεμίων, τάχιστ' ἂν τῶν ὅλων κατακρατοίη.

[1] *Refugees from Ionia.*] Namely, driven out by the Athenians and the democratical party, as being favourers of aristocracy. By being members of this council of war, it appears that they were persons of rank and influence. The Lesbians, just afterwards mentioned, were the ambassadors on their return from Peloponnesus.

[2] *Seat of war.*] Or head-quarters. The Schol. rightly explains ὁρμητήριον. This signification is frequent in Thucydides, and occurs occasionally in other writers; as Dionys. Hal. 582, 47. 661, 18. Arrian, E. A. 1, 24, 2. Hence, at Dionys. Hal. 293, 30. ἐκ πόλεως ὁρμώμενος Τούσκλου. Sylburg has wrongly rendered ὁρμώμενος, *oriundus*.

to them by the maintenance of a fleet there—well[3]: they

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[3] *There was, they said, &c.*] Few passages in Thucydides have more perplexed and effectually baffled the editors and commentators than this. The very variation of reading shows the difficulty felt by the antients, and how they endeavoured to get rid of it. Goeller states at large the methods of reading and interpretation pursued by the critics; yet pronounces it *locum conclamatum*. Poppo assigns the following sense: "spem vero esse fore, ut Ionia ab Atheniensibus deficiat; se (Iones et Lesbios) enim non invitos, non necessitate coactos, sed ultro ad classem Lacedæmoniorum venisse, et sibi ipsis (Ionibus atque Lesbiis) terra occupata opes pararent, quas in bellum impenderent." But, to this, not ill founded objections have been made by Hack and Goeller. And the latter (who observes that Krueger has made an unsuccessful attempt to explain the passage in his Comm. Thucyd. p. 352.) proposes the following sense: "spem vero esse, ut Ionia ab Atheniensibus deficiat; eos enim non venisse rei ingratiis factæ causa, si et Atheniensibus hos maximos reditus ex Ionia eriperent, et sibi ipsis illos aggredientibus necessarii sumptos suppeditarent, et Pissuthnen a se adductum iri, ut ad hujus belli societatem se adjungerent." But this seems as liable to objection as the former interpretations.

Previous to assigning the sense, the true *reading* should be determined. Now, not to mention slight and unimportant variations, the MSS. fluctuate between *οὐδὲν* and *οὐδενὶ*, *αὐτοῖς* and *αὐτοὺς*. Bekker edits *οὐδενὶ* and *αὐτοὺς*; Goeller, *οὐδὲν* and *αὐτοῖς*. But surely the authority for *οὐδενὶ* is much the stronger; and that for *αὐτοὺς* equal; and considering that it follows a dative, no critic can for a moment hesitate to prefer *αὐτούς*. Such, then, seems to be the true reading, as far as MSS. will carry us. *Ἀκουσίως* has reference to the *Ionians*, and stands for *ἀκουσίῳ*. Formerly I read *ἀκουσίοις*; but it is not necessary. Thus all is plain as far as *ὑφέλωσι*. But as to the words following, *καὶ ἅμα ἢν ἐφορμῶσιν αὐτοὺς σφίσι δαπάνῃ γίγνηται*, every endeavour made to elicit from them any tolerable sense, has been vain. May we not, therefore, suppose them to be corrupt? Desperate diseases require desperate remedies; and I venture to propose the following *conjectural* emendations: for *ἐφορμῶσιν* read *ἐφορμοῦσιν*, and for *αὐτοὺς*, *αὐτοῦ*. Both alterations as mild as possible, and yet most effectual. The sense arising will be such as I have ventured to introduce into the version. *Ἐφορμοῦσιν* (which the Schol. Basil certainly read in his copy) is a *participle*; mistakes between *ἐφορμέω* and *ἐφορμάω* being perpetual. Of *ἐφορμ.* in the sense *blockade* (as of ports) examples are by no means unfrequent. I shall merely adduce those which I have noted where the *participle* occurs. Soph. Œd. Col. 812. *μηδ' ἐμε φύλασσ' ἐφορμῶν*. Appian 1, 475, 30. *ἐφορμουσῶν τῶν νεῶν τῇ Καρχηδόνι*. Arrian E. A. 2, 1, 6. *τῆς γῆς εἰργόμενοι καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάττης πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐφορμούσαις φρουρούμενοι*. Hence may be emended Dio Chrys. 480, 32. *ὥσπερ ὑφορμεῖτε ἀλλήλαις αἱ πόλεις*, where I conjecture *ἐφορμεῖτε*.

One of the chief reasons why the real sense of the passage was so long missed, may be not only the extreme brevity of the phraseology, but the aposiopesis not being perceived, which has place after *γίγνηται*, something similar to what occurred supra c. 3., an altogether kindred passage: *καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶναι, ἐπειχθέντας ἐπιπεσεῖν ἄφνω. καὶ ἢν μὲν ξυμβῇ ἡ πεῖρα*, where also at *ἐλπίδα εἶναι* there is a similar ellipsis of *ἔφασαν*. So also 2, 29. *πείσειν γὰρ Σιτάλκην πέμψειν*. A similar ellipsis, too, is found in the Latin writers; e. g. Cæsar Comment. 1, 31. sese intelligere, where see the Greek translator.

thought, too, that they could persuade Pissuthnes[4] to co-operate in the war. But neither did this scheme approve itself to Alcidas; but he felt most inclined[5], since he was come too late for Mytilene, to make again for the coast of Peloponnesus as speedily as possible.

XXXII. Weighing, therefore, from Embatum, he coasted along, and touching at Myonesus[1], in the Teian territory, he there butchered most of the prisoners whom he had made during the voyage. And putting in at Ephesus, there came thither ambassadors from the Samians of Anæa, representing that he was pursuing an ill manner of liberating Greece, by thus putting to death men who had not lifted a hand against him, and were no enemies, but allies of the Athenians from necessity; and that unless he desists from that course, he will bring over few of his enemies to be friends, but would have far more friends his enemies. To these representations he hearkened, and set at liberty such of the Chians, and some others, as he had yet alive. Indeed, the men had not fled from the ships, but rather approached them, supposing them to be Athenian ones; never having the least expectation that, while the Athenians held the dominion of the sea, the Peloponnesians would ever venture into Ionia.

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[4] *Pissuthnes.*] A Persian satrap.

[5] *Felt most inclined.*] Literally, "he had most mind." Τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς γνώμης εἶχεν is a somewhat rare form, to which the following are parallel. Procop. 75. γνώμην εἶχε εὐθὺ Παλαιστίνης ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα. Herod. 1, 120, 19. ταύτῃ πλεῖστος γνώμην εἰμι. 7, 220, 5. ταύτῃ καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ γνώμῃ πλεῖστός εἰμι. 5, 126, 2. αὐτῷ δὲ ἡ πλείστη γνώμη ἦν ἐς τὴν Μ. ἀπάγειν.

It is well remarked by Mitford, that "Alcidas was not enterprising: all proposals for vigorous exertion were rejected, and he was most inclined to return immediately home. Weakness, indeed, seems to mark equally what was blamable and what was praiseworthy in his conduct."

[1] *Myonesus.*] Or Myonia. A place between Teios and Lebedus, called by Steph. Byz. a city, by Artemidon, χώριον. It was situated on a peninsular promontory of Ionia, as appears from the following graphic description of Livy 32, 27. Myonnesus Promontorium inter Teum Samumque est. Ipse collis est in modum metæ in acutum cacumen a fundo satis lato fastigatus a continenti artæ semitæ aditum habet. The *origin* of its name is not touched on by the geographers; but it is suggested by the Schol. Basil., who says it was so called from its breeding mice; as Sybota, from its hogs. Indeed it was not unfrequent in antient, nor is it in modern times, to give islands names from some animals in which they especially abound.

XXXIII. From Ephesus Alcidas made sail as quickly as possible, and took to flight; for he had been discovered while yet at Icarus by the Salaminian and the Paralus[1], which happened to be sailing from Athens; and fearing he should be pursued[2], he took his course across the sea, not meaning to touch at any other land than the coast of Peloponnesus. Now intelligence had been sent to Paches and the Athenians even from Erythræ; indeed, it had reached them from every quarter: for Ionia being in a defenceless state, and its cities unfortified, great fears were entertained lest the Peloponnesians, in their cruise along the coast, should attack and plunder the cities, even if they had no intention of remaining. Nay, the same account was given by the Salaminians and Paches, who had seen him with their own eyes at Icarus[3], and themselves brought the tidings.[4] Then Paches made

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[1] *The Salaminian and the Paralus.*] These two vessels seem to have been the state packets or yachts of Athens. Their force was small in comparison of the ships of war, as they were chiefly designed for nimbleness and expedition. They carried ambassadors to and fro, went on all public errands, whether of a civil or religious nature, and transported magistrates and generals to and from their posts. They were navigated only by free-born citizens of Athens, who, besides receiving more pay, esteemed it also a greater honour to serve on board these vessels, which were sacred. (Smith).

From whence Smith derived the information that they were of smaller force than other triremes (for so they are called by Goeller), I know not. Certain it is, that they occasionally acted in line of battle with others (see infra, c. 77.); lighter, no doubt, they were, their errands being chiefly those of speed. Among their other occupations was (as we learn from the Schol. on Aristoph. Eq. 1071.) collecting the tribute; and upon this business they were probably *now* going, or perhaps to watch the Peloponnesian fleet. Of this same kind (it should seem) was the Rhodian ship which Arrian E. A. 2, 20, 2. calls Περίπολος. His words are these: ἦκον—τριήρεῖς, ἥτε περίπολος καλουμένη, καὶ ξυν ταύτῃ ἄλλαι ἐννέα. That name denoted a *guard-ship*, one for speed, sent out to reconnoitre. So also the Tyrian ship, which the same writer, E. A. 2, 24, 11., calls the sacred vessel.

On the subject of the two vessels in question, Goeller refers to Boeckh. Staatsk. d. Ath. 1, 184 and 258.

[2] *Fearing he should be pursued.*] Namely, by the fleet of Paches from Lesbos.

[3] *Icarus.*] So Bekker and Goeller edit, from the conjecture of Poppo, for *Clarus*, which he has proved cannot be the right reading. The origin of the error is well indicated by Goeller.

[4] *And themselves brought the tidings.*] Αὐτάγγελοι is wrongly rendered by Smith *voluntarily*. The word has either one or other of the above significations, and sometimes both, as here. The following examples will prove and illustrate this point: — Plutarch Anton. § 71. τῆς ἀποβολῆς τῶν δυνα-

chase, straining every nerve, and as far as the isle of Patmos [5] held them in pursuit. But as they seemed then to be out of reach, he returned back.[6] However, he considered himself to have been in one point fortunate, that, as he had not met with them in the open sea, they had not, by being overtaken and hemmed in somewhere, been compelled to form any encampment, and thus put them (i. e. the Athenians) to the trouble of keeping a watch and maintaining a blockade.[7]

XXXIV. Then coasting along on his return, he touched at Notium a town of the Colophonians [1], and where they had dwelt

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μέων αὐτάγγελος ἦλθε. Max. Tyr. Diss. 12, 1, 250. ὑποφήτης αὐτάγγελος. Appian 2, 561, 4. αὐτάγγελος ἦλθε. Soph. Œd. Col. 333. τι δ' ἦλθες; — καὶ λόγοις γ' αὐτάγγελος. Procop. de Ædif. 24, 32. ὁ βάρβαρος — αὐτάγγελος ἐσέβεκεν ἐς P. τὴν γῆν. and p. 283, 2. ἀπροσδόκητος καὶ κατάγγελος ἐπιπεσών, where read αὐτάγγελος. See also Soph. Phil. 568. Arrian E. A. 4, 3, 10. Dio Cass. 228, 232, 869.

[5] *Patmos.*] So the recent editors give, for Latmos, on the conjecture of Palmer, supported by two MSS. They might have also observed that it had been, before Palmer, conjectured by the Schol. Basil. Certainly there was no such *island* as Latmos; though there was such a *place* in Caria. See Barker's Lempriere. To the references there may be added Polyæn. p. 806., from which passage it plainly appears that it was not merely a *mountain*, as Lempriere calls it, but a *city*.

[6] *But as they seemed, &c.*] This passage is imitated by Dio Cass. 622, 33. ἐπεδίωξαν μὲν αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐν καταλήψει ἐφάνοντο, ἀνεχώρησαν.

[7] *That, as he had not, &c.*] There is no little difficulty connected with the words ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ — παρασχεῖν, which the old commentators overlook, or will not confess, and which the recent ones do not remove. The method pursued by Abresch is very unsatisfactory, nor is that of Hack much better. *Preferable* is the following version of Goeller: "Quod nuspiam comprehensæ neque castra munire coactæ essent, neque sibi eas obsidendi et navibus custodiendi materiam præbuissent." He understands the ἐγκατ. of the Peloponnesians, and the σφισι of the Athenians. And this mode of interpretation I have here adopted, as the best that the words, as they stand, admit of. But it is many years since I have been induced to suspect that there is some latent corruption. Now the Schol. refers both the στρατόπεδον ποιεῖσθαι and the φυλακὴν — παρασχεῖν to the Athenians; and as he explains by ἵνα μὴ ἀναγκάσωσιν αὐτὸν, it is probable that he read ἠνάγκασαν, which yields a simpler and, perhaps, truer sense than ἠναγκασθῆσαν.

[1] *Notium a town of the Colophonians.*] This was the *port* of Colophon, and distant from thence about two miles. Of the history and fortunes of the latter, an interesting sketch is given by Wasse. It was, he says, a very antient place, founded by Mopsus, a celebrated prophet, who flourished during the Trojan war: but, if it be true (as Lempriere relates from antient authorities) that he was consulted by the *king of Colophon* on the success of a war he was about to undertake, that could not be the case. It was probably more antient than the time of Mopsus. Herodotus ascribes its

when the upper city was taken by Itamenes and some Barbarians, called in to support the interest of a faction.[2] It was taken about the time of the second irruption of the Peloponnesians into Attica. Those, however, who had taken refuge at Notium and dwelt there, falling again into faction, some of them calling in the aid of auxiliary troops, Arcadians[3] and Barbarians from Pissuthnes, occupied a part of the town separated from the rest by a wall[4]; and some of the Colophonians of the higher city, who were of the Median faction, went with and took part in the commonwealth.[5] But the others, seceding from them[6], and being exiles, call in the

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foundation to a person of the name of Colophon. But that seems entitled to little attention.

With respect to the origin of the appellation, it was doubtless derived from the circumstance of its situation on the pinnacle or summit of a mount. Nor are there wanting names of places in all languages similarly derived. Thus Coloniæ, Coronea, Corinthus, Oreus, and, in our own country, Topcliffe, Uppingham, and Uppington. Its high situation is clear from its being called ἡ ἄνω πόλις, and from the name given it by the Italians, *Belvedere*. Much valuable information, in addition to that supplied by Wasse, may be derived from Schneider on Xen. Hist. 1, 2, 4.

Notium was plainly in respect of Colophon much the same as Leith in regard to Edinburgh. The *name* was bestowed, from its *situation* south of Colophon; like numerous others in all languages.

[2] *Faction.*] Not *sedition*, as the translators render. The above signification is of frequent occurrence in Thucydides, and is here followed by the Scholiast. I would, however, conjecture ἰδίᾳ; as 3, 2. ἰδίᾳ κατὰ στάσιν μηνυταὶ γίγνονται. This affair, Schneider thinks, is alluded to by Aristot. Polit. 5, 3.

[3] *Arcadians.*] These, as also the Cretans and Ætolians, were the *Swiss* of Greece, and ready to take pay from any who would hire them. See 7, 57., and the note.

[4] *Occupied a part of, &c.*] Διατείχισμα signifies a partition-wall; and is used in the very same sense as at the present passage in Polyb. 8, 36, 9. 16, 31, 5, and 8. 16, 33, 1., where Schweigh interprets "murus interjectus, urbem ab arce separans." And so 8, 34, 2. διατειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας. And so it is found in Polyæn. 5, 2, 6. Perhaps, however, this fortified partition had a castle or fortress. Thus, in Appian 1, 479., the word is explained by Schweigh to signify not simply a *wall*, but "castellum a quo in duas partes separabatur agger." In this *fort*, which might command the whole wall, the auxiliaries in question were probably stationed.

[5] *Took part in the commonwealth.*] i. e. took a conjoint part in the government of the place. Almost all the translators and commentators take it to mean "had the administration of affairs;" swayed, perhaps, by the Schol., who interprets it τὴν πολιτείαν εἶχον. That explanation, however, does not imply more than *participation*; and more than a *part* in the government it is not likely that these persons had.

[6] *Seceding from them.*] In ὑπεξελθόντες αὐτοὺς the construction is remarkable; for in, perhaps, every other author, the syntax is that of the *genitive*, either expressed or understood. Matthiæ Gr. Gr. § 382. compares

assistance of Paches. He having invited [7] Hippias, the commander of the Arcadians in the partition town, to a conference with him; engaging that if the proposals met not his approbation, he would send him back to the fort in perfect safety [8]; on Hippias going out to him, puts him into confinement, though not into bonds [9], and at the same time assaults the fort, which, from the suddenness and unexpectedness of the attack, he takes, and puts to death both the Arcadians and such of the Barbarians as were therein; and having brought back Hippias as he engaged, he then, as soon as he was within the place, has him seized and put to death.[10] He then delivers Notium into the hands of the Colophonians, with the exception of those of the Median faction. Afterwards the Athenians, gathering all the Colophonians from whatever city they had been scattered, made the place a colony, to be governed by the Athenian laws, sending some leaders thither for that purpose.

XXXV. Having arrived at Mytilene, Paches brought over Pyrrha and Eressus to terms of submission, and having taken Salæthus, the Lacedæmonian, in a certain hiding-

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a similar usage in *ὑπεκστῆναι, ὑπεκτρέπεσθαι.* He might have added, that so in Latin *refugio* takes the accusative.

[7] *He having invited, &c.*] It is truly observed by Mitford, "that this was an act of united treachery and cruelty, which, through the impartial justice of the admirable historian, his contemporary and fellow-countryman, has marred with a blot of eternal infamy a character otherwise of some glory, not without extending a stain to that of the Athenian government and people, who approved and profited from the deed." It seems, however, from our author's making no further mention of this person in the history, that the Athenians never after employed him on any future expedition.

[8] *In perfect safety.*] Literally, "safe and sound;" another instance of the remarkable coincidence of the Greek and English idioms. The same occurs also in Herod. 4, 7, 6., and elsewhere. The Scholiast absurdly explains it *ἀνακρωτηρίαστον.*

[9] *Confinement, though not, &c.*] i. e. the *libera custodia* of the Latin. For a full account of the phrase the reader is referred to my note on Acts, 28, 16.

[10] *Having brought back, &c.*] A similar instance of atrocious cruelty and treachery is narrated of Dercyllidas, by Polyæn. l. 2, 6, 1., as also another at 3, 2, 1. This surely, however, does not deserve the name of a stratagem. Another example of the same treachery is adduced by Goeller, from the history of Luitprand, 2, 13.

place in the city, he sends him to Athens, as also those Mytilenæans whom he had deposited at Tenedos, and whoever else seemed to him to be concerned in the revolt.[1] He likewise sends back the greater part of the army; and remaining with the rest, adjusts and settles[2] affairs in Mytilene and the rest of Lesbos at his pleasure.

XXXVI. On the arrival of those men and Salæthus, the Athenians immediately put to death the latter, though, to save his life, he made large offers and promises[1], and, among other things, undertook to withdraw the Peloponnesians from Platæa (which was yet besieged). Upon the former, however, they deliberated what was to be done; and, influenced by feelings of passion, they decreed that they should be put to death, and not those only, but also all the male adults of the Mytilenæans; and the women and children be sold for slaves[2]; imputing as highly criminal both *other* circumstances of the revolt (as that they had engaged in it though not under despotic domination as the rest of the allies)[3]; and especially the venturing of the Peloponnesian ships to Ionia to their assistance, increased not a little the impetuosity of their wrath[4]: for it

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[1] *Those Mytilenæans who, &c.*] i. e. (says Mitford) "all the aristocratical party. This measure (he adds), which seems to have been as little consistent with his plighted faith as his treatment of the unfortunate Hippias, seems to have been hastened, that another might safely follow, which was probably required by the Athenian government, and which the state of its finances would make necessary — the greater part of the forces were sent home."

[2] *Adjusts and settles.*] Constituit, componit. So Plutarch Pomp. διοικήσας τὰ ἐκεῖ καὶ καταστησας. Appian 1, 669, 64. τὴν ἀρχην ὅλην ἐπήει καὶ καθίστατο τὰς πόλεις.

[1] *Made large offers and promises.*] Παρέχεσθαι signifies, properly, to *undertake*.

[2] *All the male adults, &c.*] "Such," says Mitford, "was the right which the Athenian people claimed over Greeks, whom they called allies, and who had every pretension so to consider themselves; and such the punishment for renouncing that alliance, to connect themselves with other Greeks."

[3] *Not under despotic, &c.*] Compare supra, 9 and 10., and infra, 39. It seems that they had been treated with respect, and were allowed a kind of independence.

[4] *The venturing of, &c.*] As at ἐπικαλοῦντες, just before, there is an anacoluthon, so here there is a relinquishment of the construction, which, together with a slight difficulty in phraseology, occasioned the scribes to blunder, and the librarii to be at fault; nor, indeed, are the editors and critics without some share of blame. The editions up to Duker's

seemed that they had made the revolt, not from slight counsel and sudden impulse, but with deliberation.[5] They thereupon despatched a trireme to Paches, to announce their decree; ordering him forthwith to put the Mytilenæans to death. The next day, however, a sort of compunction and remorse at once seized them[6], on considering what a sweepingly cruel[7] decree they had passed, whereby a whole state was to be destroyed, and not the guilty only. This was no sooner perceived by the Mytilenæan ambassadors then present, and such of the Athenians as had favoured their cause, than they went and prevailed upon[8] the magistrates to again put the matter to vote.[9] This they were the more easily induced

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had *προσξυνελάξοντο*. That learned critic was *inclined* to read *προσξυνεξάλετο*; though he confessed there were difficulties either way. The recent editors have all caught up and edited the above reading; but, I conceive, too hastily. The new reading is liable to exception on the score of syntax; for *ξυμξάλεσθαι* has only (in this sense) the dative, or dative and accusative, not the genitive. Thus, too, *ὁρμῇ* would be required. Then, again, a subaudition becomes necessary, which increases the difficulty of an already difficult sentence, and involves a harshness almost unprecedented. On the other hand, the old reading yields a sense fully equal to the new (namely, to *help, increase*). It is also confirmed by a close imitation in Dio Cass. p. 375, 6. *προσσυνελάξετο γὰρ τοῦ λόγου τούτου ὅτι*, &c. Also by a kindred passage of our author himself, 4, 47. *ξυνελάξοντο δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου οὐχ ἥκιστα ὥστε — οἱ στρατηγοί, κ, τ. λ.* There are also similar expressions in Herod. 5, 44. *προσεπιλαξέσθαι τοῦ πρὸς Συξαρίτας πολέμου.* and Strabo, p. 247, 9. *καὶ αὐτοὶ χρησίμοι κατέστησαν ἐκείνοις κἀκεῖνοι προσελάξοντο τῆς αὐξήσεως αὐτῶν.* where also we may conjecture *προσσυν.* As to what Goeller urges, that the common reading yields no good sense, and that the new reading only involves a mixture of two constructions; the former is false, and the latter is an expedient not to be resorted to unnecessarily.

[5] *For it seemed that, &c.*] i. e. "For this co-operation of the Lacedæmonians indicated that they had made the revolt, not on a sudden resolution, but deliberately, advisedly, and from a plan."

[6] *A sort of compunction, &c.*] "The Athenians (says Mitford) were not of a temper to sleep upon such a deed." The whole passage is had in view by Lucian t. 2, 85. *γενομένης δὶς ἐκκλήσιας τῇ προτεραίᾳ μὲν οὐδὲν παρέλυσαν τῆς ὀργῆς — τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ δὲ μετέγνωσαν.* See also Appian 2, 520, 27.

[7] *Sweepingly cruel.*] In *ὤμον* and *μεγα* there is an hendiadys; and something similar occurs in Appian, though I have omitted to note the page. However, the Latins use *immanis* both for *magnus* and *crudelis*.

[8] *Prevailed upon.*] Literally, disposed their minds, moved and induced them.

[9] *Again put the matter to vote.*] Benedict and Hack have certainly done wrong in recalling the old reading *προσθεῖναι*. As to the passage appealed to at l. 1, 40. *ψῆφον προσεθέμεθα*, that is of another nature. Now *ψῆφον προστίθεσθαι* is used of those who give an opinion; *ψῆφον* or *γνώμην προτίθεσθαι*, of those who put others to vote. So Thucyd. infra, in a kindred passage at c. 42. *οὔτε τοὺς προθέντας τὴν διαγνώμην αὖθις.* So also 38. *θαυμάζω τῶν προθέντων αὖθις περὶ Μ. λέγειν.* Goeller refers to Hemst. on Lucian

to do, because *they* too saw plainly enough that the greater part of the citizens were wishing to have the opportunity given them to reconsider the measure. An assembly being therefore convened, various other opinions were delivered on both sides [10]; and Cleon[11], son of Cleænetus, who had been the chief means of carrying the former murderous decree, and who was in other respects the most violent of the citizens, though at that time possessed of by far the greatest influence with the common people, then again came forward, and spoke to the following effect: —

XXXVII. "Often have I at other times been convinced that democracy is a constitution incapable of governing others [1]; but especially do I now feel this, at your change of mind concerning the Mytilenæans: for by your daily security and freedom from treachery [2] against each other, ye suppose the

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t. 3, 361., and adds: "Proëdri (hic οἱ ἐν τέλει), cum sententias dicendi potestatem faciunt, dicuntur λόγον vel γνώμας προτιθέναι, solenne autem præconium hoc est: τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; v. Schoemann d. comit. Ath. p. 104." That the Prytanes had the power of putting any measure to vote, is plain from 6, 14.; and that may very well imply *another;* namely, the power of *reproposing* a measure for suffrage. In our excellent constitution this is unnecessary, because it is provided that every measure should be thrice put to the vote of the legislative body, before it be finally decreed.

[10] *On both sides.*] Or, by each party; i. e. both those who favoured the cause of the Mytilenæans just before mentioned, and those who were against them. It is strange that none of the translators should have here seen the sense. Had Matthiæ (Gr. Gr. § 490.) done so, he would not have taken the ἀπὸ for ὑπό. The sense is, "on or from either side;" namely, those who had promoted the decree on the one hand, and those who had originally dissented, or been led to repent of their concurrence, on the other. Of this use there is another example at 3, 38. τὸ ἀκουσθὲν ἀπὸ τῶν λογῳ καλῶς ἐπιτιμησάντων. and 6, 27. μηνύεται ἀπὸ τῶν μετοίκων.

[11] *Cleon.*] See the able remarks of Mitford, v. 3. 179. on the state of the Athenian government after the death of Pericles, with sketches of the characters of Nicias and Cleon, who were the heads of the aristocratical and the democratical parties. Mitford, however, scarcely does justice to the *abilities* of Cleon, who is by Cicero in Brut. styled "turbulentum quidem civem, sed *tamen eloquentem.*" Goeller refers to a Commentatio Fred. Cortum. in Doederl. Philolog. Beytr. ans d. Sch. fasc. 1. p. 35.

[1] *Often have I, &c.*] There are similar expressions in Eurip. Med. 447. οὐ νῦν κατεῖδον πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις. Dionys. Hal. 1, 401. οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις καταμαθών. Andoc. C. Alcib. init. Liv. 4, 3. "Quantopere sæpe et ante videor animadvertisse. With respect to the *sentiment*, it is one of the greatest truth. Democracy is not formed for extensive empire.

[2] *Freedom from treachery.*] The argument here (which is not well conceived by the commentators) seems to be this: "You never think of

same disposition to exist in your allies; and whatsoever errors ye commit, either worked upon by their representations, or moved by spontaneous compassion, ye know not that ye are exercising a lenity of conduct dangerous to yourselves, and which, nevertheless, receives little thanks from your allies[3]; not considering that the government you hold is of the nature of a tyranny, and moreover, that they are plotting against you, and governed against their wills; who do not obey you from any indulgence you may show or favours grant to them, but from the points of superiority which you may hold over them, rather than by any good-will of theirs. But the worst of all will it be, if nothing that we decree shall stand fast[4]; not knowing that *a state which enjoys indifferent laws, but suffered to*

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betraying each other, and you fancy the same temper of mind to exist in your allies." There is a kindred passage at 1, 68. init. where see the note. In both there is a similar præoccupatio benevolentiæ to that in St. Paul's address to the Athenians.

Ἀντεπιξούλευτος is a somewhat rare word, unaccompanied by examples in Steph. Thes. I have, however, noted it from the following writers: — Pollux 1, 171 and 150. Max. Tyr. Diss. 36, 11, 191. Polyb. 7, 8, 4. Joseph. 841 and 851. Ælian An. 1, 16. Theophyl. ad Epist. p. 25.

[3] *Whatsoever errors ye commit, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of this passage, the difficulties of which cannot be fully considered and removed in the present work: a few only can be adverted to. The construction seems to be as follows: καὶ (καϑ) ὅ, τι ἄν, ἢ λογῳ πεισϑέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἁμάρτητε, ἢ οἰκτῳ ἐνδῶτε, οὐκ ἠγεῖσϑε ἐπικινδύνως (τοῦτο) μαλακίζεσϑαι ἐς ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐκ ἐς τὴν ξυμμάχων χάριν. By ἁμαρτ. is here denoted erring by misplaced pity; as in Eurip. Med. 351., where see Musgrave. And the words ἢ οἰκτῳ ἐνδῶτε are antapodotic to λόγῳ — αὐτῶν. The ἐνδῶτε is used by way of explanation of ἁμάρτητε. Οἰκτῳ signifies, not *to* compassion, but *by* compassion; i. e. by spontaneous pity. Goeller, who has here a long and not uninstructive note, renders: " and ye consider not, that every error into which you suffer yourselves to be led, either by the persuasions of others, or by your own compassion, is a weakness which is of most dangerous tendency to yourselves, and gains you no thanks from the allies." Goeller has done right in rejecting the criticism of Poppo and Reisig, who cancel the οἵ; and in addition to his remarks, I would observe that it is very rare for a Greek sentence to commence with οὐκ, except it be a *responsory* one, in which case the Greek writers thus point οὐκ· — The αὐτοὶ, as Goeller truly observes, can only mean *ipsi*, and must be construed with βλαπτόμενοι; and he commends Bauer's version of the whole passage. Yet Bauer seems to have misconceived the sense of the *second* clause ἀλλ' — ἐξ ὧν — περιγένησϑε, where αὐτῶν is to be understood, from the αὐτοὶ preceding. And ἐξ ὧν is in either case (as Goeller remarks) to be resolved into ἐξ ἐκείνων, ἅ.

[4] *If nothing that, &c.*] It was the fault usually imputed to the Athenians, that on account of their innate quickness they wanted firmness and stability. So Aristoph. Conc. 797. ἐγῷδα τούτους χειροτονοῦντας μὲν ταχεῖς· ἅττ' ἂν δὲ δόξῃ, ταῦτα πάλιν ἀρνουμένους.

take effect, is better than one which enjoys good ones, but not carried into effect. Indeed, ignorance with modesty is more beneficial to a state, than ability with arrogance[5]; and men of meaner intellects[6] are found, for the most part, to better manage state affairs than abler heads: for *those* love to appear wiser than the laws; and whatever is debated before the public assembly, to ever have the better therein[7], as the most important matters wherein to show their ability.[8] Whereas, those who distrust their own understanding, are indeed content to be thought not so wise as the laws, and are little able to carp at the speech of an eloquent orator; but being impartial judges, rather than rhetorical prize-fighters, they generally arrive at a right judgment. Thus, therefore, it behoves us to act; and not, carried away by vehemence of declamation and rivalry of wit, to give such counsel to the multitude as in our own judgment we esteem not good.

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[5] *Not knowing, &c.*] The passage is cited without var. lect. by Isidor. Epist. l. 5, 186.

Δεξιότης, literally, *shrewdness, cleverness;* as Lucian 2, 264. 3, 414. Pollux bis. See Aristoph. Ran. 1109. and the note on 3, 82.

[6] *Men of meaner intellects.*] The Schol. well explains ἀμαθέστεροι. Goeller, mediocres, simplices homines, menschen von geringerem verstand. Timæus, φαῦλον· εὐτελες. This sense of φαῦλος occurs also in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 661, 5. 381, 12. Thucyd. 7, 77. Xenophon sometimes. Eurip. Hippol. 952. Monk. οἱ γὰρ ἐν σόφοις φαῦλοι παρ' ὄχλῳ μουσικώτεροι λέγειν. and Phœn. 505. ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφοῖς καὶ τοῖσι φαύλοις. See also Aristoph. Conc. 617, 625 and 627. Joseph. 872, 19.

[7] *To ever have the better therein.*] Victory, and not truth and justice, being their constant aim.

[8] *As the most important, &c.*] Gail, " comme s'ils ne pouvoient jamais trouver de plus belles occasions de montrer leur esprit." Such is the sense of the words, as they stand. In this, however, there seems something frigid and inapposite. It must be eighteen years since, first perceiving this, I consulted my very learned friend, Dr. Parr, who agreed with me in opinion, and entirely acceded to a conjecture which I then struck out, namely, for μείζοσιν, to read μείοσιν. Thus the sense will be: " as if they could not find matters of *less* moment wherein to show forth their cleverness." And this is exceedingly confirmed by a kindred passage infra, c. 40. where Cleon says: οἵ τε τέρποντες λόγῳ ῥήτορες ἕξουσι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἐλάσσοσιν ἀγῶνα. Such, too, seems to have been the reading of Dio Cassius's MS.; for he imitates the passage thus, p. 452, 14. ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δεινότητα διαδείξας, εἰ μή τινας ἀναιδην προπηλακίσειε. It may be observed that the words μείζων and μείων are often confounded (on which see Dorville on Charit. 126, 15. and Markland on Max. Tyr. 40, 1.); and I shall, in my edition, adduce emendations of, at least, twenty passages yet labouring under corruption. I have, however, not ventured to *express* the above sense (certain as it appears) in the text, since it is not, I believe, found in a single MS.

XXXVIII. "Be that, however, as it may, I, for my part, am of the same opinion I was[1]; and I cannot but wonder at[2] those who have proposed this second debate concerning the affair of Mytilene; thereby throwing in a procrastination of the issue which is in favour of the *injurer* rather than the injured[3]: for he who hath suffered the wrong *thus*, visits it on the head of the doer with blunted resentment; whereas, the vengeance which follows as closely as possible on the injury sustained — being most correspondent to it — takes the most signal retribution.[4] Much do I marvel that even any gainsayer therein shall be found, who will take upon him to say that the injuries done by the Mytilenæans are beneficial to us, but that our calamities are injurious to the allies[5]; and manifest it is, that either, relying on his gift of speech, must exert himself to prove that what has been positively decreed has never been decided on, or that, instigated by lucre, he will try every art, by elaborate plausibility of speech, to hoodwink and mislead you. But of such oratorical contentions the state resigns the recompense to

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[1] *Am of the same, &c.*] So Soph. Œd. Tyr. 557. καὶ νῦν ἐϑ' ὡὐτός εἰμι τῷ βουλεύματι. Liban. Epist. 60 and 573.

[2] *Wonder at, &c.*] See 2, 61. and a similar passage in Ach. Tat. 602. and Liban. Ep. 165.

[3] *Than the injured.*] This is *implied* in the ἠδικηκότων μᾶλλον, where ἠδ. is emphatical.

[4] *The vengeance which, &c.*] The reading here adopted by the recent editors from MSS., is also confirmed by an imitation in Plutarch, t. 2, 548. D. τὸ ἀμύνασϑαι τῷ παϑεῖν, ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησὶν, ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω κείμενον, κ. τ. λ., where the τὸ merits attention. So also in an imitation of this construction in Plutarch, p. 40. E. τῷ καταφρονεῖν τὸ ϑαυμάζειν ἀντικείμενον. Yet the reading seems derived from the margin. Thus it is found in the Scholiast.

On the ἀμέλυτέρᾳ τ. ο. see note on 2, 86. and Herodian 6, 5, 19. Æschyl. Theb. 712.

[5] *But that our calamities, &c.*] Such is the sense, if the reading of the MSS. be correct. But the sentiment has seemed so obscure, and even paradoxical, that several modern critics, as Reiske, Bauer, Benedict, and others, would insert a negative; and this is *expressed* by the Latin translator, and is found in two good MSS. It, however, involves so much harshness, that few would hesitate to prefer the conjecture of Kistemaker, ξυμφορῶς for ξυμφοράς. And it is very many years since I conjectured ξυμφόρους, which, perhaps, *may* be the true reading. There is, however, no necessity to alter the common one, which may very well be tolerated, if the words τοῖς ξυμμάχοις be taken emphatically; q. d. "injurious to the allies rather than to us;" or, which is preferable, "that our calamities are rather injuries *done to* the allies, than *suffered from* them."

others, while herself sustains [6] the dangers. Now of this you are yourselves the cause [7], who, in folly, make these wretched matches of oratory [8]; you, who are wont to be spectators, indeed, of words, but auditors of actions [9]; viewing future events, as to their possibility, from the representations of artful oratory, but slighting those that are already accomplished, not regarding what has been done under your eyes as more to be relied on than what has been *heard* from the mouths of eloquent inveighers in a set harangue [10]. Yes; ye are the readiest to be deceived [11]

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[6] *Sustains.*] Aufert, suscipit. So Dionys. Hal. 651, 18. διὰ συνεχεῖς πολέμους ἀναφερόντων τὸν πόνον. Polyb. 1, 36, 3. ἀναφ. φθόνους καὶ διαβολάς. and 1, 60, 10. ἀναφ. τὸν κλυδων. and 4, 59, 10. ἀναφ. τὸν πόλεμον.

[7] *You are yourselves the cause.*] So Lycurg. contr. Leocr. p. 149, 18. τούτων δὲ αἴτιοι ὑμεῖς ἐστε.

[8] *Who, in folly, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of these somewhat difficult words, which are well explained by the Scholiast. Agreeably to the above, ἀγωνοθέτης is explained by Nicander ap. Hesych. ὁ τὰ μουσικὰ ἀκροάματα διατιθέμενος. The word ἀγωνοθέτης is little noticed by the lexicographers and philologists; but it is of frequent occurrence in Dio Cass., and is found in Joseph. 1269 and 754. and 1010, 36. Plutarch Cat. Min. 45. στάσεις ἀγωνοθετοῦντες.

[9] *Wont to be spectators, &c.*] So Aristid. t. 1, 231. τὸν θεατὴν τῶν λόγων. It is thus parodied by Chariton, p. 116, 15. ἀκροαταὶ τῆς δικης — θεατὰς τῆς καλλιρόης.

[10] *Viewing future events, &c.*] These words are exegetical of the preceding θεαταὶ — ἔργων. The Scholiast well remarks: ὥσπερ ἀκροαταὶ τῶν σοφιστικῶν λόγων ἡδονῆς γίγνονται κριταὶ, οὐ πραγμάτων, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς λόγους σκοπεῖτε, οὐ τὰ πράγματα. See the learned note of Goeller, who remarks that our historian is wont to reproach his countrymen with this fault; as at 5, 113. ἀλλ' οὖν μόνοι γε ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν βουλευμάτων — τὰ μὲν μέλλοντα τῶν ὁρωμένων σαφέστερα κρίνετε, τὰ δὲ ἀφανῆ τῷ βούλεσθαι ὡς γιγνόμενα ἤδη θεᾶσθε. See also 4, 108. He also compares Solon 19. εἰς γὰρ γλῶσσαν ὁρᾶτε, καὶ εἰς ἔπη αἰμύλου ἀνδρός· εἰς ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν γιγνόμενον βλέπετε. And Æschyl. Agam. 786. δίκας οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης κλύουσιν. The learned commentator takes λάβοντες for ὑπολάβοντες at 2, 42., and assigns the following as the general sense of the passage: "Quod auditis ex oratoribus vestris, ut vobis persuadere conantur, ita vobis videtur esse, oratio enim vobis pro factis est (θεαταὶ τῶν λόγων); quod factum, ita factum fingitis, ut auditis et persuaderi vobis patimini" (ἀκροαταὶ τῶν ἔργων). But thus the ὄψει is not well accounted for. If taken, as it ought, according to the text of Hack, Bekker, and Goeller, with δρασθὲν, it involves no little harshness, and is far more suitable to the *old* reading θεαθὲν, which, indeed, is supported by half the MSS., and is too uncommon a word to have come from the scribes. In short, it is very suitable to ὄψει. So Eurip. Ion. 232. Θεᾶσθ' ὅμμασι. Polyb. sæpe θεᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν.

[11] *Readiest to be deceived.*] For ἄριστοι I many years ago conjectured ῥᾷστοι. So Thucyd. 4, 10. ῥᾷστοι ἀμυνεσθαι. 7, 67. ῥᾷστοι βλαπτέσθαι. And such seems to have been read by Dio Cass., who thus imitates the passage: ῥᾷστον ἀπατηθηναι λόγοις ἐπιτηδευμένοις. and 307, 3. ῥᾷστα ἀπα-

with novelty of speech, but backward to follow any counsel approved by experience; dotingly attached to what is unwonted [12], and contemners of what is accustomed. The nearest wish of each man's heart is, to be himself able to harangue, or if not, to so far vie with those that have the faculty of oratory, as to be thought not behind-hand with them in following up, by the mind, the thread of the argument and plan of the speech; but rather to be quick in assenting to the position of an orator, *before* his words are finished; to be alert in comprehending what is said before it be well uttered; slow though ye be in foreseeing the events that will result from them.[13] Your whole aim is directed (so to speak) after

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τηθεις. Also Lucian, ῥᾷστος εἶ τῆς ῥινος ἑλκεσθαι. Now, however, I am of opinion that the common reading is not only to be retained, but is the more elegant: so Herod. 3, 80. διαβολάς δὲ ἄριστος ἐνδέκεσθαι. Soph. Œd. Tyr. 440. οὔκουν σὺ ταῦτ' ἀριστος εὑρίσκειν ἔφυς. With respect to the thing itself, very apposite are the words of Aristoph. Eq. 1115. ὦ Δῆμε — εὐπαράγωγος εἶ, Θωπευόμενός τε χαίρεις, κἀξαπατώμενος, Πρὸς τὸν τε λέγοντ' ἀεὶ κέχηνας· ὁ νοῦς δὲ σου Παρὼν ἀποδημεῖ.

[12] *Dotingly attached to, &c.*] This elegance is imitated by Greg. Naz. t. 1, 53. B. δοῦλοι δὲ ὄντες τῶν ἀεὶ παρόντων. Aristid. 2, 150. A. τῆς χρείας ἀεὶ δούλους εἶναι. With respect to the thing itself, Pausanias says, at 9, 36, 3. Ἕλλῆνες δὲ ἄρα εἰσὶ δεινοὶ τὰ ὑπερόρια ἐν θαύματι τίθεσθαι μείζονι ἢ τὰ οἰκεῖα· ὁπότε γε ἀνδράσιν ἐπιφανέσιν ἐς συγγραφὴν πυραμίδας μὲν τὰς παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπῆλθεν ἐξηγήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον, θησαυρὸν δὲ τὸν Μινύου καὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ ἐν Τίρυνθι οὐδὲ ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἤγαγον μνήμης, οὐδὲ ὄντα ἐλάττονος θαύματος: and Aristoph. Conc. 581—8. Μισοῦσι γάρ, ἢν τὰ παλαιὰ πολλάκις θεῶνται — Εἰ καινοτομεῖν ἐθελήσουσιν, καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἥθεσι λίαν Τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐνδιατρίβειν — τοῦτο γὰγ ἡμῖν δρᾶν ἀντ' ἄλλης ἀρχῆς ἐστιν, τῶν δ' ἀρχαίων ἀμελῆσαι.

[13] *The nearest wish of, &c.*] There are few passages that have more perplexed the commentators than this; and, consequently, few that have been less successfully treated. Hobbes renders thus: "you would every one chiefly give the best advice; but if you cannot, then you will contradict those that do. You would not be thought to come after with your opinion; but rather, if any thing be acutely spoken, to applaud it first, and to appear ready apprehenders of what is spoken, even before it be out; but slow to preconceive the sequel of the same." The sense assigned by Smith is essentially the same, but somewhat more polished. Nor does the version of Gail materially differ. And this (founded on the Scholiast) is indeed specious, but ill-founded. The ὀξέως cannot well be referred to λέγοντες, nor signify *acutely*. Besides, after having mentioned it as the determination of those who could not attain to *oratory*, to show their ability by contradicting what is said, it were strange to subjoin that they are ready to *praise* before the words be out of the mouth. Indeed, the whole of the above version is at variance with the true construction of the sentence, which must be the more carefully ascertained, as being the best guide to the sense. Now Goeller has indeed laid it down, but not, I think, successfully. He repeats the βουλόμενος at almost every clause after the first.

any thing else but what is conversant with reality and common life, though of what passes before your eyes you have no sufficient perception: in short, overcome with the lust of hearing [14], ye bear more resemblance to those who sit as spectators of sophists [15], than those who are consulting for the welfare of the state.

XXXIX. "Now from these dispositions and habits I am essaying to turn you, while I affirm that no one city hath so

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But this compels him to *resolve* ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι into τῷ ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι. A method certainly too daring, and by which the whole course of the construction is perverted, and every avenue to the truth blocked up. It should seem that ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι is to be taken like βουλόμενος just before; and ἕκαστοι is to be understood. The general sense, then, will be this. "The first wish of their heart is to attain the faculty of oratory, or, if that be impracticable, to at least secure the credit of quickness of parts, so that they may be supposed to have *power of thought*, if not that of *expression*." Now the ἀνταγ. imports, not their *contradicting* the orator, but their *striving with* him to appear not inferior in quickness of conception, and seizing the gist of a question. "Est quiddam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra." The infinitive μὴ δοκεῖν ἀκολουθῆσαι expresses the *aim* at which they are striving; and the γνώμῃ is well explained by the Scholiast κατὰ τὴν γνώμην. The clause ὀξέως δέ τι λέγοντος προεπαίνεσαι must not (as it is by almost all the commentators from Duker to Goeller) be connected with the *following*, but with the preceding, as in the Codices Stephani. This, indeed, is evident from the adversative δέ. After προεπάινεσαι should be placed a colon, as in all the editions before Bekker's. And it signifies (as Heilman alone saw) to *assert*. So in Æschyl. Agam. 467. Γυναικὸς αἰχμᾷ πρέπει, πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος χάριν ξυναινέσαι. After this subordinate clause, the *principal* construction is resumed; and consequently at πρόθυμοι εἶναι must be repeated βουλόμενοι, as before.

But what must be done with the last clause, καὶ προνοῆσαι — ἀποβησόμενα? Now the difficulty (though dissembled by the translators, and passed over by the commentators) is, that if βουλόμενοι be repeated at προνοῆσαι βραδεῖς, &c., as the construction laid down by the commentators requires, it will produce a most absurd sense; for surely the Athenians could not *wish* to be thought dull in political foresight. As, then, this cannot be the *sense*, so nothing more can be necessary to prove that *that* cannot be the *construction*. The true state of the case seems to be this. Another syntax is *engrafted* on the above; and as before there were nominatives absolute, or perhaps dependent upon the preceding verb αἴτιοι ἔστε (though, in fact, the participle is *treated* as a verb), so here we have βραδεῖς (ὄντες); and καὶ is put for καίπερ, which use is very frequent in Xenophon, and is sometimes found in other authors, as also in the New Testament. See Lex. Xenoph., Schleus. Lex., and Hoogev. Thus the sense will be: "slow though you be in preconceiving and forecasting the events that shall result."

[14] *Overcome with, &c.*] This is very similar to the κνηθόμενοι τὴν ἀκοὴν (*having itching ears*) of St. Paul, at 2 Tim. 4, 4.

[15] *Sophists.*] i. e. (as the Schol. saw) *rhetoricians*. See the authors referred to by Duker.

much injured you as that of the Mytilenæans.[1] As to those who revolt from the intolerable pressure of our rule, or are impelled to it by our enemies, I, for my part, can extend a ready forgiveness: but for those who inhabited an island, were defended with walls; who had no enemy to fear seaward, in which quarter, too, they were not unfurnished with a force of ships adequate to resist them; who lived, too, in the enjoyment of their own laws, and were held in the highest honour by us; for *those* to have worked us all this mischief — what else were it but to *conspire* and rise *up against*[2], rather than to *revolt* from us (for revolt is[3] rather for such as suffer some kind of violence), and ranged on the side of our deadliest foes, to seek to accomplish our ruin?[4] Surely this is far worse than if they had *warred* upon us by themselves with such power as they had obtained. But nothing would serve as an example for their warning; not the calamities of their neighbours, such as have already revolted from us, and been worsted[5]; nor could their present prosperity operate as a check to their running

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[1] *No one city hath, &c.*] Literally, "for one city, no one has," &c. Of this idiom examples are adduced by Goeller, but only from the Latin writers. The following, therefore, from the best Greek writers may be acceptable. Thucyd. 3, 113. Πάθος γὰρ τοῦτο μιᾷ πόλει μέγιστον. Herod. 6, 127. ὁ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὴ χλιδῆς, εἷς ἀνὴρ, ἀπίκετο. Æschyl. Pers. 325. εἷς ἀνὴρ πλεῖστον πόνον ἐχθροῖς παρασχών. Soph. Trach. 460. πλείστας, εἷς ἀνὴρ, Ἡρακλῆς ἐγημε δή. and Œd. Tyr. 1386. Xen. Cyr. 8, 2, 15. θησαύρους πλείστους ἔνι γε ἀνδρὶ καταθέσθαι.

[2] *What else was it, &c.*] There is supposed to be an ellipsis of πρᾶγμα, which may be variously rendered, as: "It is the action of, it is what may be expected from." See Matth. Gr. Gr. § 372. To the imitations of this passage adduced by Goeller, I add Dionys. Hal. Ant. 143, 36. οἱ γε οὐ μόνον ἐβουλεύσαν [ἀπόστασιν] ἀφ' ὑμων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπανάστασιν. Dio Cass. p. 228, 69. 246, 20. and 1042, 75. λέγων δεῖν ἀποστῆναι τε αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἅμα οἱ ἐπιστῆναι αὐτῷ. Other more critical matter I must reserve for my edition, in the meantime referring to my note on St. Matt. 10, 21.

[3] *For revolt is, &c.*] A too subtle refinement certainly (like two or three other passages in the orations of Thucyd.); but Cleon, we may imagine, was not very scrupulous.

[4] *And ranged on the side of, &c.*] Hence may be emended a passage closely imitated from the present in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 169, 31. ἐπεχείρησαν ἀπόλεσαι ἡμᾶς οἴκτιστα, μετὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων καὶ πολεμίων στάντες. It may be remarked that στάντες μετὰ is a vox solennis de hac re. So Eurip. Hel. 895. μεθ' Ἥρας σᾶσα συν σώσω βίον. Dionys. Hal. Ant. 456, 36. μετὰ τοῦ γενναίου στάντες τοῖς παρανόμοις. Aristoph. Av. 1672. ἀλλ' ἢν μεθ' ἡμῶν στῇς καταστήσω σ' ἔγω Τύραννον.

[5] *Their neighbours such as have, &c.*] As the Naxians, the Eubœans, the Æginetæ, the Potidæans, &c.

into dangers; but audacious in their plans for the future, and expecting things above their power, but beneath their will, they waged war against us, resolving to set *power* above *right* and *duty*[6]: for at a period when they thought they could overpower us, they attacked us unprovoked by injury. But usual enough it is, especially with states to which any good fortune comes on the sudden[7] and unlooked for, to run into arrogance and presumption. Indeed, for the most part, good fortune, which is agreeable with sober calculation, is more to be relied on than what is beyond expectation[8]; and, in a word, men more easily repel adversity than preserve prosperity.[9] But, indeed, the Mytilenæans ought long ago to have received from us no attention beyond that of the other allies; and then they would never have risen to such a pitch of insolence: for in this, as well as other cases[10], the maxim holds good, that man is naturally inclined to look down upon those who court him, and to treat with respect those that give not way to him.[11]

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[6] *To set power above, &c.*] i. e. prefer snatching at what seemed within their power, to observing the obligations of right and duty. So 3, 82. τοῦ τε ὁσίου τὰ τιμωρεῖσθαι προὐτίθεσαν.

[7] *On the sudden.*] Not *great*, as Hobbes renders. At δι' ἐλαχίστου subaud καίρου.

[8] *Good fortune, which, &c.*] Such is, I think, plainly the sense of the passage, which is strangely handled by the translators. They stumble at the idiomatical κατὰ λόγον, which Hobbes renders "according to reason;" Smith, "allowed by the rational course;" Gail, "fruit de la sagesse." Such, however, is not the sense of κατὰ λόγον; and thus the antithesis would be destroyed, and the sentiment injured. Κατὰ λόγον signifies what does not exceed all calculation, but bears some proportion to what might reasonably have been expected. A signification which is placed beyond doubt by an imitation of Dionys. Hal. Ant. 181, 47. φθονεῖν δὲ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις ἀναγκαζόμενοι μείζοσιν ἢ κατὰ λόγον γινομέναις.

With respect to the *sentiment*, the experience of all ages tends to bear testimony to its truth, both as it regards states, and individuals, but especially the former, for which it is here primarily intended.

[9] *Men more easily, &c.*] So Plutarch Anton. 17, 3. ἀλλὰ φύσει παρὰ τὰς κακοπραγίας. Psalm 119, 67. Aristid. 2, 57, 8. ῥᾷδιον εὖ πραττόντας εὖ φρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ οἱ πολλοὶ χείρους ὑπὸ τῆς τυχῆς γιγνόνται. In fact, there are more who are ready to follow the admonition of the great lyric. "Rebus angustis animosus atque Fortis appare," than those who will attend to the following one of the same bard: "Sapienter idem Contrahes vento nimium secundo Turgida vela."

[10] *For in this, &c.*] Such is the complete sense of καὶ ἄλλως, on which see Steph. Thes. Col. 1843. C.; to whose examples I add Eurip. Alcest. 345. and Sisyph. frag. 1, 12.

[11] *Man is naturally, &c.*] Few passages have been more the object of imitation, though unnoticed by the editors, than this and 4, 61, which is a

Let, I say, their offence be now visited with condign punishment, and let not the crime be attributed to *the few*[12], and the *people* be absolved; for all alike attacked us. It was, indeed[13], in their power to have come over to our side, and then they might have been again in their city; but it was because they thought it safer[14] to hazard their fortunes with *the few* that engaged with them in the revolt. And as for the allies[15], consider, if you inflict the same punishments both on such as revolt from compulsion, and such as do it of their own free-will; who are there, think ye, that will not make some slight pretext to revolt? since, if successful, they gain their liberty, and if they fail, their case is not so desperate.[16] And as for ourselves, our prosperity and our lives will be put to risk on each city; and even if successful, we shall receive back only a devastated city, and of all revenue (the very

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kindred one. Thus Heliodor. t. 2. 228. *πεφυκασι γὰρ οἱ νεοι, θεραπευομενοι μὲν ὑπερφρονεῖν, βιαζομενοι δὲ ὑπεικεῖν.* Isidor. Pal. Epist. 2, 284. *εἴωθε γὰρ ἄνθρωπος τῶν μὲν θεραπευόντων καταφρονεῖν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ κολακευόντας ἐκθειάζειν.* Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 391, 2—5. *πᾶν τὸ ἀνόητον, ἄλλως τε κἂν ὄχλος ᾖ, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ταπείνους αὐθαδες γενέσθαι φίλει, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς αὐθαδεῖς ταπεινοῦσθαι.* See also p. 72. and 333. Themist. p. 54. D. *φύσις αὐτη, ὡς εὐίκειν, ἀσκεῖσθαι μὲν τὸ τιμώμενον, ἀμελεῖσθαι δὲ τὸ ἀτιμαζόμενον.* See also Herodian 6, 3, 13.

[12] *The few.*] Not *a* few, as Hobbes renders. This expression denotes the supporters of *oligarchy*.

[13] *It was indeed, &c.*] The true punctuation seems to be *ἀπολύσητε· πάντες — ἐπέθεντο· οἷς*, &c. Here we have another example of one sentence joined to another by a relative pronoun, which ought to be an independent one commencing with a demonstrative pronoun and a conjunction copulative.

[14] *Thought it safer, &c.*] There is something harsh in *κίνδυνον ἡγησάμενοι βεβαιότερον*. Insomuch that I formerly conjectured *βαιότερον, less.* But the common reading is more Thucydidean.

[15] *As for the allies.*] Hobbes renders, "have in consideration your allies." And to the same purpose, Smith. Such, however, cannot be the sense. The construction (which is rightly laid down by the Scholiast) warrants not even any *stress* to be laid on *ξυμμάχων*: yet when I consider the *ἡμῖν δὲ* at the last clause of the sentence, I cannot but suppose that the orator means to hold out to his auditors the results of the line of policy in question, in a two-fold point of view, first as it regarded the *allies*, secondly, as it respected *themselves*.

[16] *Their case is not so desperate.*] Or, "they have nothing to suffer so very dreadful." The passage is imitated by Dionys. Hal. Ant. 170, 17. *ἢ κατορθωσάντες πλεῖον ἕξειν, ἢ σφαλέντες ἐν μηδενὶ δεινῷ ἔσεσθαι.* The force of the phrase is illustrated by Dionys. Hal. Ant. 175, 40. *οὔτε πόλις αὐτῶν οὐδεμία πολέμῳ κρατηθεῖσα, κατασκαφῆς, ἢ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ, ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς ἀνηκέστου συμφορᾶς ἐπειράθη.*

sinews of our strength) shall henceforward be deprived; but if we fail of success, we shall but add to the number of our enemies [17]; and at a time when we have need enough to exert ourselves to withstand our present foes, we shall have to maintain a war against our own allies.

XL. "We must, therefore, hold out [1] no hope (whether founded on intreaty [2], or purchased by money) that they shall receive forgiveness for offences which are but the errors of human nature [3]; for they did not injure us unintentionally, but plotted against us knowingly and wittingly. As to an involuntary error, that were venial.[4] For my part, I did then

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[17] *We shall but add, &c.*] Literally, "we shall but have other enemies in addition to those who are already such. In *τύχοντες* and *σφαλέντες* there is a metaphor taken from *archery*.

[1] *Hold out.*] Here I read, with Bekker and Goeller, *προθεῖναι*; though the common reading *προσθεῖναι* may be defended; and Steph., in his Thesaur., compares Tacitus, "Strenuis vel ignavis spem metumque *addere*," i. e. adhibere. So, too, read the Schol.; therefore Bekker was wrong in altering *προσθ.* to *προθ.* in the *caput* Scholii.

[2] *Founded on intreaty.*] Hobbes renders *πιστὴν impetrabile*; and Goeller, *obtainable*. But that is only substituting an easy term for a difficult one, and avoiding what is somewhat inconvenient to deal with. Neither translators nor commentators seem to have had any correct notion of the ratio significationis in *πιστήν*. The truth is, it is for *πίσυνον*, and therefore takes its syntax and sense, which is *fretam*. Of this use Steph. in his Thesaur. adduces an example from Plato de Legg. 7. p. 394. *κυσὶ καὶ πλεκταῖς πιστός*. I add Æschyl. Pers. 55. *τοξουλκῷ λήματι πιστούς*. Pind. frag. incert. 102. *πιστὸν δὲ ἀπίστοις*.

Goeller thinks that all this is only a repetition of what was said at the beginning of the oration, where bribery and deliberate deceit are imputed to those maintaining the contrary side of the question. This, however, seems said *magis argutè quam verè*. I see no reason to abandon the opinion of the Schol., that there is an allusion to purchasing pardon and buying off punishment by the payment of a fine; referring to Homer's Iliad 9, 630. He might have added that this method was actually employed by the Athenians with subdued revolters. Thus in the case of the Samians, 1, 117. fin. it is expressed among the conditions: *καὶ χρήματα τὰ ἀναλωθέντα κατὰ χρόνους ταξάμενοι ἀποδοῦναι*. Also of the Thebans, 1, 101. fin. *χρήματά τε, ὅσα ἔδει ἀποδοῦναι αὐτίκα, ταξάμενοι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν φέρειν*.

[3] *Errors of human nature.*] This will easily recall to mind the trite "Humanum est errare." See several passages illustrative of this subject in my note on Rom. 6, 19.

[4] *An involuntary error, that, &c.*] On this Duker refers to Muret. on Aristot. Eth. 3, 1. I add Soph. Œd. Col. 977. *πῶς γ' ἂν τὸ γ' ἄκον πρᾶγμ' ἂν εἰκότως ψέγοις*; Xen. Cyr. 3, 1, 38. *οὐ γὰρ κακονοίᾳ τινὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖ ἀλλ' ἀγνοίᾳ. ὅποσα δὲ ἀγνοίᾳ ἄνθρωποι ἐξαμαρτάνουσι, πάντα ἀκούσια ταῦτ' ἔγωγε νομίζω*. More on this subject may be seen in the note on 4, 98.

at first maintain that view of the case, and I now contend [5] that you should not alter your decrees, nor thereby run into those errors the most baneful to government, by giving way to compassion, by being moved by oratory, and indulging in clemency.[6] As for *pity*, it is right that it should be accorded to those who are like minded [7] with ourselves, and will show it again; not to those who would make no return of mercy to us, but would necessarily be our enemies ever after. As for the rhetoricians, who delight our ears with fine speeches [8], they may find field for contest in matters of *lesser* moment, and not those wherein the *city*, for a short-lived gratification, must suffer lasting harm, while *they*, for their well speaking, will be well recompensed in return.[9] As to lenity, it is better bestowed on those who will be our friends in future, than those who, after all that may be done, continue [10] just what they were, not a whit the less our enemies.[11]

"To sum up the whole at once, I maintain, that if you follow my counsel, you will do what is just towards the Mytilenæans,

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[5] *Contend.*] Hobbes renders *maintain*. But that is too feeble a sense. The word διαμάχεσθαι, signifies "to insist on any thing, in opposition to what may be said by others; as infra c. 42. See my note on Acts 23. 9. At τότε πρῶτον the Scholiast rightly supplies διεμαχεσάμην. Yet, by making the sense too subservient to the construction, Hobbes runs into the absurdity of representing Cleon as contending against the repeal of the decree, before the decree itself was made. The truth is that after διεμαχεσάμην something must be supplied, such as is suggested by the context and the circumstances of the case.

[6] *Thereby run into, &c.*] Goeller (after Victorius) compares Sallust Cat. 51. "omnes homines, qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet."

[7] *Like minded.*] See Liban. Orat. p. 50. C.

[8] *The rhetoricians, who, &c.*] Hence may be emended Diog. Laert. 1, 65. οἱ δ' ἐπιτρέποντες τὸ κοινὸν ἔβλαπτον.

[9] *They, for their, &c.*] Or thus, "they for their good speaking will receive a good turn." It is impossible here fully to represent the antithetical point of the original. A literal version would be too enigmatical. There is a similar elegance in Pind. Pyth. 1, 191. τὸ δὲ παθεῖν εὖ πρῶτον ἄθλων· εὖ δὲ ἀκούειν δευτέρα μοῖρα.

[10] *After all that, &c. continue, &c.*] This seems to be the full sense expressed or implied in ὑπολειπομένους.

[11] *Continue just what, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense; nor is there any need, with Thiersch, to read ὁμοίως; indeed ὁμοίους is not put for ὁμοίως, since it signifies (as the Schol. remarks) "the same in disposition that they were." Bekker strangely adds (from the Cod. Bas.) ἢ καλούς. Had he, however, chosen to introduce the addition, he might have emended the corruption, for such there is. Read κακούς.

and, moreover, what is profitable for yourselves; whereas, by deciding otherwise, ye will not gratify [12] those, but ye will rather condemn yourselves [13]; for if they justly revolted, you must unjustly govern.[14] But if, forsooth, though you have no right to rule them, yet rule them you will; why then, against justice too, must *those*, for the promotion of your interest, be punished, or else need were it for you to abdicate all rule, and, without hazard, act the part of conscientious good sort of men.[15] Think it, too, but right to requite them with the same return that they would have shown you, and let not those that have escaped seem less sensible of injury than those that plotted their ruin [16]; considering what it was likely that they would have done had they overcome us; especially as they were the first to begin the wrong. For those especially who without provocation work evil to any one, persecute and hunt him down to destruction [17], dreading the danger of a surviving

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[12] *Gratify.*] i. e. confer a favour on, lay under an obligation.

[13] *Condemn yourselves.*] Literally, pass sentence of condemnation on yourselves, i. e. you will prove that your rule is unjust. By allowing them to go unpunished, yon will show that you account them to have done no wrong, and consequently that your rule is founded in tyranny. See the elaborate explanation of the Scholiast.

As to the question respecting the reading δικαιώσεται, for which Elmsley conjectures δικαιώσετε (which is favoured by Dindorf), I must defer the consideration of it to my edition. It may suffice to say, that the emendation of the learned critic is confirmed by numerous passages of Dio Cass., where δικαιόω in the active is used in the cognate sense of *punish;* and once (namely, at p. 680, 21.) it occurs in this very sense *condemn.* Δικάζειν for καταδ. is used by Soph. Œd. Tyr. 1214., and Constant. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Reading, p. 687, 2.

[14] *You must unjustly govern.*] At οὐ χρεὼν must be supplied ἄρχειν, from ἄρχοιτε, of which ellipsis many examples are adduced by Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Chœph. 917.

[15] *Need were it for you to, &c.*] See kindred passages at 2, 63. and 6, 64. The present passage is imitated by Dio Cass. 967, 78. ἀκινδύνως ἀνδραγαθίζεται. 351, 75. ἀσφαλῶς ἀνδ.

[16] *Let not those that, &c.*] See the excellent explanation of the Schol., from whom Goeller well details the sense thus: "ne minori dolore, ne minus moleste ferte eorum defectionem, quam ipsi vestrum imperium tulerunt." See also Steph. Thes. In Pausan. 8, 19, 2. we have τὸ ἀνάλγητον to denote *inclementia.*

[17] *Persecute and, &c.*] Of these terms επεξ. and διολλ., the former is a military, sometimes a venatory, and sometimes a law term. The latter, it is probable, was originally a hunting term. It signifies to seek the ruin of any one by all means (δια), at all events. It is strange Goeller should deny that it has an active force, and join it with ὑφορώμενοι.

The sentiment is of the same nature as the maxim, "the man that has

foe; since he who suffers any injury for the commission of which no plea of necessity can be urged, is, if he escapes, far bitterer than the enemy who is such from reciprocity of quarrel.[18] Be not, therefore, betrayers of yourselves; but keeping your minds as fixed as possible on what you have suffered[19], and reflecting how ye would[20] have prized above every other thing to bring them down — now visit them with a just retribution, not softened into compassion at the circumstances immediately present[21], nor be unmindful of the danger which was once suspended over your heads. Punish them, I say, according to their deserts, and thus give to the other allies a manifest example that whoever shall revolt will suffer the penalty of death.[22] For, be assured, when once they know

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injured you never forgives you;" and others, which may be found in Tacitus.

[18] *Since he who, &c.*] Goeller annotates thus: "Hac enunciatione causa redditur, cur qui non lacessiti alios lædant in ulciscendo hoste sæviores sint." And he renders, with Heilman, "for he who finds himself injured without any urgent occasion, entertains, if he escapes, a greater grudge than an enemy of like demerit." In the present case the method of paraphrase can alone represent the sense. Bauer here perplexes himself very unnecessarily, and to little purpose.

[19] *Keeping your minds, &c.*] The words γενόμενοι — πάσχειν are dark, and of no easy interpretation. Hack, after the Scholiast, thus explains: "Quam maximè id repræsentantes animo, quod passuri eratis, et quomodo plurimi fecissetis illos subigere." And so Goeller. But it is not easy to see how such a sense can be elicited from the words. The literal sense seems to be as follows: — "But keeping as near as possible in mind to what you suffered, i. e. keeping your minds as intent as possible on it; or thus, "keeping your minds as nearly as possible in the state they were when you suffered." This is much confirmed by the sentiment at c. 38. init.: ἀμύνασθαι δὲ, τῷ παθεῖν ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω κείμενον, ἀντίπαλον ὂν, μάλιστα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀναλαμβάνει.

[20] *And reflecting how ye would.*] The participle here is to be supplied from the preceding γενόμενοι τῇ γνώμῃ, which is to be repeated, per dilogiam, in a somewhat altered sense.

[21] *Be not softened, &c.*] Goeller here refers to the Scholiast, who explains this of not giving way to the gratification of oratory. But it rather, I conceive, denotes giving way to pity, at the present wretched condition of the Mytilenæans, some of whom were, doubtless, in the assembly moving compassion in every way. Hence may be illustrated Eurip. Hippol. 980. εἰ γὰρ παθών γε σοῦ τάδ' ἠσσηθήσομαι. Thus μαλακίζεσθαι is used by the best authors for ἐνδοῦναι. So Lucian 1, 763, 58. καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐνδοῦναι μηδὲ μαλακισθῆναι — πολλοῖς τοῖς δυσχέρεσι. Dionys. Hal. 429, 34. μηδὲν ἐνδιδόναι καὶ μαλακίζεσθαι πρὸς ὄχλον. Herod. 3, 105. μὴ ἐνδιδόναι μαλακον οὐδέν. Aristoph. Plut. 488. μαλακὸν δ' ἐνδωσετε μηδέν.

[22] *Punish them, I say, &c.*] There is something very similar in Eurip. Troad, 1030. ἀξίως τῆνδε κτανὼν σαυτοῦ, νόμον δὲ τόνδε ταῖς ἄλλαισι θὲς Γυναιξὶ, θνήσκειν, ἥτις ἂν προδῷ πόσιν.

this, you have less to do to contest with your allies, to the neglect of your enemies."

XLI. Thus spoke Cleon. After him Diodotus son of Eucrates (who also in the former assembly had been the principal opposer of the putting to death of the Mytilenæans) stepped forward, and spoke to the following effect: —

XLII. "I neither censure those who have given this opportunity for a second deliberation on the case of the Mytilenæans, nor do I praise those who find fault with frequent consultation on affairs of high importance; but my opinion is, that the two greatest hinderances to wise counsel are precipitancy, and anger[1]; of which the one is usually accompanied with folly[2], the other with ignorance[3] and shallowness of judgment. And whoever he be that contends that words are not to be the directors of actions[4], he must either[5] be a simpleton, or must

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[1] *The two greatest, &c.*] So Eurip. Bacch. 670. τὸ γὰρ τάχος σου τῶν φρενῶν δέδοικ' ἀναξ καὶ τοὐξύθυμον. This is directed against the objection of Cleon, on the score of instability of counsel.

[2] *Folly.*] Not *madness*, as Hobbes and Smith render; for haste does not tend to *that*, but to rashness, indiscretion, and imprudence; since man needs leisure to be wise as well as leisure to be good, in the words of Gray. So Eurip. Suppl. 421. ὁ γὰρ χρόνος μάθησιν ἀντὶ τοῦ τάχους κρείσσω δίδωσι. See also Phœn. 452.

[3] *Ignorance.*] Literally, want of information; not *inexperience*, as Smith and others render. The meaning is, that anger is usually accompanied with, and proceeds from, want of information and scantiness of judgment. Thus Dio Cass. p. 64. init. (with a view to this passage) τάχυ μὲν ὑπὸ βραχύτητος γνώμης ὀργιζομένην. It also tends to *produce* the same, since it offuscates the understanding, and blocks up the avenues to knowledge. Perhaps, too, by ὀργὴ is here meant not merely *anger*, but *passion* in general. And so it seems to have been taken by Sallust Cat. c. 51., where Cæsar thus speaks in an oration, which has strong points of resemblance to this of Diodotus: "Omnes homines qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira atque misericordia vacuos esse decet." And, a little before: "neque in maxima fortuna studere neque odisse, sed minime irasci decet."

[4] *That words are not, &c.*] This, as the Scholiast observes, is directed against Cleon's "spectators of words." And I would compare Dionys. Hal. Ant. 135, 19. δεδοικως τὸν νόμον ὃς ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν λόγον ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις. Aristid. 2, 223. τοὺς λόγους αὐτοὺς βλάβος ἡγοῦμαι τοῖς πράγμασι, εἰ μή τις αὐτοὺς τις ἐλαχιστον καταστήσει.

[5] *He must either, &c.*] He leaves Cleon his choice. There is a passage of very similar cast in Soph. Elect. 345. ἐπειθ' ἑλοῦ γε θατερ', ἢ φρονεῖν κακῶς Ἢ τῶν φίλων φρονοῦσα μὴ μνήμην ἔχειν.

Here I cannot but remark on the mistaken delicacy with which the translators soften down the term ἀξύνετος. I say *mistaken*, because it is well

speak from some private interest[6]: a simpleton, if he thinks that by any other means it is possible to throw light on what is future and not apparent; or else a private interest he must have, if, intending to carry a base design, and knowing that a bad cause would not admit a good speech[7], he thought that by a good calumniation[8] he should strike a terror into both gainsayers and auditors.[9] But the worst and most dangerous are those who not only attack the matter of a speech, but impute corruption to the speaker.[10] For were they content to

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known how little scrupulous the antients were in using that, and similar expressions, which we should think too blunt and gross. Both the classical and the scriptural writers afford abundant examples of this, on which I have somewhere treated in my Recensio Synoptica.

[6] *Must speak from, &c.*] i. e. has some private interest to serve, by which he is guided. That such is the sense, is clear from a kindred passage of 1, 68., and from Synes. Epist. 48., who imitates this passage thus: ἐμοῦ δὲ τι καὶ ἰδίᾳ διαφέρει. It must be observed, however, that Diodotus does not so much mean to ascribe the *former* to Cleon, as the *latter*. Well he knew, and much he dreaded, the power of his eloquence; and he and his compatriots might often bring to mind the words of Eurip. Phœn. 536. οὐκ εὖ λέγειν χρὴ μὴ 'πι τοῖς ἔργοις κακοῖς.

[7] *A bad cause, &c.*] So Soph. Œd. Col. 807. ἄνδρα δ' οὐδὲν' οἶδ' ἐγω Δίκαιον, ὅστις ἐξ απαντος εὖ λογει.

[8] *A good calumniation.*] There is a paronomasia, between εὖ εἰπεῖν and εὖ διαβαλών, the latter of which is also found in Herod. 5, 50. So also Aristoph. Thesmoph. 444. κατηγόρηκεν εὖ. See also Thucyd. 7, 48. And, in our own language, the words *well* and *good* have both the above senses, though the latter would, with us, be thought too colloquial for introduction into an oration.

How suitable this was to Cleon, we may learn from Aristoph. Equit. 45., who calls him βυρσοδέψην Παφλαγόνα, Πανουργότατον, καὶ διαβολώτατόν τινα.

[9] *Terror into both, &c.*] The source, however, of the feeling would be different: in the former it would be fear for themselves; in the latter, alarm for the interest of the public committed to such persons.

[10] *The worst and, &c.*] Such seems to be the real sense of the passage, the difficulty of which may be imagined from the variety of interpretations. Gottleb. renders: "si ejusmodi homines accusant præterea oratorem dixisse, ut ostentet ingenium, et lucrum inde capiat." And so perhaps Hack understood it. Bauer has, however, shown the unsoundness of that version, which is indeed at variance with what follows. And he renders thus: "qui ostentandi ingenii causa accusat alterum pecuniæ captæ." In support of this version he summons to his aid that erudition with which he was not unfurnished. Here, however, he is at fault, both in learning and judgment; for no such sense can be elicited from the words upon any sound principles of exegesis. If the words of the text be correct (and there is nothing in the var. lects. that can claim any attention, προκατηγοροῦντες seeming to be a mere *error*, or, perhaps, paradiorthosis; and ἀντίδειξιν a *gloss*), I see not how the sense can he otherwise than literally this: "those who, in addition to a charge of erroneousness, accuse an orator on the score of re-

attribute *ignorance*, he who failed to convince might come off with the imputation of folly rather than knavery. But when a charge of *corruption* is made, both he who convinces becomes suspected, and he who fails is accounted both blockhead and knave. The state, too, is any thing but benefited by such a course; for, through the influence of fear, it is deprived of counsellors; and a city would be the best governed wherein such kind of citizens were destitute of eloquence — for then the public would be least seduced into error.

"It is, indeed, the duty of a good citizen [11] not to intimidate his opponents in argument, but to make it appear that he has

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ceiving money." And so nearly Kistem. renders. Yet this involves a harshness almost more than Lyric, in thus assigning an accusative of *thing* to προσκατηγορεῖν; by which ἐπίδειξιν must be taken in the sense of *oration, speech*, which never occurs but in the later writers; elsewhere in Thucydides (as 3, 16. and 6, 31.) it always signifies a *parade, show*, or *display*; and so in the best antient authors, as I shall notice further on. Besides, τινα will thus be frigid and useless. Such being the case, I, many years ago, suspected the passage to be corrupt; nor do I now see any reason to abandon that opinion, or the conjecture which I then struck out. I suspect that ἐς has slipped out after the first ἐς in προσκαταγοροῦντες, having been absorbed by it. Thus the construction will be: χαλεπώτατοι δὲ οἱ, ἐς ἐπίδειξιν, προσκατηγοροῦντες τινα καὶ ἐπὶ χρήμασι, "those who, in the ostentation of their oratory, accuse any one of *corruption*, in addition to error of judgment." Thus all will be exact in phraseology, and apposite in sentiment; for even Diodotus, no doubt, acknowledged the *eloquence* of Cleon, which is celebrated by Cicero; nay, it is tacitly recognised by Diodotus himself, just after, καὶ πλεῖστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο ἀδυνάτους λέγειν ἔχουσα τοὺς τοιούτους τῶν πολιτῶν., though he might justly accuse him of using it for ostentation, not for truth. Lastly, the very phrase, ἐς ἐπίδειξιν, ostentationis gratiâ, occurs in Pausan, p. 64, 1. and 73, 32. Joseph. 625. and 26. Agath. 59, 5. Diog. Laert. 2, 87. οἱ ῥήτορες γράφουσι εἰς ἐπίδειξιν. Dio Cass. 355. Liban. Orat. 226. Dionys. Hal. 102, 17. Liban. Epist. 1043 and 1078. Clem. Alex. Strom. 274. Herod. 2, 46. Aristoph. Nub. 269.

It is strange that not one MS. seems to preserve this reading; but such, I think, must have been read by the Scholiast, who explains επιδ. by φιλοτιμίαν. Now this is distinct from the other scholium, συμβουλίαν, the author of which must have read what we now have. Such, too, was probably read by Dio Cass. I cannot, indeed, deny that, according to the general use of the word, ἐπὶ χρήμασι seems to belong rather to προσκατηγοροῦντες; but it is quite as applicable to the *person accused* as to the *accuser*; and though I cannot at present prove this by examples, yet I have remarked an example of this use in a *kindred* phrase at Philostr. V. Ap. 1. B, ἐσυκοφάντησεν ἐπὶ ἀφροδισίοις τὸν ἄνδρα.

[11] *Citizen.*] Hobbes and Smith render *statesman*. And, indeed, Diodotus has in view such citizens as had some influence in the assembly, and, in that sense, statesmen. I have here not expressed the article, because our language does not well admit it; but it has force, and falls under the head of Bishop Middleton's *insertion in hypothesis*; who, among five other examples, cites Demosth. de Cor. § 94. τὸν εὔνουν πολίτην. The learned prelate might

gained the day in a fair and equal field; and it is equally the duty of a well-regulated state, if not to *add* honour to him who has often counselled it well, yet by no means [12] to detract from what he already hath; and the *erring* counsellor not only not to punish, but not even to disgrace. For thus he who should succeed would be less induced, with the view of obtaining yet further honours, or to acquire favour, to utter aught against his judgment; and he who should fail of success would be less desirous, by the like compliance [13], to *himself* conciliate public favour.

XLIII. "Now the course we pursue is the *contrary* to this; and, what is more, if any one be only *suspected* to have proposed, for the sake of gain, even the best counsel, out of ill-will, from an obscure suspicion of venality [1], we deprive the state of a manifest benefit. For hence it happens that good counsel, when spoken in a direct and open manner [2],

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have added (but that he systematically, yet, I think, injudiciously, *avoids* Scripture,) St. John, 10, 14. ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός. This idiom, indeed, was perhaps carried further in the hellenistical than in the classical style.

[12] *If not to, &c.*] Hobbes and other translators render, as if Diodotus *denies* that any honour should be shown to a wise counsellor; which cannot be his meaning. In fact, when μὴ is followed by ἀλλὰ μὴ, it is to be taken for μὴ ὅτι — ἀλλὰ, of which latter idiom many examples may be seen in Hoogev. and Viger. I mention this because the μὴ for μὴ ὅτι has, I believe, escaped all the philologists. For want of knowing the force of this idiom, and that of οὐχ ὅπως — ἀλλὰ just after, Hobbes seems to have been quite in a mist.

[13] *By the like compliance.*] The commentators are not a little at a loss what to do with τῷ αὐτῷ. Different methods of interpretation are pursued by Abresch, Bauer, Kistem., Hack, and Goeller, who render either *thereupon*, *withal*, or *thereby*. The two former senses are tame and frigid, nay, pleonastic. The last signification seems preferable; or, the τῷ αὐτῷ may mean no more than οὕτω in the former member of the sentence. The phrase must be construed with χαριζόμενος, and be taken to signify, "by the same means," i. e. by oratory.

[1] *Out of ill-will, from, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense, which has been imperfectly discerned by the interpreters. The syntax (which the commentators pass by) is this: φθονήσαντες (τινι ἕνεκα or περὶ) δοκήσεως. So Plato Menex. p. 282., cited by Matth. Gr. Gr. p. 489., τούτου κάρπου οὐκ ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλλ' ἔνειμε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. I add Æschyl. P. V. 603. μηδέν μοι φθονήσῃς εὐγμάτων.

[2] *In a direct and open manner.*] As 1, 34., where see the note. So Pausan. 8, 8, 2. ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος λέγειν. Pind. Olymp. 13, 15. τόλμα τε μοι Εὐθεῖα γλῶσσαν ὀρνύει λέγειν. It is a noble dict of Pindar Pyth. 2, 157. ἐν (I conjecture ἐς) πάντα δὲ νόμον (omnibus in πολιτείαις) εὐθύγλωσσος ἀνὴρ προφέρει, (h. e. κρείττων ἐστι, præstat) παρὰ τυραννίδι, (monarchia) χὠπόταν

becomes not less suspected than bad. So that it is equally incumbent on him who would carry the most mischievous measures to bring over the multitude by deceit, as it is for him who has to propound the most salutary counsels to disguise truth, in order to be believed. Hence by these vain imaginations the state is the only body which it is impossible to benefit in the plain and direct way, without artifice. For he who openly confers upon it any benefit is in return [3] suspected of having some secret view to private gain. It indeed behoves us who have to speak, amidst such vain fancies [4], concerning matters of the highest import, to be more long-sighted and have a farther forecast than you who only give them a temporary consideration [5]; especially as for *our counsel* we are accountable [6], while *your hearing* involves no responsibility.

ὁ λάβρος στράτος, (populus turbulentus) χῶταν πόλιν οἱ σοφοὶ, (optimates) τηρέωντι. where he adverts to the three forms of polity, monarchy, democracy, and aristocracy.

[3] *In return.*] Or, *for his pains.* Πῃ, *some how*, in some way or other. The word ἀνθυποπτεύω is very rare; but it is found in Dio Cass. 424, 7.

[4] *Vain fancies.*] Περινοίας is rendered by Portus and Hobbes *suspicions.* But that is not properly the sense of the word, which, in its present use, seems to be derived from that signification of περινοέω, whereby it denotes περιττῶς νοῶ, on which see Budæi Comment. L. G. *Conception*, or *conceit*, is the primary sense of περινοία, which here has the additional sense of what is superfluous, unnecessary, unfounded; and, therefore, the Scholiast has not ill explained it περιεργίας.

[5] *It indeed behoves, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of the somewhat obscure words χρὴ δὲ — σκοπούντων, which are neglected by the commentators, and their scope unperceived. It should seem that the orator has an allusion to the περινοίας just before, in the sense already explained; q. d. "as *you* have these περινοίας, so *we* have need to be περαιτέρω προνοοῦντας." A somewhat frigid turn, but not more so than a few others in these orations. Of δι' ὀλίγου σκοπούντων the sense cannot be that assigned by the translators, "We have need to see further than you who see but a little way," involves a truism, or something yet more objectionable. The meaning, I conceive, is: "It is we who have to use περινοία, aye περινοία *and* προνοία, far more than yours; the subjects of debate being matters of the greatest moment, and which require long and attentive consideration, and great forecast; whereas you are not called upon to give them more than a temporary consideration." Then is assigned the *reason* for this, namely, that they (i. e. the orators) have to give *counsel.* This interpretation of δι' ὀλίγου (at which subaud χρόνου) is confirmed by a kindred passage at 1, 141. χρόνιοί τε ξυνιόντες, ἐν βραχεῖ μὲν μορίῳ σκοποῦσι τι τῶν κοινῶν.

[6] *Accountable.*] Such is the sense of ἀνεύθυνον. So Herod. 3, 80, 10. τῇ (scil. μουναρχίῃ) ἐξεστι ἀνεύθυνῳ ποιέειν τὰ βούλεται. Aristoph. Vesp. 587. καὶ ταῦτ' ἀνυπεύθυνοι, which occurs in Æschyl, V. V. 332., where Dr. Blomfield annotates thus: "εὔθυναι dicebantur rationes, quas magistratus

Whereas, if both the adviser and the follower[7] had been made alike obnoxious to harm, you had decided more prudently. But now, through anger, at whatsoever counsel ye have proposed amiss[8], ye visit with punishment the counsel and suffrage only of the author of the measure, and not your own, though they were ever so many that concurred in the error.

XLIV. "I, for my part, come forward neither with the view of contradicting any man[1] in respect to the Mytilenæans nor of accusing any one: for the question at issue with us is (if we are wise), not whether, or how far, they have injured us, but what may be the wisest course for us to adopt. For if I should prove them to have ever so much wronged us, I would not therefore counsel to have them put to death, unless it were for our interest; and if they should seem to have

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apud Athenienses, quum munus deponerent, reddere cogebantur." Finally, I shall subjoin a most apposite passage of Æschin. p. 56, 19. *οὐδεὶς ἐστιν ἀνυπεύθυνος τῶν — πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσεληλυθότων.*

It may be observed, that the Athenian orators (whom the *we* here denotes) were always, like the cabinet ministers of modern sovereigns, accountable for the state-counsel they gave. Hence those *γραφαὶ παρανόμων*, on which Goeller refers to Schœman Comit. Athen. p. 159.

[7] *Follower.*] Here I read, with Bekker and Goeller, *ἐπισπόμενος*, on which word, and its confusion with *ἐπισπώμενος*, I shall treat at large in my edition.

[8] *Through anger, at whatsoever, &c.*] With the words of the original commentators have been not a little perplexed, and, consequently, have pursued various modes of interpretation. Some, as Abresch, Reiske, Bauer, Benedict, and Poppo, would read for *ἦν, ἤν*. But, if that reading *were* adopted, *πρὸς ὀργὴν* could not be taken (as they would have it) for *δι' ὀργὴν*, with a subaudition of *πράσσοντες*; which would be contrary to every principle of sound construction and regular exegesis. And *τινα*, as a *plural*, would be harsh. In short, the common reading must be retained. With respect to the *sense*, that assigned by Portus and Hobbes is specious, but somewhat frigid, and probably false. They did not consider that *πρὸς ὀργὴν* is an *idiom*, and (as I many years ago perceived, and now find coincides with the view taken by Goeller,) is put for *ὀργῇ*, præ irâ, iracundi; in which sense the expression occurs in 8, 27., and *πρὸς φόβον*, frequently in the best writers. At *ἤντινα* Goeller would repeat the *πρὸς*; and *πρὸς ὀργὴν ἤντινα*, he thinks, is for *ὀργῇ ἥτινι*. The repetition, however, is very anomalous; and this method produces a greater perplexity than before. To me it seems that at *ἤντινα*, the common and regular ellipsis of *κατὰ*, will answer every purpose; and the *ἤντινα*, I conceive refers to the *παραίνεσιν* just before. Thus, the punctuation and construction will be: *Νῦν δὲ, πρὸς ὀργὴν, (καθ') ἤντινα (παραίνεσιν) τύχητε, ἔστιν ὅτε σφαλέντες, τὴν τοῦ*, &c.

[1] *Neither with the view of, &c.*] This seems to be a latent rebuke meant for Cleon, who had come forward solely for opposition and calumniation.

some claim to pardon, I would not advise to have them spared, unless it should appear conducive to the good of the state.[2] However, in my opinion, we are deliberating for the future rather than the present. And whereas Cleon[3] strenuously maintains that the enactment[4] of death as a punishment will be expedient with a view to the future, inasmuch as there will be less revolt, I, on the other hand, by counter-affirmation, with

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[2] *And if they should seem, &c.*] There are few passages in our author that have more baffled the commentators than this. Our nicer atticists scruple at the syntax of ἦν with the optative; and all stumble at the imperfect developement of the sense, which, indeed, is rather to be *guessed* at from the context, than *proved* to be inherent in the words. Many are the methods that have been proposed for remedying the evil. Herman, at first, for ἦν conjectured εἰς, and then so interpreted as to render an apodosis necessary, by taking μὴ with ἀγαθὸν, and rendering *damnosum*, contrary to the antithesis. This, however, is doing such manifest violence to the construction, and yields so forced and frigid a sense that it cannot be admitted. Indeed the learned critic afterwards changed his opinion; and on Viger. p. 822. would seek the apodosis wanting, by taking εἶεν in the sense *esto, be it so*, i. e. "nor do I therefore recommend them to pardon," supplying ὥσιν at ἔχοντες. The same method, too, I had myself very long ago adopted of interpreting εἶεν; reading, however, from Valla, ἐχοντας; and of εἶεν, in the above sense, I adduced several examples from Plato, Dionys. Hal., and Pausanias. But I abandoned it on perceiving that it was liable to many objections, some of which are well stated by Poppo. That commentator, together with Reisig, would *cancel* the perplexing expression; and the former would then read ἔχοντας, and the latter subaud ἀποφανῶσι. As, however, it is contained in all the MSS., the criticism in question may be accounted too "*slashing*" and hypothetical. If the omission of the apodosis be thought (as I think it is) unlike any other ellipsis in our author, and conjecture be resorted to, I know none so probable as that of G. Burgess (adopted into the text by Dindorf), ἦν τε καὶ ἔχοντάς τι ξυγγνώμης, ἐᾶν, εἰ, &c. with which Dindorf aptly compares Plato, p. 4. B. εἰ τε ἐν δίκῃ, ἔκτεινεν ὁ κτείνας εἴτε μὴ, καὶ εἰ μὲν δίκῃ, ἐᾶν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐπεξιέναι. If, on the other hand, the common reading be retained, the omission may be regarded as an *aposiopesis*, to avoid irritating those who were so clamorous for the execution of the Mytilenæans.

[3] *And whereas Cleon, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense and the closest rendering of this difficult passage, in which the ὅ and the ἰσχυρίζεται have occasioned obscurity, to remove which, it must be observed, that there is an ellipsis of κατὰ or some other preposition, Anglicè, "As to that which." With respect to the reading ᾧ, which is found in five MSS, it seems to have been read by Dio Cass., since he often uses this construction, which also occurs in Demosth., Isocrates, and Isæus. But the sense would then be, "rests his argument upon;" which does not suit the words following, πρὸς ἀφίστασθαι and περὶ τοῦ ἔχοντος, which require the sense *affirm*. Yet that demands the *accusative*, as in Dio Cass. 419, 12. Aristid. 3, 553. Arrian frag. and other good writers.

[4] *Enactment.*] Or the *infliction* of, if προσθεῖσι be the true reading; and certainly there is much to countenance it. The critical discussion of the question must be reserved for my edition.

a reference to what is good for the future, maintain the contrary opinion; and I intreat you not to reject the solid utility of my advice for the specious colourings of his. For his proposition seeming more agreeable to justice, on account of your present anger against the Mytilenæans, may the rather win your assent.[5] The truth, however, is that we are not at a judicial issue with[6] them, so as to need arguments of equity[7], but we are consulting about them as to how they may be disposed of most to our advantage.

XLV. "Now in civil communities the punishment of death hath been denounced[1] against many offences, and those not only of equal guilt with this, but of *less* criminality.[2] And yet,

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5 *Win your assent.*] Literally, "draw you to it."

6 *We are not at judicial issue with.*] Literally, "we are not impleaded with." So Acts 19, 38. "let them implead one another," where see my note. It is wrongly rendered by Smith, "sit in judgment upon." The same mistake is committed by the Scholiast. In the above sense δικάζεσθαι occurs supra, 1, 77. as also in Xen. Cyr. 1, 2, 7. and Synes. p. 261. A. ὥσπερ τούτοις δικάζεσθαι σέον. Now this sense always requires the *passive* voice. Therefore in a kindred passage of Aristid. t. 3, 165. εἰ μὲν οὖν δικάζομεν αὐτοῖς read δικαζομεθ'. Hence an equally certain emendation may be applied to Dio Cass. 401, 63. (imitated from this passage) οὐδὲ γὰρ δικάζετε τισιν ἂν ἐν τῷ παροντι, ὡς τὸ τε πάνυ ἀκριβὲς δίκαιον ζητηθῆναι δεῖν, ἀλλὰ βουλεύεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων ὅπως ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα καταστῇ. where read δικάζεσθε. Therefore in Eurip. Med. 609. ὡς οὐ κρινοῦμαι τῶνδε σοι Elmsley did right in preferring the version of Portus, *litigabo.* And he might have confirmed it from Hesiod Opp. 35. διακρινώμεθα νεῖκος Ἰθείῃσι δίκαις.

7 *Arguments of equity.*] Literally, justificatory pleas. This is a rare sense of τὸ δίκαιον; though it occurs at 3, 54. παρεχόμενοι ἃ ἔχομεν δίκαια. and 5, 18. δικαίῳ χρήσθων καὶ ὅρκοις. where Steph. Thes. explains, "what may be urged in defence of our right." So also Aristoph. Thesm. εἶπον ἃ 'γίγνωσκον ὑπὲρ Ε. δίκαια. Dio Cass. p. 100, 89. and 98. τὰ δίκαια καθ' ἃ δικάσειν ἔμελλον. I have adverted to this sense, because it was mistaken by Smith, and indeed is little known to philologists.

1 *Denounced.*] Or *enacted.* Προκεῖσθαι is a vox solennis de hac re. So Soph. Œd. Tyr. 865. ὧν νόμοι πρόκεινται and Antig. 481. Eurip. Iph. Aul. 1189. τὸν νόμον ἀνάγκη τὸν προκείμενον σέβειν. Of its use with ζημία I know no other example but Xen. de Vect. 4, 21. καὶ προσκείμενης ζημίας τῷ τε πωλοῦντι. for there, (though the editors perceive it not), must be read προκειμ. At πολλῶν subaud ἀντὶ or κατα.

2 *Less criminality.*] Smith renders, "such as are not enormous like this," &c.; and Hobbes, "those not so great, but far less." Versions alike inaccurate. None of the interpreters have seen that the οὐ must not be united with ἴσων, but taken by itself for οὐ μόνον, or οὐ λέγω; as appears from the apodotical ἀλλὰ καί; on which use see Hoogev. de Part. p. 460. who adduces an exactly similar use of οὐ — ἀλλὰ καὶ from Plato, t. 7, 87. See also Schleus. Lex. in v. οὐ § 8. and my notes on the passages there cited.

buoyed up by hope, men do run all hazards; nor did any one ever yet enter upon a dangerous attempt[3], but he fancied he should get through with his enterprize. Or what state meditating revolt, having in its own estimation a force (whether its own or that of allies) insufficient for the purpose, ever attempted the thing[4]? Nay, all mankind (whether states or individuals) are naturally prone to err[5], nor is there any law that can restrain from this; since men have had recourse to all modes of punishment, still augmenting them[6], with the view of being by some means less annoyed by transgressors: for it is probable that formerly the punishments denounced against the greatest transgressions were milder[7]; but the laws

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Had Schleus. attended to the above passage of Plato, and been aware of the present, he would have seen that the use in question is *not* a *Hebraism*, but a good Grecism. It may be observed that the nature of the ellipsis differs. Sometimes, as in the passage of Plato, μόνον may be supplied; sometimes λέγω, which is the case whenever it bears the sense of *non tantum*, in which it generally occurs in Scripture, and not as it is rendered by Kuinoel, *solum*. In a similar way should be taken οὐχ ὅπως — ἀλλὰ supra, c. 42.

[3] *Nor did any one, &c.*] Gail and others wrongly render ἐπιβουλεύματι *criminal project;* and Hobbes *practice*. But the sense of crime or plotting cannot here have place; nor is it always found in the term. So 3, 20. ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἐξελθεῖν, *formed a project*. On the force of the idiomatical κατάγνους — περιέσεσθαι I shall treat in my edition.

[4] *Or what state, &c.*] Hobbes renders: "And a city, when it revolteth, supposeth itself to be better furnished either of themselves, or by their confederates, than it is, or else it would never take the enterprise in hand." And certainly there is much spirit in that version; but the passage is, as Acacius and others have seen, *interrogative;* and so, indeed, the Schol. must have taken it.

Here, from several MSS. and the recent editions, I read ξυμμαχίᾳ, *auxilio*.

[5] *All mankind, &c.*] Gail renders "font des fautes." Such, however, is not the meaning. Πεφύκασι signifies, "has some innate principle of corruption, by which men fall into error and commit faults." It is not properly rendered by Smith *sin;* for our author is not considering the subject theologically, but morally.

The passage of Sopator, cited by Wasse, still more plainly expresses this innate principle. The present passage, I would add, is imitated by Origen C. Cels. 151. πάντες μὲν ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τὸ ἁμαρτάνειν πεφύκαμεν. Isæus p. 4, 30. ἐν οἷς ἅπαντες πεφύκαμεν ἁμαρτάνειν. Also Dio Cass. 617.

[6] *Still augmenting them.*] Or, not adding to them. So Gail, "encherrissant toujours." Here the Scholiast must have read προτιθέντες, which is supported by a kindred passage at 36, 82. Of διεξερχεσθαι a similar use is found in Liban. Orat. 98. πάντα τὰ κακὰ ὑβρίζων διεξεληλύθασι. Isocrat. Paneg. 86. τι τῶν αἰσχρῶν καὶ δεινῶν οὐ διεξῆλθον.

[7] *The punishments denounced, &c.*] The greatest permanent additions to them (for Draco's laws were not of long continuance) had probably been made during the Peloponnesian war; since Thucydides at 3, 82. notices,

being transgressed, in process of time they were mostly extended to *death*[8]: and yet even *this* denunciation is slighted.[9] Either, therefore, some greater terror must be discovered, or else this at last will be no sufficient restraint. For, on the one hand, poverty is found to communicate boldness to necessity[10]; and, on the other, wealth and power are found to add a grasping rapacity to insolence and arrogance.[11] The other

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among other of its characteristics, the *τιμωριῶν ἀτοπίαν* *; as if, in the words of Porphyry de Abstin. 1. p. 7. *οὐκ ἦν ἑτέρῳ χρῆσθαι φαρμάκῳ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀμαθίαν ἢ τῷ φόβῳ τῆς ἀφορισμένης ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου ζημίας.* Plato, as appears by Aristid. t. 3. 509., was of a different opinion, thinking *τὸ συμμέτρους τὰς τιμωρίας ποιεῖσθαι πολιτικόν.* where the *συμμετρ.* signifies not *æqualis*, as the Latin translator renders, but *of moderate severity*. On this subject the reader may with advantage consult the acute and sagacious observations of Dr. Parr and Sir Samuel Romilly, in the notes to the Philopatris Varvicensis. Much to the pres[illegible]purpose are the words of Mitford: " In early times in Greece, as throughout Western Europe, public justice proceeded no further against the most atrocious criminals, than by the exaction of the fine. The court of Areopagus first adjudged the punishment of death."

[8] *Were mostly extended to death.*] So Joseph. 817, 22. *εἰς θάνατον τε καὶ τῶν κουφοτάτων ἀνατιθεὶς τὴν ζημίαν.* and 1187, 1. Philo Jud. p. 921. A. *ἄνθρωποι γὰρ πέρας τιμωριων εἶναι νομίζουσιν θάνατον — ἐξευρεθῆναι.* It is finely remarked in Sallust Cat. 51.: " De pœna possum equidem dicere id, quod res habet. In luctu atque miseriis mortem ærumnarum requiem non cruciatum esse."

[9] *And yet even, &c.*] Literally, " even this is transgressed." At *τοῦτο* must be supplied *τὸ νόμιμον*, to be taken from *νόμος* preceding. So Xen. Mem. 4, 4, 24. *οὐ πανταχοῦ νόμιμον ἐστι νόμιμον ἐφη.* Παραβαίνεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο. Perhaps, however, there might be in the mind of the writer the substantive *δέος*, which he in the next sentence brings forward.

[10] *Poverty is found, &c.*] So Eurip. Elect. 375. *ἀλλ' ἔχει νόσον Πενία. διδάσκει δ' ἄνδρα τῇ χρείᾳ κακόν*, i. e. *δ. ἀνδρα κακὸν εἶναι.* Plato de Repub. 4. p. 331. *πλοῦτος τε καὶ πενία, ὡς τοῦ μὲν τρυφήν τε καὶ ἀργίαν καὶ νεωτερισμὸν ἐμποιοῦντος, τοῦ δὲ ἀνελευθερίαν καὶ κακοεργίαν πρὸς τῷ νεωτερισμῷ.* Pausan. 4, 4, 5. Theocr. Id. 21. *ἃ πενια — μόνα τὰς τέχνας ἐγείρει Λὺτὰ τω μόχθοιο διδάσκαλος.* which is similar to Prov. 16, 26.

With the *παρέχουσα τόλμαν ἀνάγκη* may be compared Eurip. Med. 852. *πόθεν θράσος — καρδίᾳ τε λήψει, δεινὰν προσάγουσα τόλμαν.*

[11] *Wealth and power are, &c.*] Ἐξουσία is here used in a peculiar sense, to which I know no parallel except in Aristot. Eth. l. 10. c. 3. where Wilkinson explains thus: " Est enim ἐξουσία potestas ea, quam potentior aut opulentior aliquis, propter opes suas, aut magistratum, adeptus est." It may, however, better be defined: " Ea potestas quam divites ex magistratu vel imperio jure habent, aut quam divitiarum instrumento arri-

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* That the punishments were severe, we may infer from the words of Æschyl. Eum. 180. *Οὗτοι δόμοισι τοῖσδε χρίμπτεσθαι πρέπει· Ἀλλ' οὖ καρανιστῆρες ὀφθαλμώρυχοι Δίκαι, σφαγαί τε, σπέρματός τ' ἀφοφθοραὶ Παίδων, κακοῦ τε χλοῦνις, ἠδ' ἀκρωνία, Λευσμός τε, καὶ μύζουσιν οἰκτισμὸν πολὺν Ὑπὸ ῥάχιν χαγέντες.*

(i. e. middle) situations, too, of life, by the impetuous workings of human passions, as each state is respectively possessed and instigated by some vehement and unbridled lust[12], hurry men into dangers.[13] But hope and desire are associated with all

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piunt et sibi conciliant." We may, therefore, render it " the license of wealth."

The *πλεονεξίαν*, which is rendered *covetousness* or *rapacity*, rather signifies, in a general way, that craving and unsatisfied spirit in respect both of wealth, sensual pleasure, or power, arising out of the *fastidium* of superfluous wealth, which, in the words of Solomon, never " says it is enough."

Now this license naturally tends to produce *ὕβρις*, or an insolent trampling on the rights of others. A somewhat different view, indeed, is taken by Herodotus and Pindar, the former of whom, at 8, 77. says: *Λῖα δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν κόρον, Ὕβρις υἱὸν*; the latter at Olymp. 1, 90. *κόρῳ δ' ἔλεν Ἄταν ὑπέροπλον*. Theog. Admon. 155. follows the former. The latter, however, is followed by Æschyl. Pers. 826. *Ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦσ' ἐκάρπωσε στάχυν Ἄτης, ὅθεν πάγκλαυτον θέρος.** Yet either view is correct; for, as Heyne remarks on the passage of Pindar: " e copiis rerum natum fastidium animum ad insolentiam et injuriam erga alios adducit. Et insolentia, arrogantia facit ut copias nostras et fortunas fastidiamus, alienaque appetamus."

[12] *The other situations, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of this difficult passage, in which there was no need for Duker and Kistem. to have read *ἑκάστῃ* (which Hack also was inclined to edit); for the *ἑκάστη* is not to be referred to *ὀργῇ*, but to *ξυντυχίαι*, which term here denotes those states and situations of life into which, by the accidents of fortune, we may be originally placed, or which the " changes and chances of this mortal life" may bring us into. Thus it signifies *fortunes* generally in Eurip. Herc. Fur. 766. *μεταλλαγὰς συντυχίας Ἕτεκον ἀοιδάς*. So also Herod. 5, 65. *νῦν δὲ συντυχίη τοῖσι μὲν κακὴ ἐπεγένετο, τοῖσι δὲ, ἡ αὐτὴ αὕτη σύμμαχος*.

The *τινος κρείσσονος* has reference to the *ὀργῆς*, and denotes *impetu*. And *ἀνηκέστου* is well united with it, as *ὀργὴ ανηκ.* in Plutarch apud Steph. Thes. Now these passions are said to be too impetuous to be bridled by human laws alone; and, indeed, truly. So it is finely observed by Xenophon Mem., in reference to that disposition of Divine Providence by which vice is made to lead to misery: *Θείοις ταῦτα πάντα ἐοῖκε.* (hæc omnia Divinum opus aliquod arguunt, divinam prudentiam.) *τὸ γὰρ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοὺς τοῖς παραβαίνουσι τὰς τιμωρίας ἔχειν βελτίονος, ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον, νομοθέτου δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι.*

[13] *Hurry men into dangers.*] And often to ruin. Thus it is finely observed by Æschin. C. T. p. 27, 7. *ἀλλ' αἱ προπετεῖς τοῦ σωματος ἡδοναὶ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἱκανὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, ταῦτα πληροῖ τὰ ληστήρια, κ. τ. λ.*, these are the lusts which fill the jails. So that many wretched men may say, in the

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* With which may be compared a passage of scarcely less elegance of metaphor in St. James's Epist. 1, 16 ; and hence, perhaps, may be found the true key to the understanding of a most obscure but sublime passage of Æschyl. Agam. 772—779., where *Κότος*, *Θράσος*, and *Ἄτα* are personified as sons of *Ὕβρις*, and where perhaps for *κότον* should be read *κόρον*. I shall, however, find some other opportunity of entering at large into the sense of that passage.

and every one of those states[14]; this *preceding*, and that close *following*; this devising the enterprise, that suggesting the facility of success[15]; and these corrupt propensities work infinite injury, and, though little observed, are too strong for all manifest terrors.[16] And in addition to the rest, fortune contributes not a little to raise their confidence[17]; coming sometimes unexpectedly, and impelling men, even with very inferior resources, to encounter danger — and especially *states*, inasmuch as they have the most at stake, liberty, or the rule over others; and together with the community at large, each individual irrationally thinks somewhat more highly of himself than he ought to think.[18] In short, it is an impossibility,

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words of Sophocles Elect. 197. δόλος ἦν ὁ φράσας, ἔρως ὁ κτεῖνας; as in Rom. 7, 11. ἡ ἁμαρτία διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς με ἀπέκτεινεν. The term ἐξάγει has much force. So Eurip. Alc. 1090. ἀλλ' ἔρως τις μ' ἄξαγει; and Dio Cass. 686, 63. ἡ φύσις πόλλους ἁμαρτάνειν ἐξάγει. See also 678, 91. It is beautifully remarked by Eurip. H. F. 755. ὁ χρυσὸς ἄτ' εὐτυχία Φρονεῖν βρότους ἐξάγεται. where at φρονεῖν subaud τοῦ. This seems to be a metaphor taken from a ship hurried out of its course by tempestuous winds. So Eurip. H. F. 1182. ὡς δρόμον — ἐξάγῃ.

[14] *Hope and desire are associated with, &c.*] Hobbes renders "work their effect." This, however, is only derived from Portus's Supplementum, "hoc ipsum faciunt." But the ἐπὶ παντί seems to point at some such suppressed verb as ἐφίστανται. The ἔρως signifies not so much *love* (as Smith renders) as *desire*. The two passions, however, seem placed here out of their natural order; for, as the Scholiast remarks, first a man desires, then hopes he may attain his desire, and, lastly, attempts. To this purpose, it is observed by Æschin. Cont. Timarch. p. 27, 11. οὐ γὰρ τὴν αἰσχύνην, οὐδ' ἃ πείσονται λογίζονται, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς, κατορθώσαντες, ἐνφραν-θήσονται, τούτοις κεκήληνται. See Theophyl. on 1 Cor. 10, 6.

[15] *Facility of success.*] "Or, that the thing is very practicable, is likely to be with good luck successful." Τυχη here denotes *success*, especially that attained with good luck.

[16] *And, though little, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this difficult passage, which has been best understood by Smith. Now δεινὸν often in Thucydides and other writers denotes an object of fear, what is held out in terrorem. If this signification here have place, the passage admits of an interpretation very accordant with the context. Indeed it is placed beyond doubt by what follows: ἀδύνατον, καὶ πολλῆς εὐηθείας, ὅστις οἴεται, τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως ὁρμωμένης προθύμως τι πρᾶξαι, ἀποτροπην τινα ἔχειν, ἢ νόμων ἰσχύϊ, ἢ ἄλλῳ τῳ δεινῷ. where the article ought to have been retained by the late editors, since it is found in 6, 77., the present passage, and elsewhere.

[17] *Raise their confidence.*] See my note on Acts 18, 27. Προάγει, literally, "eggs them on."

[18] *Together with, &c. thinks somewhat, &c.*] i. e. has too high an opinion of himself. With this I would compare the Apostolic admonition at Rom. 12, 3. μὴ — σωφρονεῖν. where see my note. The μετὰ τούτων I have rendered in conformity with the interpretation of all the translators and com-

and a mark of great simplicity, for any one to suppose that when human nature is passionately bent on any object, any man can be found to keep it off, whether by the force of laws, or by any other means of terror.[19]

XLVI. "We must not, therefore, come to any harsh decision [1], in reliance on capital punishments as a security, nor thereby reduce such as revolt from us to despair — as if [2] there were no room for repentance, nor means for shortly effacing [3] their offence. For consider, as affairs now stand, if a city at any time should revolt, and know that it cannot succeed in its attempts, it will come to terms while yet able to reimburse the charges [4] expended in relieving it, and for the future pay tribute. But according to the system now proposed, which of them, think you, would not make preparations more completely than at present, and hold out a siege to the last extremity, if no difference be made between tardy and speedy

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mentators; but I have sometimes thought it might mean "in conjunction with the other principles" above mentioned, as ἐπὶ τούτοις a little before; q. d. vanity comes in aid of desire and hope, to hurry men into ruin. In ἐδόξασεν the Aorist has, as often, the sense of *solet*.

[19] *In short it is, &c.*] The sentiment is imitated by Dio Cass. p. 789, 19. Ἁπλῶς is well explained by the Schol. καθολικῶς. Hence the word is mostly used with εἷς and ἅπας. So Liban. Ep. 1144. ἁπλῶς τε ἅπας. and 1525. So ἁπλως οὐδὲν in a comic poet ap. Athen. cited by Steph. Thes. in v. and Philodem. 6, 4. ap. Brunck Anal. t. 2, 84. Rhes. p. 848. Zosim. 5, 24, 2. ἁπλως οὐδὲν. There is, perhaps, as Rietemier thinks, an ellipsis of εἰπεῖν, which is *supplied* in Zosim. 2, 34, 4. καὶ ἁπλως εἰπεῖν. Or, perhaps, it is for ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν; which is confirmed by the form ὡς ἁπλῷ λόγῳ, found in Æschyl. P. V. 46. where the Schol. explains it ἐν ὀλίγῳ.

[1] *Come to any harsh decision.*] Χεῖρον βουλεύσασθαι (where εἰς is to be supplied), like the *aliquid gravius statuere* of the Latin writers, may be regarded as one among the numerous *euphemisms* of the classical languages.

[2] *Reduce such as revolt, &c., as if, &c.*] Such is nearly the mode in which the words are taken by all the interpreters; yet it is possible that καταστῆσαι ἐς ἀνέλπιστον may be one of the verbal phrases which take after them a pleonastic negative. The sense will thus be, "despair of there being any place for repentance, or opportunity for," &c.

[3] *Effacing,* καταλῦσαι.] Casaub. conjectured ἀναλ., which, indeed, is a term used in exactly the same way by Dionys. Hal. cited by that critic, and Chrys. cited by Abresch. And, I would add, so the simple λῦσαι in Thucyd. 1, 4, 2. μεῖζον ἔγκλημα λῦσαι. and Aristoph. Ran. 691. λῦσαι τὰς πρότερον ἁμαρτίας. The common reading, however, is a yet stronger term, and signifies "*to utterly destroy;*" κατὰ being intensive.

[4] *While yet able to reimburse, &c.*] As in the case of the Samians, Thasians, and other revolted allies whose reduction is narrated at l. 1.

submission?[5] And how would this non-capitulation[6] be aught but an injury to us, after besieging a place, to receive it, even if we should reduce it, a heap of ruins, and to be deprived of all revenue from it for the future? Whereas it is by this very thing that we derive our ability to withstand our enemies. Thus, then, we ought not to act the part so much of rigid judges of the delinquents[7], as to mind that for the time to come we may, by moderation in punishment, keep [allied] states in a condition to pay us tribute[8], and not seek our safeguard in the severity of the laws, but by having a care of our actions.[9] The contrary to which course we now pursue; and after having subdued a state in some sort free, but governed by force, and therefore likely to revolt, for the attainment of independence, we think we should resort to harshness of punishment[10]: whereas we ought rather not to excessively

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[5] *If no difference be, &c.*] Literally, "if coming to terms slowly and promptly amount to the same thing."

[6] *Non-capitulation.*] I have here coined a word to answer to τὸ ἀξύμβατον, which is well explained by the Schol. ἀσυγχώρητον, and by Hesych. and Suid. (who, I conceive, have reference to this passage) ἀφιλίωτον. The word is rare; but it is found in Polyb. 15, 9, 1.; and the phrase ἀσυμβάτως ἔχειν occurs in Plutarch Cic. 46. Camill. 17. Zonar. Hist. 3, 151.

[7] *Ought not to act, &c.*] So Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 339, 9. οὓς (scil. πολέμους) πρὸς ξυγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἀναγκαζομένοι τίνες ἀναιροῦνται, ἐπιεικεστέρων μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιοτέρων ᾧετο δεῖν αὐτοῖς διαλύσεων. where δικαίος has the sense of ἀκριβής or ἀκριβοδικαῖος, which latter term occurs in Aristot. Eth. I. 5, 10.

[8] *In a condition to, &c.*] Literally, "of ability in respect to the tale of money." The Schol. explains λόγον by ἀπαρίθμησιν. The phrase is found in Lysias (cited by Abresch), οὐ μόνον πρὸς δόξαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς χρημάτων λόγον λυσιτελεῖ. It occurs also in Pollux 3, 109. The force of it is well explained by Wyttemb. on Julian, p. 169. Ed. Schœf.

[9] *Having a care of, &c.*] i. e. by carefully abstaining from such conduct as may provoke revolt, and using all provident means to suppress it, should it arise.

[10] *And after having subdued, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of this awkwardly-expressed passage, which has been imperfectly comprehended by the translators, and passed over by the commentators. Δρῶντες is put for the verb δρῶμεν; and ἦν οἰόμεθα *may* be freely rendered, "by now thinking." It is to be observed that the language is, properly speaking, *general*, but is meant to be applied to the case of the Lesbians in particular; since it exactly corresponds to the circumstances in which they really stood with respect to Athens. I say *really*, for though they had a sort of independence, yet that was little more than nominal. Thus at 3, 11. they describe themselves as αὐτόνομοι δή (*forsooth*) ὄντες καὶ ἐλεύθεροι τῷ ὀνόματι. And this will explain the ἐλεύθερον καὶ (*and yet*) βίᾳ ἀρχόμενον, which *seems* a contradiction, and has perplexed the translators.

punish free states which revolt, but *before* they revolt to extremely well[11] watch them, and anticipate them, so that it should never enter into their minds[12]; or, having quelled revolt, to impute the fault to as few as possible.

XLVII. "Consider, too, how much ye will err by adopting Cleon's advice, also on the following account: for now in all the allied states the common people are well-disposed to you, and either do not participate in revolt with the *few*[1], or, if they be forced thereto, presently turn enemies to the revolters, and ye enter into war[2] with the adverse city[3] with its populace on your side. But if ye exterminate the Mytilenæan commonalty, which participated not in the revolt, and as soon as it had got possession of arms, of its own act delivered up the city, ye will, in the first place, be guilty of injustice, by killing such as have done you good service; and, secondly, you will effect for the great what they especially wish. For having once induced a state to revolt, they will immediately have the populace on their side; you having foreshown that the same punishment is denounced both against the guilty and the not guilty. Whereas had they even *been* criminal, we ought to dissemble[4] the offence, in order that

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[11] *To excessively punish &c.*] There is an elegant paronomasia in the σφόδρα, which I have endeavoured to express. It is imitated by Dio Cass. 787, 57. μὴ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα κολάζειν τινὰς, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα φυλάσσειν. And the whole passage seems to be had in view by the same writer at 24, 26. παρὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων οὐ πάντα ἀκριβῶς οὐδὲ χαλεπῶς ἀπῄτει, οὐδὲ ἐπιμελείαν ὅπως καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὰ δέοντα πράττωσιν ἐποιεῖτο, τοῖς δὲ ἁμαρτάνουσι τι αὐτῶν συγγνώμην ἔνεμε.

[12] *That it should never enter, &c.*] i. e. that they should never seriously think of it, or *plan* it; for such is often the sense of ἐπινοία.

[1] *The few.*] i. e. the party which supported the oligarchy or aristocracy, consisting chiefly of the higher ranks, and persons of wealth; for such is the sense of the words a little afterwards used of these persons.

[2] *Enter into war.*] Here the present is *not* put for the future, as Duker thought, but has the sense of *fieri solet.*

[3] *Adverse city.*] τῆς ἀντικαθισταμένης πόλεως. Literally, "ranged against." So 1, 71. ἀντικαθεστηκυίας. See also 1, 61. and 7, 39.

[4] *Dissemble,* μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι.] Literally, "pretend or make as though we knew not." On this idiom I shall treat in my edition. It may suffice for the present to subjoin two apposite examples: — Diog. Laert. 9, 29. ἐὰν λοιδορούμενος μὴ προσποιῶμαι, κ. τ. λ. Schol. on Eurip. Hipp. 469. τὸ λανθάνειν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ προσποιεῖσθαι τῶν πλησίων τὰ μὴ καλὰ ἁμαρτήματα, where I would read καὶ μὴ προσπ. and ἁμαρτήματα, I suspect, ought to be

that portion of the people which is on our side[5] may not become hostile to us. And this I think is far more conducive to the maintenance of our empire, that we be disposed to put up with injury than to destroy, however justly, those whom it is our interest to spare. And thus that identity of justice and interest in the punishment in question, alleged by Cleon, is found impossible to subsist therein.[6]

XLVIII. "Convinced, therefore, that this is the best course of policy to be pursued, and not as influenced too much either by compassion or lenity (to which neither would *I* have you won over), but from the force of the admonitions themselves, follow ye my advice[1]; and as to those Myti-

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cancelled. Read also for πλησίων, πλησίον, as propriety of language requires. And here I would refer to my note on Joh. 8, 6.

[5] *That portion of, &c.*] The reason why they were on the side of the Athenians was, that the Athenians were always on theirs. This custom of the Athenians is adverted to by Xenophon de Repub. Ath. 3, 10., who regards it as ill judged. Though he acknowledges that it was from deliberate design; "for (he adds) were they to choose the part of the higher classes, they would choose the part of those holding different political principles; for the better sort are every where opposed to democracy, and the lower classes in every state are for it, οἱ γὰρ ὅμοιοι τοῖς ὁμοίοις εὖνοί εἰσι· Διὰ τοῦτα οὖν Ἀθηναίοι τὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προσήκοντα αἱροῦνται."

[6] *And thus that identity, &c.*] These and the preceding words allude to Cleon's πειθόμενοι μὲν ἐμοὶ, τά τε δίκαια ἐς Μιτυληναίους καὶ τὰ ξύμφορα ἅμα ποιήσετε, c. 40. At ἐν αὐτῷ here Goeller supplies τῷ τιμωρεῖσθαι. The version I have adopted will signify either *thus*, or *in the thing*, i. e. the measure proposed by Cleon. And this is, perhaps, preferable.

[1] *Convinced that, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of the passage, the nature of which has been but imperfectly conceived by the translators, for, as to the *commentators*, they pass it over. Γνόντες signifies literally, *deciding* (in your own minds). Νείμαντες is for ὡς νείμαντες. The sense has been best seized by Hobbes, who renders "not upon compassion or lenity." Μήδ' the recent editors, from all the best MSS., change into μήτ'. The common reading they pronounce to be a solecism; which I do not dispute, yet I cannot but suspect that, in taking the reading which the MSS. supply, they have embraced a *nubem pro Junone*. The reading, if I mistake not, is μή τι. Now τι, as united with πλέον, has great elegance, and is not uncommon in the Attic writers; e. g. Xenoph. Hipp. 6, 4. ὅταν πλέον ἔχῃ τι μεταδοῦναι. Thus μή, by itself, will be sufficiently suitable to the sense, and not be at variance with grammatical propriety.* Whereas μήτε will suit neither the one nor the other.

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* It is true that Elmsley, on Eurip. Med. 45., says, "μήτε post μὴ solœcismus est." But there are too many passages contradicting this canon to allow its admission. I have considered the question at considerable length in my "Recensio Synoptica" (Acts 23, 8.), and I will only here observe that there is a similar usage in μή τοι, where the τοι cannot alter the force of μή. So in Æschyl. P. V.

lenæans whom Paches sent away as criminal, judge them at your leisure[2], but the rest suffer to inhabit their country.[3] This course will be, in reference to the future, beneficial, and as to the present calculated to strike terror into your foes. For he who consults wisely is stronger[4] against his adversaries than he who assaults them with brute force, unaccompanied with counsel."

XLIX. Thus spoke Diodotus.[1] And after the delivery of these two most rival and equally-matched sentiments, the

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Πλέον νεμ. signifies to *give way to;* on which idiom see note supra, 3, 3. Προσάγεσθαι Smith renders *seduced.* But that sense would require παράγεσθαι.

[2] *At your leisure.*] Gail renders, "de sang froid." And so Mitford: "He concluded with recommending, that those who had been selected by Paches as most involved in the guilt of revolt, should be not condemned in haste and in anger, but judged at leisure with dispassionate deliberation." Such, however, is not the sense of the phrase; yet it was probably Diodotus's *meaning,* though he did not venture to express it.

[3] *Suffer to inhabit, &c.*] Smith renders, "continue as they are." But that would require οἰκεῖν to be cancelled, which has too much significance to be treated as a pleonasm. There is an allusion, I conceive, to some proposal which had been made to expel them from the island, as in the case of the Æginetæ. With reference, it should seem, to this, Diodotus says, "let them continue to inhabit their country; continue to them the possession of their hearths and homes." Though he probably anticipated that some *fine* might be put upon them. Mitford, therefore, wrongly renders, "grant them a free pardon."

[4] *Is stronger.*] Magis pollet. Hobbes renders, "is a surer enemy." And I myself once translated, "is formidable towards;" a sense very suitable to what immediately precedes, but not very consistent with the import of the present words, which seem to refer to the *first* of the two clauses of the foregoing sentence.

Here we have a most pithy apophthegm, which should be strongly impressed on the minds of all who are in military command.

[1] *Thus spoke Diodotus.*] An oration can hardly be found in which wisdom and philanthropy are more united than the foregoing of Diodotus, "who," to use the words of Mitford, "must have deserved to be better known, but upon this occasion only we find him mentioned in history." "A brother," continues he, "of Nicias was named Eucrates, and the manner in which family names were usually distributed among the Greeks would favour the supposition, that the father of Diodotus may have been brother of Niceratus, the father of Nicias."

445., Dr. Blomfield, after Porson, edits μή τοι χλιδῇ δοκεῖτε, μήτ' αὐθαδίᾳ, retaining the μητ'; whereas, according to Elmsley's canon, it should be μήδ'. The nature of that passage, too, is very similar to that of the present. But though μὴ, or μή τοι, *may* be followed by μήτε, I do not doubt that they *may* also be followed by μηδὲ, as in Thucyd. 3, 40.

Athenians, nevertheless[2], came to a conflict of opinion, and in the show of hands they were almost equally divided[3]; but that of Diodotus carried it[4]; and another trireme was immediately sent off with all haste, lest, by the pre-arrival of the *other*, they might find the city destroyed.[5] Now that had the start by about a day and a night[6]; but the Mytilenæan am-

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[2] *Nevertheless.*] Such is the sense of ὅμως, at which Bauer stumbling, would read ὁμοίως or ὅμως. But the latter is not used by the Attic writers; and the former would be, as Kistemacher says, *otiose*. The sense of ὅμως has been well seized by Hack. Of ἀντίπαλον the sense (which has been missed by Bauer) is what I have assigned, and of which there are frequent examples in Thucydides. In the same manner, I find, it is interpreted by Kistemacher.

It may be observed, that as the two sentiments were so equally balanced, it might have happened that no decision should be made. Yet the supporters of the new measure thought proper to bring the question to vote, knowing that if the votes were equal, they might carry their purpose; for in a criminal cause, when the votes were equal, the prisoner was acquitted, as we learn from Eurip. Iph. T., and Aristoph. Ran. 683. On the present passage it is observed by Wasse: "Turbas, et studia contendentium Noster non satis pro rei magnitudine explicat." It was not, however, *necessary* so to do; and it may be observed, that the ἐς ἀγῶνα τῆς δόξης ἦλθον is a sufficiently strong expression.

[3] *Almost equally divided.*] In the Schol. for ἐγγὺς, ἴσαι read ἐγγύς ἴσαι, as Etym. Mag. ἀγχωμαλον. παρὰ μικρὸν ἴσα. ἐγγὺς τοῦ ὁμάλου. See Etym. Guid. and Zonaras.

[4] *That of, &c.*] At ἡ Διοδ. supply, from the preceding, δόξα; or, from the context and subject, γνώμη, as in Soph. Antig. 234. So Philostr. V. Ap. 2, 39. ἐκράτησεν οὖν ἡ τοῦ Α. γνώμη.

[5] *Lest by the pre-arrival, &c.*] Here there has been no little perplexity to determine the *reading*, which fluctuates between δευτέρας and ἑτέρας and προτέρας, on which variation see Poppo. The words δευτερ. and ἑτερ., indeed, materially differ. "Hoc unum," says Goeller, "ex duobus significat sine ulla vel temporis vel ordinis notatione, unde unus ille et prior et posterior esse potest, δεύτερος autem nonnisi de posteriore plerumque dicetur." And he truly observes, that *unless* δευτ. be used for ἑτερ., the textual reading is corrupt. Harmer and Poppo, indeed, think this irregularity *may* be tolerated. I must, however, confess myself to be of a different opinion. It seems to me more probable, that what is contained in at least three MSS. is the true reading; and that δευτερ. arose from it by the blundering of Librarii, who mistook the construction, conceiving it to be ὅπως, φθασάσης τῆς δευτέρας; μὴ εὑρ.; but this is irregular, and at variance with the words following, προεῖχε δὲ (scil. ἡ ἕτερα). As to προτέρας, which is found in two MSS. and Valla, it arose from those who were justly dissatisfied with δευτέρας, and knew not what to make of ἑτέρας. It is, however, remarkable, that the words προτερ. and ἑτερ. should be elsewhere confounded. I have myself noted the following instances. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. c. 4, 17., where, as the editors show, for προτέρᾳ should be read ἑτερᾳ. And Theophyl. Sim. 124. D.

[6] *A day and a night.*] It should seem that the ship sailed on the evening of the day after the passing of the decree. For (as we learn from c. 36.) on the *day after* its passing, they repented of what they had done; and on

bassadors having furnished this with stores of wine and meal, and promising the sailors great rewards if they should overtake the other ship, they exerted themselves vigorously, insomuch that they at once plied their oars, and ate [7] of the meal kneaded up into cakes with wine and oil [8], labouring by turns; some

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application being, it should seem on *that day*, made to the rulers (for else how could any hope be entertained of effecting any good), then κατα-στάσης δ' εὐθὺς ἐκκλησίας, &c., i. e. doubtless, on the day after that. Thus, on the *day but one* after the passing of the decree, the second assembly was held; and, it is probable, that early in the morning of the next day the second trireme sailed. Or else the first trireme sailed on the morning of the day after the assembly, and the second sailed on the evening of the day of the second assembly, having, perhaps, been previously put in readiness for the voyage, by the management of the Mytilenæan ambassadors, who, it is just afterwards said, had prepared wine and meal.

[7] *Insomuch that they at once, &c.*] By this it should seem that in the ordinary way the rowing was suspended during meal-times, as, I believe, it usually is in the row-galleys of the Moors and Turks.

[8] *Meal kneaded up into, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of οἴνῳ καὶ ἐλαίῳ ἄλφιτα πεφυραμένα, which words are wrongly rendered by Hobbes, Smith, and Gail, (and even Spanheim referred to by Duker), "cakes dipped in wine and oil." Ἄλφιτα does not signify *cakes*, nor πεφυραμένα *dipped*. Ἀλφ. simply signifies *meal:* and this in being made up into cakes (μάζαι) was usually wetted (δεδευμένα) with water, sometimes with milk, (so Hesiod Opp. 587. μάζα ἀμολγαίη) sometimes, as I find from Erotian, and Hesych. in φύραμα, with *oil*. And this, I conceive, is what is called φύστη μάζα in Aristoph. Vesp. 610, in contradistinction to the plain μάζα, the *usual* food of sailors, and which Suid. explains by στρυφνὸν, which (considering that the cakes were made of barley meal) it might well be called, as being husky and dry, corresponding to our old word *rusk*, a sort of mean biscuit; and this (as at the present day) was the *usual* food of sailors. Among the numerous passages in proof and illustration of the above sense, the following must for the present suffice. Suid. in πέλανοι, πέμματα — κάρποι μέλιτι δεδυμένοι. Joseph. 87, 39. πεφυραμένοις τοῖς ἀλεύροις. and 120, 36. πληρεῖς ἦσαν ἀλεύρων ἐλαίῳ πεφυραμένων. Phylarch. ap. Athen. 150. F. πλῆθος ἀλφίτων πεφυραμένων.

With respect to the other term πεφυρμένα or πεφυραμένα, I prefer the latter reading (adopted by the recent editors from the best MSS.), as being the best adapted to express the true sense *knead*. So Pollux 8, 6, 5. in his section on *bakers* writes thus: τὰ δὲ ἔργα δεύσαι, φύρασαι, κ. τ. λ. And Dioscor. ap. Steph. Thes. in v. φυράω, φύρασον οἴνῳ. Strabo, too, and Plutarch (see Budæus) use φύρασαι πήλον. And Arrian Diss. 1. defines man to be πήλος κομφῶς πεφυράμενος. with an allusion, I imagine, to the high wrought terra cotta utensils of the antients. The form φυράω is so antient that it occurs in Æschyl. P. V. 48, though φύρω occurs at 459. of the same drama. It should seem, that in use φύρω rarely denoted to *knead*, and φυράω as rarely to *mingle*.

Of course, the cakes (or *dough*, for that is all that the words *express*) in question were, however usual among the higher classes, to sailors *extraordinary*, as Duker says. How antient was the custom of kneading up cakes with *oil*, we may learn from their being mentioned in 1 Kings 17. 12.,

taking their rest while others rowed.[9] There chancing, moreover, to be no contrary wind, and the first ship not sailing with any alacrity on so horrible[10] a business, and this, too, using such speed, the other arrived only thus much before[11] it as for Paches to have read the decree and be preparing to fulfil the orders, when the other came to land after it[12], and hindered the work of destruction. By such a little did Mytilene escape destruction.[13]

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and especially in Exod. 29, 2 and Levit. 2, 4. *ἄρτους ἀζυμίους πεφυραμένοις ἀλευροῖς.*

9 *Labouring by turns, &c.*] By the use of the phrase *κατὰ μέρος*, compared with a kindred passage at 2, 75. *ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας ἔχουν διῃρημένοι κατ' ἀναπαύλας*, &c., and considering that the present service was *extraordinary*, we may reasonably infer that it was not usual for the Greek ships to be rowed by night.

10 *Horrible.*] Or *monstrous.* The word properly signifies *unnatural*, as of a fœtus out of the ordinary course of nature. Here it seems to signify *unheard of.* The passage is imitated by Appian 1, 433, 39. *ὅκνῳ, μὴ εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν εἰς ἔργον ἀλλόκοτον.* And Plutarch Coriol. *ἀφελεῖν τῆς τιμωρίας τὸ ἀλλόκοτον καὶ βαρύ.*

11 *Arrived only thus much before, &c.*] Such is plainly the sense, nor does there seem to be any room for doubt or difficulty. And yet some antients have stumbled at the words, or read otherwise. Thus Strabo p. 887, 10. *μετεγνώσαν δὲ, καὶ ἔφθη μιᾷ θάττον ἥμερᾳ τὸ ψήφισμα ἀφιγμένον τοὺς στρατήγους πρὶν ἢ πρᾶξαι τὸ προσταχθέν.* But perhaps that writer read for *ὑστέρᾳ, ὑστεραίᾳ*; and, indeed, *ὑστεραίᾳ* occurs in four MSS. This, however, is not very reconcilable with the words following. The Schol. on Aristoph. p. 339. A. narrates the thing thus: *τοσαύτῃ περὶ τὴν εἰρεσίαν ἐχρήσαντο σπουδῇ, ὥστε οὐκ ἔφθη καταπλεύσασα ἡ προτέρα ναῦς, καὶ ὁ χάρης λαβὼν τὰ γράμματα, καὶ ἐκείνην ἐπεισπλεῦσαι ἐκέλευσε.* which, if it be founded on any antient authority, may deserve attention. The meaning of that passage is, that the first ship did not reach so much first as to have gained a mooring, when Paches received notice of the other's arrival, and ordered it to sail in; — for a permission was, it seems, necessary. The second, when off the port, might have transmitted the letter to the governor, by some swift-sailing bark which would arrive quicker than the trireme. *Καὶ* in the above passage signifies *when.* Though it is probable that for *οὐκ* we should read *οὖν, nempe;* and at *ἔφθη* supply *μόνον.*

12 *Came to land after it.*] The word *ἐπικατάγεσθαι* is very rare. It, however, occurs in Polyæn. 4, 76. *ὃ στόλος ἅπας ἐπικάτηγετο.* Dio Cass. 310, 8. and Joseph. 819, 43. *δεξίᾳ χρησάμενος τῷ πλῷ τοσόνδε ἀπελείπετο τοῦ Ἡρώδου ὥστε τὸν μὲν ἐντυχεῖν Γαΐῳ, ὁ δὲ ἐπικάταγεται καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἀπεδίδου.* plainly imitated from our author.

13 *By such a little, &c.*] The Schol. explains *ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον* by *εἰς τοσ.* That, however, will not remove the difficulty. Thus in a passage of Lucian cited by Irmisch on Herodian 5, 4, 24. we have *παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθε διαφυγεῖν.* And the very phrase used by Thucyd. occurs in Appian 1, 136. and 144. 2, 166., in Ælian more than once, and, to advert to the most *antient* authority for the phrase, Herod. 4, 16. From the above passage of Herodian it would appear that *παρὰ* signifies *by*, and that this is a blending of

L. The rest of the persons whom Paches[1] had sent away, as the most implicated in the guilt of the revolt, the Athenians, by the decree of Cleon[2], put to death, to the number of little less than a thousand. They also demolished the walls of the Mytilenæans, and took possession of their ships. Afterwards they did not, indeed, impose a tribute[3] on the island, but

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two phrases, " to come into thus much danger," and " to escape danger by thus much."

[1] *Paches.*] This being the last place wherein mention is made of Paches, it may be proper to account for what might otherwise seem strange; that so meritorious an officer was not afterwards employed by the Athenians. But from Plutarch, in his Nicias and his Aristides, we learn that he did not long survive; for being called upon to answer, before the public assembly, to a charge of peculation, and perceiving that he should be condemned, his resentment rose so high that he stabbed himself on the spot. Such, at least is the representation given by Mitford; but on referring to the passages of Plutarch p. 335. B. and 526. D. I find no mention of peculation, nor any specific charge. The words are these (Edit. recent. Hutten, Vit. Nic. c. 6.) Πάχητα, τὸν ἑλόντα Λέσβον, ὃς, εὐθύνας δοὺς τῆς στρατηγίας, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ σπασάμενος ξίφος ἀνεῖλεν ἑαυτὸν, from which it appeârs that he was rendering an account of his command. What the charge may have been, we are not told; and whether there were more than one. It is strange that Smith and Mitford recognise in the conduct of Paches at Lesbos, nothing but great judgment, ability, and humanity. To the *last* expression I must certainly object. Could it be humanity to seize and send to destruction nearly a thousand persons of distinction to whom he had plighted his faith to leave them unhurt? And his conduct at Notium displayed a mixture of the basest treachery and the most unsparing cruelty, in which he disgraced both himself and his country. Now as he was rendering an account for the *whole* of his conduct in his command, what is so likely as that he should be in danger of condemnation for his conduct, not at Lesbos, but at Notium, for which indeed he *deserved* death? When, therefore, Plutarch reckons this condemnation of Paches with the cases of Aristides, Miltiades, Themistocles, Pericles, Damon, and Antipho, he must have adverted to his conduct at Lesbos only, though even there it was far from irreproachable.

[2] *The decree of Cleon.*] For to death they were doomed by that decree; and *this*, it seems, rescinded only thus much of the former as regarded the Mytilenæans in the island.

[3] *They did not, indeed, &c.*] Hobbes renders, " they imposed no tribute;" Smith, " imposed no tribute for the future." But the Lesbians never had yet paid any. They had enjoyed a sort of independence (see 3, 1.), and were only bound to furnish a naval quota. Now on being subdued, it might have been expected that, as in the case of Samos (see 1, 117.), they would have been put on a footing with the other *tributary* allies. But instead of this another expedient was adopted, which compelled them to pay a sort of *private* tribute, i. e. to private persons; a politic measure, as it seems, to get rid of some troublesome democrats (like the French sans culottes) at home. On this singular measure, Mitford remarks, " that according to the genius of democracy, it was calculated rather for private emolument than public advantage, being either required by the sovereign people, as an indulgence which they wished and could

dividing their land, excepting that belonging to the Methymnæans, into three thousand lots or shares [4], they set apart three hundred as land sacred to the gods; and to the rest they sent shareholders of their own people, determined by lot; to whom the Lesbians agreeing to pay the sum of two minæ per annum for each share, themselves cultivated the land.[5] The Athenians also took possession of such towns on

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command, or proposed by some leading men as a bribe to obtain popular favour."

[4] *Shares.*] Κλήρους. These, it may be presumed, did not consist all of the same quantity of land; but were so allotted out as that all should be of about the same *value*. Mitford observes, "that the method was new But as far as regarded the exact division for the purpose of fixing the payment, it was old." Thus Herod. 2, 109. relates of the Egyptians: *κατανεῖμαι δὲ τὴν χώρην Αἰγυπτίοισι ἅπασι τοῦτον ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα, κλῆρον ἴσον ἑκάστῳ τετράγωνον διδόντα· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἐπιτελέειν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν.* which throws light on this passage of Thucydides. It must be observed that the antient payments of rent were in *kind*. A similar division of lands was made by Lycurgus, as we learn from Plutarch in Vit. Lycurg. 8.

[5] *To whom the Lesbians, &c.*] Mitford says, "it was provided that the shareholders should not have possession of the lands; *that* was to remain with the Lesbians, who, for each portion, were to pay them a yearly rent, in the nature of our great rents." Thus he seems to have thought that the shareholders continued at home. But Thucydides says, that the shareholders were sent over thither to possess their shares. Now had it only been provided that a fixed annual rent should be paid them, there was no necessity to *send over* three thousand persons. But, in fact, they *went*, and no doubt stayed there, and received their rent (amounting to about eight guineas sterling) on the spot; which would be sufficient to maintain them in a frugal manner. The shareholders, it should seem, were selected from the poorest of the Athenians, and were meant, by residing in Lesbos, to be a check on the inhabitants, thus making them, in some degree, like the Helots of Sparta. I say *in some degree*, for the rent was probably very moderate, and the proprietors had no power over the tenants, as the Spartans had over the Helots. Thus Plutarch, in mentioning the division of the lands of Sparta, says (Lycurg. 8.): *ὁ δὲ κλῆρος ἦν ἑκάστου τοσοῦτος, ὥστ' ἀποφορὰν φέρειν, ἀνδρὶ μὲν, ἑβδομήκοντα κριθῶν μεδίμνους, γυναικὶ δὲ δώδεκα, καὶ τῶν ὑγρῶν καρπῶν ἀναλόγως τὸ πλῆθος.* By the *ἀποφορὰ* in that passage, I understand a *rent in kind*. The legislator did not mean that the Spartans should degenerate into boors or clowns; but his intention was, that they should thus be always ready for military service. In Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 61, 6. a similar expedient is mentioned; namely, that of apportioning *part* of the lands to shareholders, to whom the possessors of the rest should be tenants for those, and pay them rent in kind, after a rated portion. See Spanheim and Perizon., referred to by Duker.

Ταξάμενοι is not well rendered by Smith, "were *obliged* to pay." It is for *συνετάξαντο*, and signifies *agreed, engaged to pay;* as 1, 99. *χρήματα ἐτάξαντο*. Herod. 3, 13. *φόρον ἐτάξαντο*. also Dio Cass. 228, 11. Polyb. 17, 9, 3. and 17, 7. 39, 1, 12.

the continent[6] as were held by the Mytilenæans; and these were afterwards subject to the Athenians. Such were the events which occurred at Lesbos.

LI. This same summer, after the reduction of Lesbos, the Athenians went on an expedition (under the command of Nicias son of Niceratus) against Minoa[1], the island which lies before Megara. This the Megaréans used as a port, having built a town therein. But Nicias wished that the watch kept on Megara should be there, being at a less distance from the Athenians, and not at Budorus and Salamis. His intention was thus to curb the Peloponnesians, that they might not (as had been the case) make naval sallies thence, by sending forth triremes and privateering barks[2]; and, moreover, that nothing should be imported[3] into Megara. Having,

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[6] *Towns on the continent.*] Of these the commentators and historians say nothing. They were, however, doubtless, such as Thucydides 4, 52. calls τὰς Ἀκταίας*, and among which he reckons Antandrus. Indeed, from Strabo, p. 896, it should seem that Ilium or New Troy was among the number. Probably it was the Alexandrian Troad.

It was not unusual for powerful and rich islands to hold territories on an adjoining continent. Thus Chios, Samos, Rhodes, and Thasus all had such appendages. And in the time of Strabo the Mytilenæans retained some towns on the continent, as Coryphantia and Heraclia. Mitford is wrong in saying that the continental territory of Lesbos was disposed of (i. e. lotted out) in the same manner as the insular. It was merely made subject to Athens.

[1] *Minoa, the island, &c.*] It is called a *promontory* by Strabo. And, indeed, Minoa, also in Laconia, is variously represented. Perhaps this Minoa, which, in the time of Thucydides, was, in a manner, connected with the continent by a shallow sand-bank, was become firmly united with it, in that of Strabo.

[2] *Triremes and privateering barks.*] Of *triremes* we had mention in l. 2, 93. Λῃστῶν is ill rendered *pirates* by Hobbes. The person is put for the thing. Yet as piratical barks cruise on all nations without exception, which these did not, the word should, therefore, be rendered *privateers*, which term is, in our language, used in the same manner. So 4, 67, 3. ἀκάτιον ἀμφηρικὸν, ὡς λῃστάι. and Xen. 2, 1, 3. ἐπέμψε Θ. τὸν Μιλήσιον, λῃστὴν ἐς Λακεδαιμονα. This signification is neglected by the commentators, and little known to editors.

[3] *Imported.*] A rare use of ἐσπλεῖν, neuter for passive, and omitted in Steph. Thes. Another example is found in Xen. Hist. 2, 4, 28.

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* By the *Actica* was perhaps meant that wedgelike tract which terminates at the promontory of Lectum; or it may mean the *sea-coast.*

therefore, first taken by engines two towers which jutted out[4] and looked towards Nisæa to the seaward, and having freed the entrance[5] into the channel between the island and the continent, he cut off its communication with the continent by a fortified wall on the side which fronted the continent, whither, by a bridge over a shallow, assistance might have been conveyed to the island, which was not far from the continent. Having completed these operations in a few days, he afterwards retired with the army, leaving a garrison (or a fortified post) on the island.

LII. About the same time this summer also, the Platæans, having no more provisions, and being no longer able to stand a siege, were brought to capitulate in the manner following. The Peloponnesians were making an assault upon the wall, and they were not able to repel it. Now the Lacedæmonian commander knew, indeed, their weakness, but would not take the place by force; for he had received instructions from Lacedæmon [to that effect], in order that, if there should ever be a treaty with the Athenians, and it should be thereby agreed[1] that the places taken by each during the war should be mutually restored, *Platæa*, as having voluntarily come over to the Peloponnesians, might not have to be given up. He therefore sends to them a herald, to ask them whether they

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4 *Which jutted out, &c.*] This has been strangely misunderstood by the commentators, though ἀπὸ has not unfrequently the above sense. With προέχοντε may be compared 7, 4. πρ. τοῦ λιμένος. and 8, 35. προὐχοῦσα ἄκρα.

5 *Having freed the entrance.*] It had been doubtless obstructed by the Megaréans, the better to keep up a communication with the island.

1 *And it should, &c.*] Smith wrongly renders, "one condition of which must be;" for this condition of mutual restitution was not always found in treaties of peace. The measure was only adopted, in case they should be obliged to admit of such a condition. "For (to use the words of Mitford) the success of the Peloponnesians in the war not having been so great and so rapid as they had promised themselves, it was foreseen that, to restore places taken on both sides might probably become a necessary condition of any peace." It was very important to the Thebans that Platæa, which had always been a bone of contention between the two nations, should not be restored. And this accounts for the little band that remained in the place having held out in defence so long. Had the Peloponnesians assaulted it vigorously, they might doubtless have taken it after the flight of three fifths of the garrison.

would voluntarily deliver up their city to the Lacedæmonians, and take them as their judges, so as to punish the delinquent, but without form of law. This proposal of the herald they (being now in the utmost extremity [2]) accepted, and delivered up the city, and the Peloponnesians fed the Platæans for some days, until the judges, five in number [3], came from Lacedæmon. On their arrival, there was no formal accusation brought forward, but there was singly addressed to each severally the question [4], Whether in the existing war they had done the Lacedæmonians and their allies any service? To this interrogative they replied by requesting to answer more at large [5], and appointed [6] as their spokesmen [7] Astymachus son of Asopolaus, and Laco [8] son of Aimnestus, public host [9] of the Lace-

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[2] *Being in the utmost extremity.*] Literally, "at the weakest." The passage is imitated by Dio Cass. 1253, 5. ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ. where, had Salmasius remembered this, he would not have conjectured ἐν τῷ στενωτάτῳ. There is a similar phrase in Pausan. 9, 7, 4. ἐς τὸ ἀσθενέστατον προήχθησαν.

[3] *Five in number.*] For an obvious reason namely, that there might always be a majority. Thus the Romans (most of whose forms were derived from the Lacedæmonians) had their *Quinqueviri* and *Triumviri.* Now these are called *judges;* though there was, in fact, no trial; nay, the doom of the wretched Platæans was doubtless predetermined. They acted rather as *commissioners.*

[4] *Addressed to each, &c.*] Such seems to be all that is meant by ἐπικαλεσάμενοι, which is rendered by Hobbes, "calling upon them man by man;" others render, "*by name;*" and Smith, "calling them out." Now the last sense is not admitted by the word, neither can it signify to call [*by name;* that would require ἀνακαλ. ὀνόματι. Besides, to address each by his name, would be to little purpose. It is probable, however, though the words do not *express* it, that the question was put to each person separately; and, therefore, I have added the word.

[5] *More at large.*] Namely, than the question required, which was meant to be answered by yes or no.

[6] *Appointed.*] προτάξαντες, though προστήσασθαι is more usual in this sense. Προβάλλειν, too, is so used by the later writers, as also προβιβάζειν, on all which terms see my note on Acts 19, 32.

[7] *Spokesmen.*] In Latin, *procuratores, oratores.*

[8] *Laco.*] This *public host* of the Lacedæmonians probably derived his name from the respect which his family bore the Lacedæmonians, between which and some powerful Lacedæmonians there was doubtless a close intimacy. For the same reason, it may be observed, Cimon called one of his sons Lacedæmonius. See 1, 45. On the other hand, at 4, 119., we find among the Lacedæmonians who signed the treaty of peace, one *Athenæus,* who had, doubtless, received his name from a similar cause. And, indeed, there are other names occurring in antient history, which may be accounted for in the same manner.

[9] *Public host.*] On these public hosts (supposed to be nearly equivalent

dæmonians, who, advancing, pleaded their cause to the following effect: —

LIII. "It was in entire reliance on your good faith, Lacedæmonians, that we made the surrender of our city to you; and far were we from thinking that we should have to encounter such a trial as this [1], but expected some more legal procedure; having capitulated [2] not to be left (as we are) to be dealt with by judges other than yourselves; supposing that thereby we should especially obtain right and justice. But now we fear lest we have been deceived [3] in both our expectations; for that the cause we have to maintain [4] is of

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to our Levantine *residents* or *consuls*), see a learned note of Valck. on Herod. 6, 57.

[1] Now follow another *pair* of speeches, "tending (as Mitford observes) not a little to explain both the nature of the Grecian confederacy, and the ideas prevailing at the time concerning the laws of nature and of nations." He, however, adds, "that it is not likely that the speeches made upon the occasion would come very exactly reported even to Thucydides. In what that historian, therefore, has given us for those speeches, as well as in what he attributes to the Lacedæmonian commissioners as the ground of their proceeding, he seems rather to have stated the arguments publicly circulated by the friends of the several parties." I cannot, however, so far agree with the able historian, as to suppose that Thucydides would be reduced to such a strait. Had Mr. Mitford considered well the question as to the authenticity of the speeches, which has been discussed at l. 1, 22. he would, perhaps, been of a different opinion.

Such a trial as this.] Which, indeed, was no trial; for their fate had evidently been predetermined. The Scholiast, indeed, (cited with seeming approbation by Goeller), takes τοιανδε δίκην to mean a trial for life, and νομιμώτεραν to signify *milder*. That, however, cannot be admitted. They confessedly expected that the judges would punish the guilty. But the guilt in question was such as involved the penalty of death, if proved. Their only complaint could be that they had no legal trial.

[2] *Having capitulated.*] Or, accepted your proposal. The γένεσθαι following depends upon ὥστε, *on condition of;* which it is strange should have escaped all the commentators. The construction of the clause is: καὶ δεξάμενοι (ὥστε) οὐχ (ὥσπερ καὶ ἐσμὲν) γένεσθαι ἐν δικασταῖς ἄλλοις ἢ ὑμῖν. The repetition here of ἐν is so useless (for it can carry no *emphasis* or pathos) and so unusual, that I cannot but suspect *one* of the two (probably the former) to have crept in from the margin. Φέρεσθαι in the next clause is rightly explained by the Scholiast ἀποφ.; and so the word is used at 2, 11. The *middle* form may be preserved.

[3] *Lest we have been deceived.*] Or *frustrated.* The indicative (as Goeller observes) is meant to denote sure persuasion and certainty. And he refers to Herman on Viger. p. 810. Matth. Gr. Gr. § 520. n. 5. and Dissen. de temp. et mod. verbi Gr. p. 34.

[4] *The cause we have to maintain.*] A more exact version of ἀγῶνα than *trial.* There is a similar passage in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 441, 24. τὸν ὑπὲρ

the most horrible [5] nature we cannot but suspect, and that you, our judges, will prove not impartial [6], we may justly fear, gathering this from there being no previous accusation [7] or indictment to which we might answer in our defence (nay, it is at our own request that we now speak); the interrogative being but brief, to which a *true* answer were adverse to our cause, and *falsehood* were exposed to confutation. Being, however, on all sides beset with difficulties inextricable [8], we are compelled, and it seems the safer course, to venture somewhat by thus pleading.[9] For to those thus situated, the

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τῶν ἐσχάτων κίνδυνον ἐπιθεὶς, κ. τ. λ. Hence may with certainty be emended a corrupt passage of Dionys. Hal. imitated from the present, Ant. 601, 27. *εἰς ἄγωνας ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰσχίστων ἀγώνων καθιστάντες οὓς*, κ. τ. λ. where cancel *ἀγώνων*, which was suspected by Sylburg, and read *ἐσχάτων*, which seems to have been in Gelenius's MS. So *ἔσχατος* is used at p. 625, 25. and 634, 41. Such sort of phrases as *περὶ τῶν δεινοτάτων* and *περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων* may be reckoned among euphemisms for *θανάτου*.

[5] *Horrible.*] This may very well call to mind the words of the Roman orator, "Horribile est causam capitis dicere."

[6] *Impartial.*] So the Scholiast explains *οὐκ ἴσοι, οὐ δικαίοι*. And Portus, *æqui*. Stephens, however, in his Thes., thinks it may more simply be rendered *communes amicos*, well inclined, as friends. And indeed in Xen. Cyneg. we have *οἱ φιλόσοφοι πάσι κοινοὶ καὶ φίλοι*. and Demosth. has *κοινὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος*. and Dion. Cass. 950, 20. *κοινὸς καὶ ἐπιεικής*. possibly with the present passage in view. Yet Demosth. also has *λόγος δίκαιος καὶ κοινός*. And this is, I conceive, the sense here; especially as the Platæans and Lacedæmonians had never been on terms of friendship. Indeed, the Lacedæmonians had taken some umbrage at the Platæans for a certain slight put upon them after the battle of Platæa, and partiality shown to the Athenians.

[7] *No previous accusation.*] Thus they were compelled to ask to speak, and speak *first*, contrary to the general rule, which is that the accuser should first speak. Hence may be understood a most ænigmatical passage of Liban. Epist. 247. *Δεῖ δὲ σε τὰς αἰτίας πειρᾶσθαι λύειν; διόπερ ἀνέμειναν, οὐκ οἰηθεὶς δεῖν Πλαταιεῦσιν ἀκολουθῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ κοινῷ νόμῳ*. where, for want of knowing to what his author alludes, the very learned editor (Wolf) perplexes himself and his readers to no purpose.

[8] *Beset with difficulties inextricable.*] Such seems to be the real sense of *πανταχόθεν ἄποροι καθεστῶτες*, which might more literally be rendered, "being placed in difficulties on all sides, which leave us no outlet of safety."

[9] *To venture somewhat by, &c.*] Hobbes' version, "to try what we can obtain," is only a paraphrase. Other senses are, indeed, assigned by Steph. and Acacius, but which cannot, I conceive, be fairly elicited from the words. Much to the present purpose is a passage in Aristid. t. 3, 73. A., and especially the following beautiful one in Eurip. Incert. frag. 16. (which, perhaps, was in the mind of Cicero, cited a little before): — Ὁ *φόβος, ὅταν τις σώματος μέλλει πέρι Λέγειν* (read from Valckn. *λόγων*), *καταστὰς εἰς ἀγῶν ἐναντίον, Τό τε στόμ' εἰς ἔκπληξιν ἀνθρώπων ἄγει, Τὸν νοῦν τ' ἀπείργει, μὴ*

speech not spoken may afford matter for self-reproach, as though, if uttered, it might have been the means of saving them.[10] But among our other difficulties, hard is the task of persuasion. For had we been mutually unknown, we might, by adducing points of evidence with which ye were unacquainted, have been benefited. Whereas now, the whole will be said to those who are perfectly acquainted with all the circumstances[11]; and much we fear, not lest precondemning[12] our merits[13] for their inferiority to yours, ye make this accusation, but lest we are hurried[14] as to a predetermined judgment, in order to confer a favour on others.

λέγειν, ἃ βούλεται. Τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἔνι κίνδυνος, ὁ δ' ἀθῶος μένει· Ὅμως δ' ἀγῶνα τόνδε δεῖ μ' ὑπεκδραμεῖν, ψυχὴν γὰρ ἄθλα τιθεμένην ἐμὴν ὁρῶ.

10 *The speech not spoken, &c.*] Such seems to be the true and literal sense of the words, which might more freely be rendered, "Not to have spoken may, &c., as if had they spoken," &c. The passage seems to have been in the mind of Joseph. 67, 25. ἵνα — τὰ μὴ λεχθέντα δόξῃ βεβλαφέναι πρὸς τὸ σκυθρωποτέρον. Indeed, the whole passage deserves to be compared. With respect to the phrase σωτήριος λόγος, it occurs also in Æschyl. Theb. 167. and often in Euripides. One may also compare Prov. 15, 23. "a word spoken in time how good is it."

11 *The whole will be, &c.*] So Æschyl. Agam. 1373. πρὸς εἰδότας λέγω.

12 *Not lest precondemning, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this difficult passage, which has been imperfectly discerned by the translators, and neglected by the commentators. There is a beautiful antithesis, or paronomasia, between προκαταγνόντες and διεγνωσμένην. where διεγν. is for προεγν., predecided or already decided. The word προκαταγινώσκω is rare. To the single example of it in Steph. Thes. I add Dio Cass. 457, 41. 785, 86. προκατέγνωσαν σφῶν. and especially Philostr. Vit. Ap. 8, 7. p. 328. (imitated from Thucydides), οὐκ ἐς τὸ προκαταγινώσκειν ἦλθον — δίκαιον γὰρ τὸ μὴ προκαταγιγνώσκειν, μηδὲ καθῆσθαι πεπεισμένον ὡς ἐγώ τι σε κακὸν εἴργασμαι. Aristoph. Vesp. 919. μὴ προκαταγίγνωσκ', ὦ πάτερ, Πρὶν ἂν γ' ἀκούσῃς ἀμφοτέρων. So also Æschin. cont. t. p. 29, 10. μηδὲν προκατεγνωκότας — ἀλλ' ἴσῃ τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ἀκούοντας. which passage is imitated from Demosth. de Corona ap. Steph. Thes. τοῦτο δ' ἐστιν οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδὲν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὴν εὔνοιαν ἴσην ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδοῦναι. The present passage of Thucydides is also imitated by Joseph. 759, 42. ἱκετεύοντος μὴ προδιεγνωσμένην καταστῆναι δίκην.

13 *Merits.*] Or *virtues.* Not *valour,* as Smith renders. The term is general; and this may be regarded as a very refined and delicate προσωπεία, similar to that of St. Paul at Acts 26, 2. and 17, 22.

14 *Are hurried.*] Literally, *set up.* Poppo and Goeller remark on the anacoluthon in καθισώμεθα. "Either (says Goeller) the author should have written, ἀλλὰ μὴ, ἄλλοις χάριν φέροντες, ἐπὶ διεγνωσμένην κρίσιν ἡμᾶς καθιστῆτε, or, ὑμῶν φερόντων καθιστώμεθα." It is not, however, difficult to perceive that the change was made from *delicacy,* which forbade the orator to use the *former* construction; though he *suggests* his meaning by adapting to it the preceding part of the phrase. There is something similar at 54. τοὺς ἡμῖν ἐπιστρ., not ὑμῖν. and 59. fin.

LIV. "We, however, by alleging such justifications[1] as we have in respect of our disputes with the Thebans, and making a remembrance of our good services, both towards you and the other Greeks, will endeavour to persuade you. We say, then, in answer to the brief question 'if we have done the Lacedæmonians and their allies any good during the war?' that if ye ask us as *enemies*, ye are not aggrieved in having received no good at our hands[2]; if as *friends*, then those who thought us such, and yet warred upon us, are most to blame.[3] We, for our parts, both in the time of the peace[4], and in the war against the Mede, acquitted ourselves well; in the one case, not being the first to violate it[5]; and in the other, we alone of the Bœotians cooperating

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[1] *Alleging such justifications.*] This version is confirmed and illustrated by Budæus, who explains thus: ἵνα παρασχώμεθα, ἵνα προτεινώμεθα, προσενέγκωμεν, προβαλώμεθα. The above sense of παρέχεσθαι is somewhat rare; but it occurs in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 441, 41. δίκαια — παρεχόμενοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς μεγάλα. and 715. ult. ταῦτα τε καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὅμοια παρεχομένων αὐτῶν ἴσχυρα. On this sense of δίκαιος I have before treated, supra 44., and here subjoin Eurip. Hec. 275. τῷ μὲν δικαίῳ τόνδ' ἀμιλλῶμαι λόγον. where the Schol. explains δικαιολογίᾳ.

[2] *Ye are not aggrieved, &c.*] Hobbes renders, "if we have done you no good, we have done you no harm." And so Smith. But such a sense is not contained in the words; neither would it have been applicable. The sense above assigned is agreeable both to the words and to the circumstances of the case; and this, indeed, was what Portus meant. So also Gail: "Nous n'avons pas ete injustes, en ne vous faisant pas de bien." And in the same manner the passage was taken by the Scholiast.

[3] *If as friends, then those, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense; yet there is some perplexity occasioned by the participle νομίζοντας, which Goeller attempts to remove by resolving the participle thus: εἰ ἐνόμιζον φίλους ἡμᾶς. But that is a very precarious method; and, indeed, *resolution* is a tool much abused by the German philologists. If the reading be correct, I see not how the sentence can be otherwise viewed than as one of excessive brevity, in which part of the words must be taken twice. I am, however, rather inclined to suspect some corruption. If for νομίζοντας we read νομίζοντες, all will be right, and the construction be (εἰ δὲ ἐρωτᾶτε) νομίζοντες (ἡμᾶς) φίλους. The Schol. rightly supplies ἡμᾶς, by which are *not* to be understood, with Goeller, the *Thebans*, but both Thebans and Peloponnesians. For the above reading, indeed, there is no authority of MSS. to adduce; but it is so minute a change as scarcely to need any; and a nominative between two accusatives was likely to pass into an accusative. How liable *final* syllables of words are to corruption, has been long ago observed by Markland on Euripides.

[4] *Peace.*] i. e. not only the peace before the Persian war, but that which intervened between it and the Peloponnesian.

[5] *Not being the first, &c.*] There is an allusion to the Thebans, who *were* such.

for the freedom of Greece: and though inlanders, we fought by sea at Artemisium; and at the battle which took place in our own country, we fought by the side of you and Pausanias; and whatever else of peril was at that time encountered by the Greeks, in all we participated even beyond our strength. To you, too, O Lacedæmonians, in particular, when the greatest danger[6] encircled Sparta, when, after the earthquake, the Helots revolted to Ithome, we sent the third part of our forces[7] for your succour: a service of which you ought not to be unmindful.

LV. "Such, then, of old, and at the most critical times, was the character in which we approved ourselves. But afterwards (say you) we were enemies. True; but for that you alone were to blame; since on our entreating your alliance, when we were hard pressed by the violence of the Thebans, you spurned us, and bid us have recourse to the Athenians, as being neighbours, whereas you were far removed. In the war, however, you had suffered no grievous[1] injury, nor would have done. But if we did not choose to secede from the Athenians at your bidding, we did you no wrong; for they succoured us against the Thebans, when you shrunk back from our aid; and to betray them were no longer honourable, especially as we have received favours at their hands, had called them to our assistance as allies, and had been made denizens of their state[2]; but it was right that we

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[6] *Danger.*] Not *affright*, or consternation, as Hobbes and Smith render. There was *danger*, and that extreme; on which see note on 1, 101. There is much force and beauty in the περιέστη, which is illustrated by the following passages:—Dionys. Hal. 535. περιειστήκει τε πάντοθεν Οὐολούσκοις τὸ δεινόν. Polyb. 1, 53, 6. τοῦ δείνου πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς περιστάντος. and especially Eurip. Sisyph. frag. 1, 37. τοίους δὲ περίστησεν ἀνθρώποις φόβου Στοίχους.

[7] *Forces.*] Or *strength*. Literally, of *ourselves;* which is very significant. Perhaps it is meant, that this was the third of their own male population able to bear arms; whereas the greater part, sent by some others (as the Athenians), consisted not so much of themselves as of their allies, and hired Scythians or slaves.

[1] *Grievous.*] Of ἐκπρεπέστερον the commentators have all mistaken the sense, led into error by the Scholiast. The word seems to be used idiomatically, as our *mighty*, and the sentence may be rendered, "ye suffered no such mighty injury at our hands."

[2] *Especially as we have received, &c.*] The construction will be much

should follow their orders with alacrity; and as to what either of you enjoin on [3] your allies, it is not the *followers* that are guilty, if in any thing ye do amiss [4], but those who lead them on to what is not right.[5]

LVI. "As to the Thebans, many other injuries have they inflicted on us. As to the last, on account of which we are suffering this, you yourselves well know what it was. And surely, when they seized our city in time of peace, and moreover, on a sacred festival [1], it was right for us to avenge our-

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cleared by taking the words, ἄλλως τε — μετέλαβεν, as parenthetical. Here τις is used like the French *on* (and, sometimes, our *one*) to denote *we*. On the phrase, ἰέναι ἐς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα, see note on 1, 121. On the *jus civitatis*, possessed by the Platæans, Goeller refers to Boeckh Staath. de Ath. t. 1. p. 282.

[3] *Enjoin on.*] Or, *order*. It is strange that Valla, Acacius, Hobbes, and Smith, should render ἐξηγῆσθε *lead on;* a sense which is at variance with the construction. Nothing is more certain, than that Thucydides frequently uses ἐξηγεῖσθαι with an accusative both of thing and person. Thus 6, 85. ἐξηγούμεθα τοὺς ἐκεῖ ξυμμάχους. and 1, 76.

[4] *It is not the followers, &c.*] This is imitated by Liban Orat. 13. D. ἐπὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν τὰ τῶν ἑπομένων ἐγκλήματα βαδίζει.

[5] *What is not right.*] Delicately worded for τὰ ἄδικα. Hither belongs that dict of Eurip. Archel. frag. 32. τὰ γὰρ οὐκ ὀρθῶς πρασσόμεν' ὀρθῶς Τοῖς πράσσουσιν κακὸν ἦλθε.

[1] *Sacred festival.*] The exact meaning of ἱερομηνία the commentators are not a little perplexed to determine. Dissenius, referred to by Goeller, interprets it *festa mensis solemnitas:* but a feast of the month, Goeller observes, is a matter of doubt. Portus understood by it νουμηνία, or the day of the new moon; and Duker remarks that, "perhaps, every νουμηνία may be rightly said to be ἱερομηνία: but whether every ἱερομηνία be also νουμηνία, is not clear." The same commentator adds, that Harpocration takes ἱερομηνία, in Demosth., to signify *holydays;* nor do any of the writers, whose words on νουμηνία are cited by Meurs., in his Græc. Fer., call the νουμηνία by the name ἱερομ. Besides, Platæa was seized τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνός. Cramer renders the word, in Demosth., "a stated feast-day in any month, or, generally, a holyday;" and thus the learned critic leaves the difficulty nearly as he found it. As to the question whether every ἱερομηνία were a νουμηνία, I do not hesitate to say *no*: but if the question were proposed, whether every ἱερομηνία can be *called* a νουμ., I would answer in the *affirmative;* for the Scholiast, on Pindar Nem. 3, 2. (cited by Goeller), rightly observes, that ἱερομηνία is put, per syntmesin, for ἱερονουμηνια, since the beginning of every month was sacred to Apollo, or the sun. But, though it might be so called, from its origination, yet ἱερομηνία did not necessarily signify νουμ. As to the question, whether every νουμ. could be called ἱερομ., we may (notwithstanding Duker's scruple) answer in the *affirmative*. Such is clear, from many passages of Herodian, which may be seen in Irmisch's Index; and, indeed, it has been long since proved, by Hemsterhus. on Hesych. Albert, t. 2. p. 26., who refers both to antient grammarians and classical writers. The νουμ., then, was called

selves of them, by the law common to all nations, that it is right to repel an invading enemy; and therefore it cannot now be just that we should be molested on account of *them*. For if you measure justice by your own immediate advantage, and with a reference to the enmity they bear us [2], you will manifestly appear to be unfair judges of right, and studious rather of your own interest.[3] And yet if they seem now to be useful to you, we and the other Greeks were then more so, when ye were in greater danger.[4] For now, indeed, ye are formidable assailants of others, but at *that* time, when the Barbarian was imposing the yoke of servitude on all, they were ranged on *his* side [5]: and just it were to balance our

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ἱερομ., in the proper sense of that word, which, however, was, in use, extended to denote not only the new moon, but any holyday in the course of the month, and, lastly, any *festival* consisting of more days than one, even of a whole month, as the Festum Nemæa, the Mensis Carneus, &c. Nay, in Lucian, t. 2, 789., we read of a ἱερομηνία of *four* months. As to fixing the time here denoted by ἱερομηνία, had we nothing but the word itself to inform us, it would be impossible to determine that. But, as we are expressly told by Thucydides, that the seizure was made τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνὸς, at the close of the month, and as ἱερομ. certainly may denote νουμ., thus there is little doubt but that such is the meaning; for, though the seizure was commenced on the last night of the month, it was continued and completed on the first of the next month; a remark in which I have been anticipated by Goeller. I will only add, that if this be the sense (and, indeed, in *any* sense), the *plural* ἱερομηνίαις, further on, cannot be tolerated, and we must read, from the margin, ἱερομηνίᾳ. Indeed the plural of this word is very rarely found; and, where it *is* (as in a few passages of Dio Cass.), it has a plural *sense*, and signifies those repeated holydays on which the supplications or thanksgivings for success were offered up.

[2] *The enmity they bear.*] Portus has here alone discerned the sense, which is strangely misrepresented by the other translators and commentators. To take πολεμίῳ for ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, as is done by the Schol., Hobbes, and Smith, is a most clumsy and anomalous expedient. Abresch, as usual, in his *Dilucid.*, makes the thing yet darker and more perplexed. It is plain from the antithesis, that τῷ must be undersood; and thus τῷ πολεμίῳ will stand for a noun, as τῷ χρησίμῳ, and, therefore, can have no other sense than that above assigned.

[3] *Studious rather, &c.*] With the τὸ συμφέρον θεραπεύοντες I would compare Dionys. Hal. 1, 443, 21. εἰ τὸν παρόντα θεραπεύσειε καιρόν. Soph. Phil. 149. πειρῶ τὸ παρὸν θεραπεύειν.

[4] *In greater danger.*] Something must be supplied, but not "than we are now in," which would not be applicable; but rather "than we were, even in the war with the Peloponnesians."

[5] *For now, indeed, &c.*] Smith paraphrases, but strangely misrepresents, the sense of this difficult passage, on which the commentators have forborne to touch. The difficulty here, as often, arises from excessive brevity. But that may, I suspect, in the present case, be partly attributed to

present fault (if, indeed, any have been committed) against our then zeal for your service; and thus ye will find it the greater compared to the less, and rendered too in times when it was rare to find any Grecian that durst oppose his valour to the mighty force of Xerxes [6], and when those were most commended, not who were contriving what would be promotive of their own interest with respect to preservation, but who, amidst perils, were disposed to venture for the noblest objects.[7] Yet we, who are of that number, and are therefore now held in high honour [8], we fear lest we shall perish

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delicacy, by which the meaning is shrouded, to avoid giving offence. The sense assigned by Hobbes is certainly not to be found in the original; yet the clause he supplies probably meant to be *suggested* by the orator. A mark of aposiopesis may be inserted after *βάρβαρος*. The complete sense seems to be this: "but at that time, when the barbarian was bringing servitude on all, you were scarcely able to defend yourselves, and then they were ranged with your enemies. Now, that you are strong and formidable, they are on your side."

[6] *Rare to find, &c.*] The phrase, *ἀντιτάξεσθαι ἀρετὴν τῇ δυνάμει*, is somewhat bold, but highly significant; for the contest was that of *valour* in a few, against the *power* of innumerable hosts. The *sentiment* might be justified from the authority of Herodotus.

[7] *Not who, &c.*] A latent, but most bitter and just, reproach on the Thebans.

With the interpretation, however, of this sentence, there is no little difficulty connected, and thus it is no wonder that there should have been a difference of interpretation. Portus renders: "eo tempore quo ii magis laudabantur, qui adversus impetum et incursum barbarorum nullam utilitatis aut salutis suæ rationem habuerunt; sed vel maximo cum periculo res optimas et pulcherrimas alacriter et fortiter agere voluerunt." But this is paying little regard either to the idiomatical cast of the words, or to the context. Hobbes renders: "and when they were most commended, not that with safety helped to further his invasion, but that adventured to do what was most honest, though with danger." And so Goeller. *Αὐτοῖς*, if it be the true reading, must, as Goeller directs, be construed with *ἔφοδον*; but there is some harshness in the use of the *plural*, as no plural except *Ἑλλήνων* has preceded. It is true, that it may be referred to *δύναμιν*, which may be regarded as a noun of *multitude*. Thus the sense will be, "not who, for their own security, consulted what would further the success of *their* invasion, but," &c. And such is *possibly* the sense. Yet I cannot but think it is rather that which I have above adopted, *αὐτοῖς* (for so I read) being taken with *ξύμφορα*, and *ἀσφαλείᾳ* being added as exegetical of the former, and to be taken for *εἰς ἀσφάλειαν*.

The use here of *τολμᾶν* as a verb active is rare. The Scholiast well explains *σὺν τολμᾷ πράττειν*. But a preposition may be supplied. This term, it may be observed, is very significant. Thus at 2, 43. we have: *ὅτι τολμῶντες — ἄνδρες αὐτὰ ἐκτήσαντο*.

[8] *Yet we, who, &c.*] I have here followed the interpretation of all the translators; but possibly the sense may be, "of whom we being the descendants, and held in high honour on that account," &c.

miserably by the same course of action[9]; namely, for having chosen the side of the Athenians, out of regard to justice, rather than yours, for our own interest. And yet it surely becomes men to be found holding the same opinions in the same case, and to reckon that interest is nought else but this — when they hold the return of their kindness ever sure, as reposed in allies of integrity, and [when] too their own present advantage is consulted.[10]

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[9] *By the same course of action.*] Namely the noblest and the most virtuous, the τὰ βέλτιστα.

[10] *It surely becomes men, &c.*] There are few passages that have more perplexed the translators and commentators than this. The sense assigned by Portus and Hobbes is by no means objectionable, but that it can scarcely be elicited from the words, and indeed the sentiment it yields is scarcely profound enough for the ὁ ξυγγραφεύς. As to the methods of construction proposed to Abresch and Bauer, they are not only too violent, but produce no good sense. Others are proposed by Heilm., Kistem., and Goeller. Kistemacher would repeat ξυμφέρον before τῶν ξυμμάχων; and I formerly supplied ὅ, τι ξυμφέρον ἐστί: but this is too precarious. The above commentator afterwards adopts the method of those who, cutting out ὅταν, and altering ἔχωσι and ἡμῖν to ἔχουσιν and ὑμῖν, assign the following sense, "Et aliter non aliud æstimare, quam ubi grates sociis relatæ cum nostris commodis consentiant." A sense at least *intelligible*, and corresponding with the dict of our great poet that "self love and social are the same." I cannot, however, think that it is the true one; and the want of authority destroys all confidence. To me it seems that the common reading is alone the true one, and that the difficulty has been occasioned by that delicacy in hinting rather than bluntly expressing the truth, which has before occasioned perplexity in this oration. Had the orator been at liberty to express himself freely, he would here have used χρὴ — ὑμᾶς, and afterwards ἤχητε and ὑμῖν. Now there were two methods of avoiding personality, first by converting the sentiment into a gnome generalis; secondly, by applying it in his own person. Now the obscurity of the passage is chiefly occasioned by the blending together of those two methods. Therefore at χρὴ we must subaud ἀνθρώπους, and at ἔχουσι take ἄνθρωποι from the preceding. Ἔχειν χάριν τινὶ signifies to lay up a favour with, so as to receive back the ἀντίχαρις or return. So at 1, 32. the Corcyræans, dwelling on this very *argument of interest*, say that those who come to ask assistance must show that they ask ξύμφορα, and then ὡς καὶ τὴν χάριν βέβαιον ἔχουσιν. Ἀρέτη here has the sense *benevolentia*, as often in Thucyd.

Goeller assigns the following as the general sense of the passage: — "Nos Platæenses ut olim in bellis Persicis erga vos, ita nunc in bello isto Athenienses fidem præstitimus. Decet autem fidem proborum sociorum, sive alienorum sive propriorum, intemeratam vereri et honorare. Major enim inde utilitas redundat, quam si spreto fidæ societatis honore, utilia tantum spectes; quo facto quodammodo sancis propriorum sociorum defectionem; nam quod in alios fieri licere concedis, id in te ipsum fieri, patiendum est. Utilitas igitur nulla in alia re ponenda est, quam in eo, ut res quaslibet præsentes ex proprio commodo componere possis, gratiam tamen fidei sociorum debitam non negligere opus habeas, quæ gratia si quando cum utilitate tua pugnabit, potius in præsentia quidem utilitas posthabenda, quam pernicioso in alios exemplo in fidos socios sæviendum est."

LVII. " Consider, too, that at present you are accounted by most of the Greeks [1] as an exemplar of honour and probity. But if ye make an unjust decision against us, the cause ye have to decide is not an obscure one [2], the judges being in high estimation and the defendants in no discredit: take care [3] that they do not disapprove that you should determine any thing unworthy against brave men, braver [4] though ye be, and that spoils should be dedicated in the temples common to Greece [5] taken from its benefactors ! Shameful it will be thought for the Lacedæmonians to destroy Platæa, seeing that your fathers inscribed their city on the tripod at Delphi, and for you to utterly expunge it from the community of Greece.[6] For to this calamitous situation are we reduced, who, when the Medes prevailed, were brought to ruin [7] ; and now

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[1] *Most of the Greeks.*] Namely the Peloponnesian confederacy. The expression is cautious, but the compliment (in which we may recognise another attempt to conciliate favour) was probably little merited. For (to use the words of Hobbes) it does not appear by any thing in the time of this war, that the Lacedæmonians deserved any reputation for justice, but contrarily they appear by this and divers other actions, not to have esteemed justice at all, when it crossed their own interest or passion."

[2] *The cause ye have, &c.*] The argument is similar to that at Acts, 26, 26. *οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν γωνίᾳ πεπραγμένον τοῦτο.*

[3] *Take care, &c.*] Or mind whether they will not disapprove. As the commentators have not touched on the phrase, the following illustrations may be acceptable. Aristid. 3, 232. *σκόπει μὴ οὐδεὶς ταῦτ' ἀποδέξωνται τὰ ἐγκλήματα.* Dionys. Hal. 151, 49. *ὅρα μὴ πότε οὐχ ὅσιον ᾖ.*

[4] *Brave men, braver, &c.*] Almost all translators render, *good;* Smith, *valuable.* The signification I have adopted (and which is common in Thucydides and other authors) seems most suitable. And this is the one adopted by Gail.

[5] *Common to Greece.*] Namely, those that were erected at Platæa after the famous battle there (see Herodotus), and which were in some measure intended to be common to all Greece.

[6] *Expunge it from, &c.*] A beautiful metaphor, imitated by Aristid. 2, 857. *ἐξάλειψαι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.* Joseph. 264, 44. *τοὺς ἐκγόνους ἐξαπολέσαι.* where read from the Cod. Vat. *ἐξάλειψαι* and 243, 16. *τὸ ὄνομα Ἀμαλήκου ἐξάλειψαι.* Æschyl. Choeph. 500. *καὶ μὴ 'ξαλείψῃς σπέρμα Πελοπιδῶν τόδε.* Eurip. Peleus, frag. 4. *Τὸν ὄλεον οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ κρίνω βροτοῖς, Ὃν γ' ἐξαλείφει ῥᾷον, ἢ γράφει, θεός.* There is, however, a passage of the Psalmist not inferior in beauty to any of the above, 69, 28. *ἐξαλειφθήτωσαν ἐκ βίβλου ζώντων, καὶ μετὰ δικαίων μὴ γραφήτωσαν.* The ratio metaphoræ, in both this and the passage of Thucydides, is the same, allusion being made to a roll. So that one might here freely render, " erased from the roll of Greece," as we now say, expunge from the *map* of Europe.

[7] *Who, when the Medes, &c.*] Portus, Hobbes, and Smith render, " if the Medes had prevailed," &c. But, as Poppo remarks, " that would require

we are worsted by the Thebans, through you, who were before our dearest friends, and have been subjected to two of the greatest dilemmas, *before* of perishing by hunger unless we had capitulated, and *now* of being put on trial for our lives [8]; and to be spurned by all.[9] We Platæans, who showed a zeal in the cause of Greece even beyond our power, are left abandoned and unassisted: for not one of our then allies comes

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ἀπωλόμεθα ἂν. Besides (as he further observes) Platæa was burnt and destroyed by the Persians under Xerxes, in their way to Attica, the inhabitants having taken flight to Peloponnesus." (See Herod. 8, 50 and 44. Diod. Sic. 11, 13.) To which misfortune Poppo rightly refers the ἀπολλ. And he might have added that this and similar expressions are used of *Athens*, which suffered the very same calamity. Either, therefore, the present must here be used for the past (as Poppo first thought), or we must read, with the best MSS., ἀπωλλ., as Poppo is now of opinion. And to this I cannot but give the preference.

[8] *And now we are worsted, &c.*] Here again there has been some diversity of interpretation. The passage, however, seems to have been tolerably well rendered by Portus and Hobbes, except that ἐν ὑμῖν is not well interpreted "apud vos;" Hobbes, "in you;" Smith and Gail, "among us;" which would be contrary to fact; for the Platæans were not conquered by the Thebans in the presence of the Peloponnesians, but by the Peloponnesians *and* Thebans. It is strange that no interpreter should have seen that ἐν here signifies *through, by, by the means of;* as in 7, 11., and often in the best writers, and especially in the New Testament.

Ἀγὼν here signifies an extremity or dilemma, what reduces one to an agony of mind how to choose. The δίκῃ is, on the authority of three MSS., thrown out by the recent editors; perhaps not on sufficient grounds. The phrase θανάτου, from its *very frequency* (and that Duker has shown), would be more familiar to the librarii than (ἐν) δίκῃ θανάτου κρίνεσθαι, a plena locutio very agreeable to the style of Thucydides, Herodotus, and the *antient* Attic writers, and which is very suitable to the case in question. There seems, indeed, to be a delicacy in employing this expression in conjunction with θανάτου, to soften what might otherwise have seemed harsh, nay ominous.

Of this whole passage a new interpretation is proposed by Poppo, but too little probable for me to detail. It rests chiefly upon the τότε, which, however, may refer to an event recently past, as well as one long past.

[9] *Spurned of all.*] Literally, "shoved, pushed, and kicked about by all, as mean persons are who are in the way of their betters." The verb περιωθέω in the physical sense in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 437. and Appian 2, 65 and 68. It is, however, generally used figuratively, to signify *spurn*, as applied to a request (so Aristid. ap. Steph. Thes. περιωθεῖσθαι ὑφ' ἑτέρων κατὰ γάμους ἢ δίκας, and Thucyd. 3, 67.); also *contemn, insult.* And thus περιωθ. *may* be taken like κολαφιζόμεθα, ὥσπερ καθάρματα ἐγενηθῆμεν at 1 Cor. 4, 11. where καθάρματα may be understood of what is trodden down for the dunghill, and consequently cast out of men. See Matt. 5, 13. So Micah 7, 10. "she shall be trodden down as the mire of the streets." Thus the term is used to denote the greatest contempt; as Heb. 10, 29. "who hath trodden down under foot the son of God."

to our help; and ye, Lacedæmonians, our only hope, we fear lest *ye* should prove not true to us.[10]

LVIII. "But we entreat you, by those gods whom we once invoked in common alliance; by your honour in the sight of Greece, relent[1], and if ye have been instigated to aught of evil by the Thebans, change your purpose, and on the contrary ask of *them* this boon[2] — not to be obliged to destroy *those* whom honour forbids you to molest — but to be content to receive *virtuous* and not *base* gratification[3]; and impart not pleasure to others, and yourselves incur the infamy attendant thereon. But [spare us]; for it were a short, indeed, and easy work to *destroy our bodies*, but a long and difficult one to *wipe away the stain* of the deed: for you would take vengeance upon those who are not enemies, but well-wishers, who were at war with you by constraint. So that you will alone decide justly by granting us a freedom from all harm[4]; especially considering[5] that you received us by voluntary

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[10] *And ye Lacedæmonians, &c.*] This passage is inadvertently omitted by Hobbes, in whose version there are, indeed, occasionally such omissions of sentences.

[1] *Relent.*] γναμφϑῆναι. A beautiful metaphor. It is strange that the recent editors should all edit καμφϑῆναι. The reading γναμφ., which was introduced and most learnedly supported by Wasse and Duker, is undoubtedly the true one. To their examples I add Phil. Jud. 530 and 630. Plutarch Arat. 13. in the MSS., Æschyl. P. V. 1031. γνάμψει γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶνδέ μ'. Plut. Cat. Min. 11. ἀγνάμπτῳ καὶ στερρῷ. Or perhaps Thucydides wrote κναμφ. See Herm. on Soph. Aj. 1031. And Hesychius has the form ἄκναμπτον, which ought to be restored to Pollux 7, 14. for ἄκναπτον. And in Clem. Alex. 413. A. μὴ ἡδονῇ ἄκναπτοι I would read ἀκνάμπτοι. Finally, Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. P. V. 169. annotates thus: "interdum scribitur ἄγναπτος, sed perperam."

[2] *Ask of them this boon.*] A sense in which δώρεα occurs in Demosth. ap. Steph. Thes. And Hesych. explains δώρεας by χαρίτας. Suid. by δόσις ἀναπόδοτος. Read ἀντωπ. So Æschyl. P. V. 346. αὐχῶ τήνδε δωρεὰν ἐμοὶ Δώσειν Δι', ὥστε τῶνδέ σ' ἐκλῦσαι πόνων.

[3] *Virtuous and not base gratification.*] Χάριν is for ἀντίχαριν, as 1, 32. So Demosth. δικαίαν χάριν. and Dionys. Hal. 1, 348, 18. πόλει δικαίας χαρίτας ἀποδώσοντες.

[4] *Granting us a freedom, &c.*] Such is the sense of ἀδείαν ποιεῖν, on which see Kistem. de Verb. Med. 44. So ἀδείαν παρέχειν and δοῦναι, and the Latin *impunitatem permittere*. And Herodian often conjoins the terms ἀδεία and ἀμνησία.

[5] *Considering.*] This sense of προνοῶ occurs also at 3, 38. And other examples may be seen in Steph. Thes.

submission, and stretching forth to you our hands [6] (and *such* the Grecians are accustomed to spare), and who, moreover, had all along deserved well of you. Contemplate, we beseech you, the tombs of your ancestors [7], who fell by the sword of the Medes, and were interred in our soil [8], whom, at the public charge, we honour each returning year with vestments and all other ceremonial honours [9]; and whatsoever our soil produces, we offer the first-fruits of all [10], as well-wishers of a friendly

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[6] *Stretching forth, &c.*] Hobbes renders, "with hands upheld." But the version above adopted is more agreeable to the signification of the word, and to the rationale of the right in question; for it must have implied, as a form of supplication, giving up themselves and the force (or arm) they possessed.

[7] *Contemplate, &c.*] A most pathetic appeal; but when addressed to those who, like the Lacedæmonians, were hardened in stupid indifference and utter selfishness, not likely to have any effect. Similar to this is one in Isocr. Plat. p. 534. Ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἡρώων μνησθῆναι τῶν ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον κατεχόντων, καὶ μὴ περιορᾷν τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν καταλυομένας, οἷς ὑμεῖς καλλιερησάμενοι, τοιοῦτον ὑπέστητε κίνδυνον.

[8] *Interred in our soil.*] From Strabo 598, 30. it appears that the tombs of those who had fallen were still pointed out in his time. His words are these: ἱδρύσαντό τε Ἐλευθέριον Διὸς ἱερὸν, καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν στεφανίτην ἀπέδειξαν, Ἐλευθέρια προσαγορεύσαντες· ταφή τε δείκνυται δημοσία τῶν τελευτησάντων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.

[9] *Whom, at the public charge, we honour, &c.*] Annua parentatione. So Bion. Idyll. 1, 98. ταήμερον ἴσχεο κομμῶν. Δεῖσε πάλιν κλαῦσαι, πάλιν εἰς ἔτος ἄλλο δακρῦσαι. Justin 9, 7, 11. Which passages refer to the *annual performance* of the rites in question. With respect to the *details*, it is remarked by Duker that Plutarch in Aristid. 1, 608., though he minutely describes this annual celebration, makes no mention of the *vestments*, only specifying the στεφανώματα, wine, milk, &c., called by the Greeks ἐναγίσματα. In addition to this, Benedict informs us, on the authority of Plutarch p. 322. A. (from whom we learn that in his time the ceremonies were kept up), that a bull was slain, and the dead invited to the feast. Yet here again there is nothing said about the offering of vestments. Goeller, it is true, on this custom refers to Plutarch Vit. Alex. c. 21. Marc. c. 30. Pelop. c. 33. Lucian, t. 7. p. 211. Dorville on Charit. p. 241, 243. But those passages scarcely establish the point. And though Duker cites Soph. Elect. 455. in proof, where Electra offers up her zone at her father's tomb, yet Benedict suspects that Thucydides wrote ἑστίασει. That, however, is too far removed from the common reading; and I would venture to propose ἑστιάμασι, epulatione; as Eurip. Iph. Taur. 387. τὰ Ταντάλου θεοῖσιν ἑστιάματα, epulationem, singular for plural, as here. If any conjecture be necessary (which is more than I am prepared to say), no one can be imagined milder than this. Gottleb. explains, "vestimenta et alia pretiosa cremandi in defunctorum honorem." But such does not here apply, as that was a rite performed at the *funeral*, not the annual commemoration.

[10] *The first-fruits of all.*] It is strange that the commentators should have failed to notice the abundant matter, in the way of imitation and illustration, bearing upon this passage, to be found in the classical writers,

country [11] and companions in arms: the contrary to which ye will do by an unjust decision. For consider now — Pausanias, when burying them, thought that he committed them to a friendly soil, and among people of friendly dispositions: but ye, if ye kill us, and make the Platæan territory a province of Thebes, what else will ye do than leave your ancestors and kindred in a hostile country, and with their murderers, unhonoured with those marks of reverence which they now receive? and ye, moreover, will enslave a country wherein the Greeks conquered their freedom; ye will desolate the temples of those gods to whom their prayers were offered up on conquering the Medes, and will deprive them of those who instituted and set up the country sacrifices.

LIX. "No, Lacedæmonians — such deeds were not for your honour — nor can it be such to violate the common institutions of Greece, and sin against your fathers; to destroy us, your benefactors, and without suffering injury, merely to gratify the enmity of others: no — but rather to spare — to relent — to be

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ex. gr. Stob. Serm. p. 290, 48. *χρὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν τελευτώντων ἕκαστον τιμᾶν τῇ τῶν κατ' ἔτος ὡραίων ἐπίφορα.* Ælian V. H. 1, 31. *τυρὸν προσφέρουσι, καὶ τρωκτὰ ὡραῖα, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπαρχὰς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων.* Nymphod. ap. Athen. 266. D. *καὶ αὐτῷ οἱ δ' ἀποφέρουσιν ἀπαρχὰς πάντων ὧν ἀφέλωνται.* Athen. 289. F. *τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς πάντων καρπῶν ἀπαρχαί ἐκεῖντο.* Philostr. Vit. Ap. 4, 16. p. 153. *δημοσίᾳ θύουσί μοι, καὶ ὡραίων ἀπάρχονται.* Soph. Elect. 895. *ὀρῶ κολώνης ἐξ ἄκρας νεοῤῥύτους Πηγὰς γάλακτος, καὶ περιστεφῆ κύκλῳ Πάντων ὅς ἐστὶν ἀνθέων θήκην πατρός.* Eurip. Suppl. 175, *κείνων ταφείσας χερσὶν, ὡραίων τυχεῖν.* Liban. Or. 508. A. *οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἀπαρχὰς τῶν ὡραίων ἐπιφέρουσιν, κ. τ. λ.* Plutarch C. Gracch. 18. *ἀφιερώσαντες ἀπαρχὰς ὧν ὥραι φέρουσι ἀπάντων.* See also Æschyl. Pers. 615. and a very learned note of Dr. Blomfield on that passage. Also Æschyl. Choeph. 481. Xen. Anab. 5, 3, 10. Porphyr. de Abstin. 2, 16, 9. Finally, I subjoin the elegant passage of Virg. Æn. 6, 884. "Manibus *date lilia* plenis: Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis *His saltem* accumulem *donis*, et fungar inani Munere." There is reference to the *φυλλοξολία*. So Herodian 4, 8, 10. (2, 921.) *Ἀχιλλέως τάφον στεφάνοις κοσμήσας καὶ ἄνθεσι.* See also Bion. Idyll. 1, 75. seqq. and the commentators.

[11] *Well-wishers of a friendly country.*] Such is the mode in which the words are taken by all the translators and commentators. Yet I have sometimes thought that the true punctuation may be *εὖνοι μὲν ἐκ φιλίας χώρας, ξύμμαχοι δὲ ὁμαίχμοις ποτὲ, γενομένοις.* by which *γεν.* will belong to *ἐκ φιλίας χώρας*, and the antithesis be more evenly balanced and complete.

alive to a just compassion[1], figuring to yourselves the extremity of the threatened suffering, and the worthiness of the sufferers; reflecting, too, on the uncertainty[2] where calamity may light—how it sometimes befalls those who least deserve it.[3] We then[4], as becomes us, and as necessity urges[5] us—we, loudly invoking the gods who are worshipped at the same altar[6], and are common to the Greeks, require of you that we may obtain our request; urging[7] the oaths which your fathers sware, adjure

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[1] *Be alive to a just compassion.*] Literally, "take up (a feeling of)," &c. I see no reason, with the recent editors, to adopt οἴκτῳ σώφρονι; for though Goeller attempts to justify that reading, it seems a mere error of the scribes, the ι and the ν being perpetually confounded, by which σώφρονα would pass easily into σώφρονι. And it is vain to plead the authority of MSS., since about half are in favour of the old reading.

[2] *The uncertainty, &c.*] See 4, 62. and Dorville on Charit. 531.

[3] *Who least deserve it.*] Here I read, with the recent editors, ἀναξίῳ, and am enabled to confirm this reading from Herodian 5, 1, 11. τὰ τῆς τύχης δῶρα καὶ ἀναξίοις περιπίπτει.

[4] *We then, &c.*] With the construction and sense of the whole of this passage αἰτούμεθα — παραδοθῆναι there is no little difficulty connected. The true *construction* seems to be: ἡμεῖς τε, ἐπιβοώμενοι θεοὺς, &c., αἰτούμεθα ὑμᾶς (ὥστε) πεῖσαι τάδε· προφερόμενοι — ὤμοσαν (αἰτούμεθα ὑμᾶς) μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν. Then the words following ἱκέται — παραδοθῆναι form the second division of the sentences; and after ἐπικαλούμεθα τοὺς κεκμηῶτας the μὴ γένεσθαι properly depends upon ὥστε, and the construction should be (ὥστε ἡμᾶς) μὴ γεν. That, however, would require φιλτάτους ὄντας, and, therefore, as we have φίλτατοι ὄντες, we may suppose that Thucydides did not intend the construction ὥστε ἡμᾶς, though, by so writing, he has left the sense indefinite: or rather μὴ γένεσθαι cannot *properly* refer to any thing but κεκμ., contrary to the plain intent of the orator.

[5] *Urges.*] Or *impels.* In this sense προάγειν is used at 3, 45. Appian 2, 412. ἐς ἣν ἡ λύπη με προάγει.

[6] *The gods who are worshipped, &c.*] It was not unfrequent in the pagan religion for two or more deities to have the same altar and worship in common. And Goeller remarks that it was customary with the Persians as well as Greeks. To such deities the terms ὁμοεθώμιοι, ὁμωχέται, and συμεθώμοι were applied; the latter when there was a *pair* of deities worshipped, ὁμοεθώμιοι or ὁμωχέται, when above that number. Συμε. occurs in Herodorus ap. Schol. on Pind. Olymp. 510. and Strabo, 745, 21. The cognate term κοινοε. is found in Æschyl. Suppl. 237. πάντων δ' ἀνάκτων τῶνδε κοινοεωμίαν Σέβεσθ'. Goeller, however, explains ὁμοεθώμιοι, "dei culti in aris, quæ universis Græcis communes erant, velut Olympiæ, Delphis."

With respect to the ἐπιβοώμενοι, it does not signify *shouting out* (that would be ἐπιβόωντες, as 4, 28.), but "loudly invoking to one's aid" (where sense of the middle verb may be discerned), as 7, 75. The word is often used by Dio Cass. Perhaps the present passage was had in view by Zonar. Lex. ἐπιβοώμενοι· ἐπικαλουμένοι.

[7] *Urging.*] Literally, "bringing forward (allegantes), as topics or arguments." Here almost all the MSS. have προσφ.; but the common reading seems to be the true one, and is defended by a similar use at 7, 69. I

you not to be unmindful of them. We are suppliants at your fathers' tombs [8]; nay, we invoke the aid of the departed, that we may not be under the Thebans [9], nor their dearest friends be delivered to their deadliest foes. We remind you, too, of that day on which, though we achieved the most glorious actions with them, now on *this* we are in danger of suffering the direst inflictions.

" But to bring our speech to an end (a thing at once necessary, and yet most hard to those circumstanced as we are, inasmuch as a termination brings with it peril of life), we, in conclusion, now solemnly protest that we surrendered not the city to the *Thebans* — for sooner than that we would have preferred to perish by the most wretched of deaths — famine [10]; but it was to *you* that, in full confidence, we capitulated: and just it were, that if we cannot prevail in our entrea-

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suspect, too, that the same sense has place in a difficult passage of Æschyl. Agam. 194. *προφέρων Ἄρτεμιν.*

[8] *Suppliants at, &c.*] i. e. we entreat you by the tombs of your ancestors, as you value them. So the words must have been taken by Dionys. Hal., who imitates the expression at Ant. 1, 656, 30. *ἱκέται γινόμεθα ὑμῶν — μὴ περιδεῖν.* and 1, 47, 29. *ἱκέται ὑμῶν γινόμεθα μὴ πρὸς ὀργὴν λαμβάνειν τὰ πεπραγμένα.* 214, 17. *ἱκετὴς δὲ ὑμῶν γίγνομαι μὴ τοὺς ὀρφάνους καταλίπειν.* and 511, 38. To be any one's suppliant (as Themistocles became the suppliant to the wife of Admetus, see 1, 136. and the notes) implied the mediation of that person to some other who would be entreated by *him* to grant a request.

[9] *We invoke the aid, &c.*] Hobbes and others have here mistaken the sense, from not discerning the true construction. In either sense, however, a certain mysterious power is ascribed to these deceased, as it was to the *ἐπιχθόνιοι ἡρῶες* or *δαίμονες*. So Hesiod, as cited by Aristid. t. 3, 284. C. *δαίμονες — ὑποχθόνιοι καλέονται, Ἐσθλοί, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

[10] *The most wretched of deaths — famine.*] On this (which Hobbes oddly renders " base perdition") the Scholiast refers to Hom. Od. 12, 342., Duker to Casaub. on Dionys. Ant. 6, 86. and Cerda on Virg. Æn. 9, 340., and Goeller to Lobeck on Soph. Aj. 1048. Those critics, however, do not make it clear what was the exact sense intended to be affixed to *αἰσχιστ.* in this use of the word. Supposing it to have that of *fœdus, loathsome,* it will not be easy to see how such an epithet can be suitable; at least it would be far more appropriate to many other sorts of death, as that by plague, &c. Perhaps, however, the word has *not* that sense here, but signifies *wretched, miserable.* This is confirmed by the passage of Homer above mentioned, and also by an imitation in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 1, 407, 46. *τῷ κακίστῳ τῶν μόρων ἀναλωθείη λιμῷ.* So perhaps may be taken *αἰσχρῶς* in Æschyl. Pers. 450. *Τεθνᾶσιν αἰσχρῶς δυσκλεεστάτῳ μόρῳ.* Of *αἰσχρὸς* as applied to death by famine, I know no other example but Polyæn. 1, 38, 1. *ἀλλὰ περιτειχισθέντες αἴσχιστα λιμῷ ἀλώσοιντο.* Finally, hence may be illustrated Soph. Antiq. 895. *ὧν λοισθία 'γὼ καὶ κάκιστα δὴ μακρῷ κάτειμι,*

ties, you should place us in the very same situation we were, and leave us ourselves to choose the danger ensuing. We, moreover, earnestly conjure [11] you that we Platæans, who have been the most zealous in the service of the Grecians, may not from your hands (suppliants, as we are, of your faith [12]) be delivered up to our bitterest foes [13], but that you would be our preservers, and not, while extending freedom to the other Greeks, bring utter destruction [14] upon us."

LX. Thus spoke the Platæans. But the Thebans, fearing lest the Lacedæmonians should relent at this earnest appeal, came forward, and said that *they* themselves wished to speak, since to *those* a longer speech had been granted than was necessary for the answering to the interrogation: and leave being given them, they spoke to the following effect: —

LXI. "We should not have requested to thus address you, had *they* briefly replied to the question, and not turned upon us, and launched forth into invective and accusation of *us*, and in long-winded apology and panegyric [1] on *themselves*,

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[11] *Earnestly conjure.*] Ἐπισκήπτω is a very strong and significant expression, usually implying *adjuration*. So Herodot. ὑμῖν τάδε ἐπισκήπτω, θεοὺς τοὺς βασιληΐους ἐπικαλέων. Æschin. κλαίοντας ἱκετεύοντας ὑμᾶς, ἐπισκήπτοντας.

[12] *Suppliants, &c.*] i. e. suppliants whose entire reliance is on your faith.

[13] *From your hands be delivered, &c.*] They feared they should be given up to the Thebans, in the same way as, in the Romish church, heretics are given up by the inquisitor to the civil power, with a request that they may be mildly dealt with, though knowing that immediate death awaits them.

[14] *Utter destruction.*] In the δι at διολέσαι there is an intensive force, as at 3, 40. where see note. Smith, by rendering τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἐλευθεροῦντας, "the men to whom all Greece is indebted for her freedom," entirely destroys the antithesis, and does violence to the words.

[1] Now follows the harangue of the Bœotians, which is marked by what Mitford calls "exasperation, unabated by time, but rather increased by the difficulties they had undergone in obtaining means to revenge their friends and relations murdered, according to their sentiment, by the Platæans." A most remarkable example of what is now called special pleading, in which, though great ability is evinced, yet little conviction is produced. Indeed several of the allegations can be disproved from the testimony of historical records preserved by Herodotus. In short, the whole of the reasoning is fallacious, the representations false or exaggerated, and could scarcely have imposed even on the Bœotians themselves. It may be observed that much of the heart-burning between the Bœotians and Pla-

for things which no one censures or calls in question, both equally foreign to the business in hand. But now it is incumbent on us to make answer to the former, and enter into an examination of the latter: so that neither our improbity nor their reputation may benefit them, but that, having heard the truth on both heads, you may the better decide. Our differences with them first arose [2] from this, that having settled Platæa last of all Bœotia, and together with it occupied some other tracts of country, expelling thence a heterogeneous [3] multitude, they would not, as it had been first ordained, be under our guidance [4], but be separate from the other Bœotians, in violation of the common observances of the country, and, on compulsion being used to bring them to their duty, went over to the Athenians, and in conjunction with them, did us many injuries, and in return suffered many from us.[5]

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tæans proceeded from that unsettled question as to the extent and duration of the claims of the mother country to the obedience of the colony. This it was that in so many *other* cases led to hatred and hostility of the most rancorous sort; the animosity of friends converted to enemies being proverbial; on which subject Aristotle has admirably treated in his Ethics.

Panegyric.] Or laudatory speech. See the note, supra 2, 34. That the Platæans were somewhat given to boasting, may be gathered from Dicæarch. p. 19.

[2] *Our differences with them, &c.*] To this charge Isocrates adverts in his Orat. Plat. § 6. p. 516. ἔνιοι τολμῶσι λέγειν, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὕτω προσηνέχθησαν, ὅτι συντελεῖν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐβέλομεν. where Lang ill explains συντελεῖν *tributa pendere*. It signifies *contribuo, attribuo*, a signification occurring in our author, and which is learnedly illustrated by Steph. Thes.

[3] *Heterogeneous.*] i. e. composed of persons of various races, some Dorians, others Æolians or Ionians, &c. Such persons are elsewhere called ξυγκλύδες or μίγαδες. It is well known how anxious each race was to keep itself distinct from the rest; and this was what first sowed the seeds of dissension, which ever kept the Greeks a divided, and, therefore, weak nation.

[4] *Guidance.*] "They begin (observes Mitford) with asserting their claim to sovereignty over Platæa, derived from their ancestors, founders of all the municipal governments of Bœotia, when they conquered the country." The having been settlers of a colony was so universally admitted as a claim to rule and authority over it, that the words παραβαινόντες τὰ πάτρια (which have a reference to this) may be justified. It would, however, appear from Herodotus 6, 108. that the allegation of the Bœotian *special-pleader* can have little force.

[5] *Did us many injuries, &c.*] The passage is imitated by Appian 1, 323, 17. πολλὰ μὲν ἐλυπεῖ, πολλὰ δὲ ἀντέπασχε. The word ἀντιπάσχω (which is somewhat rare) is used in a *good* sense by an anonymous writer ap. Steph. Thes. δίκαιόν ἐστι τοὺς εὖ ποιήσαντας ἀντιπεπονθέναι. and Soph. Philoct. 584. πολλ' ἐγὼ 'κείνων ὕπο Δρῶν ἀντιπάσχω χρηστά γ'.

LXII. "On the invasion of Greece by the Barbarians, they were, they say, the only ones of the Bœotians who did not join the Mede; and on this they especially found their panegyric of themselves and their bitter taunts on us. But we allege [1] that they joined not the Medes, only because the *Athenians* espoused not that interest; on the same principle, too, that, when afterwards the Athenians attacked the liberty Greece, they only of the Bœotians joined the Athenian party. Consider, moreover, in what situation and form of government [2] we respectively acted. Thus our country, indeed, happened to be neither governed according to an oligarchy, apportioning an equality of political privileges [3], nor under a democracy, but — what is most opposite to law and to every principle of moderation in government, and with the nearest approach to tyranny — a *cabal of a few great men* [4] held the

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[1] *But we allege that, &c.*] They allow no merit to the Platæans for their exertions in the Persian war; to which they were led, it is insisted, not by any enlarged spirit of patriotism, not by any liberal regard for the common cause of Grecian freedom, but merely by an attachment to Athens, founded on the separate interest, not even of their city, but only of a faction in their city. (Mitford.)

[2] *Form of government.*] At εἶδος must be understood πολιτείας, which is *supplied* in Polyb. 6, 10, 2. πᾶν εἶδος πολιτείας: and so 6, 8, 1. τὸ τῆς βασιλείας εἶδος.

[3] *An oligarchy, apportioning, &c.*] Such was the *then* form of the Bœotian government, which was administered by the *four councils* and the *eleven Bœotarchs;* the former being a check on the latter, and preserving that ἰσονομία here spoken of, called by Plutarch Symp. ἰσόνομος πολιτεία, and which corresponds to what Pericles, at 2, 37., claims for democracy at Athens: μέτεστι δὲ κατὰ νόμους πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον. where see the note. In fact, the ὀλιγαρχία ἰσόνομος, of Bœotia, differed little, if at all, from an aristocracy; and the form of the Athenian government was (as Thucydides elsewhere tells us), under Pericles, practically an aristocracy. And such, indeed, must every government in some shape be, to afford any hope of the affairs of a country being well managed. See the able observations of Mitford on this subject, vol. 1, 274–278. I cannot omit this opportunity of citing, for emendation, a most interesting passage bearing on this point in Max. Tyr. Diss. 26. β. Ὅπου γὰρ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐκλεύει, τὸ δὲ ἄρχον δεσπόζει, τὸ δὲ διὰ μέσου ἐνθένδε ἐξήρηται, τὸ ἰσήγορόν τε καὶ ἰσότιμον καὶ ξύννομον. where for ἰσότιμον Markland conjectures ἰσόνομον, which I am enabled to support from Pollux 5, 157. ἴσον ἐρεῖς — ἰσόνομον, ἰσότιμον, κ. τ. λ. Still, however, the passage is not correct. If I am not mistaken, Maximus wrote τὸ δὲ διὰ μέσου ἐνθένδε ἐξήρτηται, ἐξήρηται τὸ ἰσόνομον. The ἐξήρτηται (*is made dependent thereon*) was omitted by the scribe per homoioteleuton.

[4] *A cabal of a few great men.*] This seems to be the most exact version of δυναστεία ὀλίγων, an expression imitated by Demosth. 1467. οἱ διὰ τῶν ὀλίγων δυναστεῖαι. The word is δυναστεία, so used, too, by Xenophon,

administration of affairs. They, hoping that they should have a firmer hold of their power, if the cause of the Mede should prevail, coercing [5] the people by a strong arm, introduced the Medish domination.[6] But this was done by the country at large when it was not master of its own actions [7], and therefore it would be unjust to reproach it with an error into which it fell when destitute of laws.[8] Thus after the Mede had departed, and the state had obtained the possession of laws — consider now, when the Athenians afterwards assailed both the rest of Greece, and endeavoured to subjugate our country, did we not, by engaging with them at Coronea [9], and defeating them, liberate Bœotia then, and now zealously contribute to obtain liberty for others, by the furnishing of cavalry and such military provisions [10] as no other of the allies send into the field? And thus much may serve as a sufficient apology on the charge of Medism.

LXIII. "And now, that it is rather *ye*, Platæans, who have

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where it is explained by Sturz in his Lex. "magistratus vel forma reipubl. apud Thebanos omninoque in Bœotorum urbibus." And so Isocr. ap. Steph. Thes. *τοὺς δυναστείας ἔχοντας*. Polyb. 3, 18, 3. *τὰς δυναστείας τῶν πολέων τοῖς αὐτοῦ φίλας ἐνεχείρισε*. Dio Cass. 37, 67. *ἐν δυναστείᾳ ἀλλ' οὐ δημοκρατίᾳ*. and 393, 11. *ἐπὶ δυναστείᾳ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλευθερώσει*.

The *few* here mentioned were, as we learn from Herodot. 9, 15. and 86 and 88. were Attaginus and others.

[5] *Coercing.*] Literally, "holding down." A metaphor, perhaps agonistical.

[6] *Introduced the Medish domination.*] The circumstances are thus related by Pausan. 9, 6, 1. *ἡνίκα δοκοῦσιν ἐλέσθαι τὰ βασιλέως Ξέρξου πρὸ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν. τῆς δὲ αἰτίας ταύτης δημοσίᾳ σφίσιν οὐ μέτεστιν, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις ὀλιγαρχία, καὶ οὐχὶ ἡ πάτριος πολιτεία τηνικαῦτα ἴσχυεν.*

[7] *Master of its own actions.*] So Aristid.: *ἐπειδὴ Ἕλλας ἑαυτῆς ἐγένετο*. and 2, 166. B. *εἴποιεν δ' ἂν καὶ περὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς αἰτίας ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ πάντων ἦν*. Aristoph. Vesp. *Ἥων γὰρ, κἀδυνάμην κλέπτειν, ἴσχυόν τ' αὐτὸς, ἐμαυτοῦ*.

[8] *Destitute of laws.*] Not "in despite of her laws," as Smith renders. It is rightly remarked by Goeller that *οὖσα* is to be understood. And he well renders, "in keinem gesetzlichen verfassung," "not regulated by laws."

[9] *Coronea.*] See 1, 113. and the note.

[10] *Cavalry and, &c.*] Not "horses and provision for war," as Hobbes renders. Thus at 2, 9. in the review of the forces of each alliance, it is said *ἱππέας δὲ βοιωτοί — αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πόλεις πεζὸν παρεῖχον*. The *παρασκευή* seems to have reference to various *necessaries* and *warlike stores* furnished by the Thebans for the siege of Platæa.

injured Greece, and are rather worthy [1] of every punishment, we shall endeavour to show. Ye became, as ye say, allies and citizens of Athens for the sake of assistance [2] against us. Surely, then, ye ought to have called them in only as far as respected us [3], and not have gone with them against others; especially as that was in your power, had ye been unwillingly drawn away by the Athenians, the confederacy of these Lacedæmonians against the Mede (which ye with especial pride put forward [4]) ye might have resorted to, able, forsooth, to have protected you from us, and, what is more [5], afforded you the power of taking your measures without fear. But it was voluntarily and not on constraint, that ye chose in preference the side of the Athenians. Ye allege, indeed, that [6] it would have been base to betray your benefactors: but surely much baser and more unjust was it to betray to ruin *all the Greeks* with whom ye had sworn [7], than the Athenians alone; especially as these are enslaving Greece, those liberating it. Ye returned them a favour not proportionable, nor exempt from shame; it was, ye say, when *injured* that ye called them in; but ye became their aiders in the injury of others. And yet *this* rather [8] is base, not to return proportional or equal favours,

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[1] *Worthy.*] It has been rightly remarked by Bauer, that the comparative ἀξιώτεροι is to be resolved into μᾶλλον ἄξιον. I would compare Joseph. 763, 21. πάσης ἄξιον τιμωρίας. Eurip. Hippol. 3. πάσης καταγνώσεως (ἄξιος).

[2] *Assistance.*] It is oddly rendered by Hobbes, "to be righted," and by Smith, "revenge." The ἡμετέρα is to be resolved into ἡμῶν, for καθ' ἡμῶν.

[3] *As far as respected us.*] Such is the literal sense of τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, which is for κατὰ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς (πράγματα).

[4] *Put forward.*] Or use as a stalking horse.

[5] *What is more.*] i. e. what principally makes for the argument, and shows your insincerity.

[6] *Ye allege, indeed, that, &c.*] No connection, it is said, with Athens could excuse their defection from the general confederacy of the Greek nation, under the presidency of Lacedæmon, of which Athens itself had been a member. On the contrary, if it was dishonourable to betray any engagement into which they had unguardedly entered with Athens, much more dishonourable and more criminal was it to betray the common cause of Greece, by supporting the Athenians in their endeavours to subdue the whole nation, against the Lacedæmonians and their allies, whose only purpose was to protect its liberties. (Mitford.)

[7] *Had sworn.*] Namely, at the time of the Persian war.

[8] *And yet this rather, &c.*] There are few passages in our author so perplexing as this. The manifest sense of the words is so contrary to what the

than not to return such as, though owed with rectitude, have to be paid back with injustice.

LXIV. " But you have made it plain that it was not for the sake of the *Greeks* that you were then the only Bœotians who did not Medize, but because the *Athenians* did not; and ye pursued this line of conduct as intending to act in concert with the latter, but in opposition to the former [1]: and yet now ye

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course of reasoning would seem to require, that the antient, and some modern commentators supply a negative, *οὐ* or *μὴ*. Others, as Kistem. and Benedict, take the *μὴ* from *ἀντιδιδόναι*, and assign it to *μᾶλλον ἤ*, in the sense *non tam — quam*. That is, however, too violent and precarious a method. Both the above are rejected by Hack, who, repeating *μὴ ἀντιδιδόναι*, assigns the following as the sense: " *Parem* gratiam non referre, turpius est, quam non referre juste quidem debitam, sed injuriæ inservientem." The same method is pursued by Goeller, who takes *αἰσχρὸν μᾶλλον* for *potius turpe* (referring to 4, 10.). And he renders the passage thus: " Et tamen, aiunt, hoc potius turpe est, pares gratias non referre, quam (ut etiam turpe sit) non reddere eas, quæ cum justitia quidem contractæ sunt, sed sine injustitia solvi nequeunt." Thus the insertion of the negative in the *second* member is meant to make up for the seeming want of it in the first. As to the version of Hobbes, " it is not so dishonest to leave a benefit unrequited, as to make such a requital, as though justly due, cannot be justly done;" it yields a tolerable sense, but requires the insertion of the negative; and the sense is, I conceive, more limited than the author intended. Otherwise I should be inclined to adopt an expedient (which I devised many years ago) of removing the difficulty, which produces the same effect in a milder way; namely, by regarding the whole as an *interrogative* sentence. But after all, no change of any kind seems to be necessary, since the words require *explanation* rather than *emendation*. The mode of interpretation adopted by Hack and Goeller seems to be the true one. By the *ὁμοίας χαρίτας* is, I conceive, meant *the obligations they owed to the Grecians* at large. Now these were *ὅμοιαι*, or *ἴσαι*, because they placed the two parties on an equal footing, not requiring what would be owed by virtuous benefits to be paid by returns which involved injustice. By the *τὰς μετὰ δικ. — ἀποδιδομένας* are meant those due to the Athenians, which were owed with justice, but had to be paid with injustice, and were, therefore, *unequal*. Favours are here compared to debts.

The commentators, I must observe, have all failed to perceive that in these words the Theban orator carps at that passage of the Platæan orator, where he says *σώφρονα τε ἀντὶ αἰσχρὰς κομίσασθαι χάριν*, and the preceding ones *οὐκ ἴσην αὐτῶν τὴν χάριν ἀνταπέδοτε οὐδὲ αἰσχύνας ἀπηλλαγμένην*.

The present passage is imitated by Joseph. 662, 33. *τὰς τε χάριτας οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀποδίδοσθαι*. where I conjecture *ὁμοίας*. and 662, 43. *πέμπει δῶρα πλείω (ὥστε) μὴ διακωλῦσαι τὰς εἰς τὸν εὐεργέτην αὐτοῦ χάριτας, ὁμοίως φιλανθρωπεύομενος*. where I conjecture for *φιλανθρωπεύομενος, φιλανθρωπευόμενον* (scil. *αὐτὸν*. Herodem); and for *ὁμοίως, ὁμοίας*. Finally, there is a very similarly expressed passage in Æschyl. Choeph. 491. *τὰς ὁμοίας ἀντιδιδοὺς βλάβας λαβεῖν*. as also in Æschin. p. 66, 2. *τηλικαῦθ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν εὖ πεπονθότες, οὐ τὰς ὁμοίας ὑμῖν ἀπέδοσαν χάριτας*.

[1] *Pursued this, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this passage,

claim to be benefited for the zeal and courage which ye evinced for the sake of *others*.[2] But that were unreasonable. As ye then chose the side of the Athenians, so now keep to your party[3]; and allege not your participation in the sincerely plighted league[4], as if that should save you. For ye abandoned it, and, in violation of it, you rather helped in enslaving the Æginetæ and certain others of the parties to the oath, than hindered it; and that not involuntarily, but in the possession of laws the same with those you now have, and no one forcing your inclinations, as in our case. Our last invitation to you (before ye were besieged), to be at quiet and preserve a neutrality, ye rejected. Who therefore can be more deservedly the object of hatred to all the Greeks than you, who have displayed bravery, but to their injury?[5] And as to the actions whereby ye were once (as ye say) good and worthy[6], ye have now exhibited what are not correspondent thereto[7]; nay, thus it has been put to the proof, and truly

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which has been missed by the translators, from inattention to the construction, and, indeed, punctuation; for there should be a period placed after τἀναντία, as in the editions of Bekker and Goeller.

[2] *And yet now ye claim, &c.*] Smith not ill paraphrases thus: "and ye now modestly claim to be recompensed by your *country*, for all the iniquitous services you have done to a *party*." At ἀφ' ὧν must be supplied πραγμάτων, as designating the *parts* of virtue in which they had acquitted themselves.

[3] *Keep to your party.*] Portus and others render ξυναγωνίζεσθε "continue with them." A sense, however, so unsuitable, that Hobbes, Hudson, and Smith render, "let them help you in your trial, get redress of them." But that sense cannot be elicited from the word, and deviates too far. Now as to *fight on the side of* any one is equivalent to *taking their side*, and as taking a side differs but slightly from keeping to a side, so this last seems to be the sense.

[4] *Sincerely plighted league.*] The Schol. explains ξυνωμοσία by μεθ' ὅρκων ξυμμαχία. And so Hesych. μεθ' ὅρκων φιλία. Of this *good* sense of the word I know no other example.

[5] *Who have displayed, &c.*] That any other sense should have been ascribed to the word is astonishing. Yet Portus and Hobbes render, "pretend honesty to their ruin;" which yields a very frigid sense, and such as is scarcely to be elicited from the words. Προτίθεσθαι signifies to *exhibit to view*. Now this they had done in their memorable defence of Platæa.

[6] *Good and worthy.*] The χρηστοὶ is by some rendered *brave*. But it seems rather to denote good and well-disposed. There is here reference to the words of the Platæans τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ — ἀγαθοὶ γεγενήμεθα.

[7] *Not correspondent thereto.*] Such is the sense of οὐ προσήκοντα, which has not been discerned by the translators.

shown [8], what have ever been your natural inclinations: for with the Athenians (walking in the ways of injustice [9]) ye have gone. And thus much we have to allege with respect to our involuntary Medism and your voluntary Atticism.

LXV. "As to the affair wherein ye say ye last suffered injury, in that we unlawfully came upon your city in a time of peace and sacred solemnity [1], we do not reckon ourselves, even in that affair, so much [2] to blame as you: for had we, indeed, of ourselves undertaken hostilities against your city, and, as enemies, devastated your territory, we had acted unjustly; but if some of the principal persons among you, both for wealth and birth, wishing to disengage you from a foreign alliance, and establish you in the institutions common to all Bœotia, invited us thither of their own accord, wherein have we injured you? for 'the leaders are more in fault than the followers.'[3] But, according to my judgment, neither they nor we did wrong. Being citizens, as well as you, and holding a greater stake [4] in the country, they opened their gates and

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[8] *Put to the proof, &c.*] All this seems included in the sense of ἐξελέγχθη, as also "to your shame." Goeller well renders, "ita comperta sunt, ut vera voluntatis vestræ ratio appareret;" comparing Tacit. Annal. 3, 44. "cuncta, ut mos famæ, in majus credita."

[9] *Walking in the ways, &c.*] This phrase ὁδὸν ἄδικον ἰόντων may be compared with Dionys. Hal. Ant. 320, 22. ὀλέθριον βαδίζουσιν ὁδόν. and 595, 18. ἰταμὴν ὁδόν. and 719, 10. τὴν ὀλεθριωτάτην ἔγνω βαδίζειν ὁδόν. Joseph. 282. Pind. Olymp. 7, 166. This, I would observe, bears a strong resemblance to the Hellenistic use of ὁδός, on which see Schleus. Lex. in v. And so in the Old Testament, "to walk in the ways of unrighteousness," &c.

[1] *Sacred solemnity.*] It is strange none of the editors should have seen that the plural ἱερομηνίαις cannot have place, but that the true reading is ἱερομηνίᾳ, on which see note supra, c. 56. The plural here seems to have arisen partly from the plural preceding, and partly from the ε following.

[2] *So much.*] The οὐ μᾶλλον — ὑμῶν is for οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμεῖς, and that stands for *non tam—quam*, as Appian, 1, 212, 91. οὐ δοκιμάζων — μᾶλλον ἤ. and Eurip. Phœn. 518. τοῦτο — οὐχὶ βούλομαι Ἄλλῳ παρεῖναι μᾶλλον ἢ σώζειν ἐμοί.

[3] *For the leaders are, &c.*] A most bitter retort on the words of the Platæans at c. 55. fin. οὐχ οἱ ἐπόμενοι αἴτιοι εἴ τι μὴ καλῶς ἐδρᾶτε, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄγοντες ἐπὶ τὰ μὴ ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα.

[4] *Holding a greater stake.*] This sense of παραλάλλεσθαι is also found in 2, 44. "who hold not an equal stake in the common welfare;" also 3, 14. that those who hold the greatest stake in the welfare of a country should have the most to do with its government, is one of the most certain principles of political science, and forms a prominent feature in the BRITISH CONSTITUTION.

introduced us to their city as friends, not enemies; being desirous that the lower ranks[5] among you should no longer have the upper hand, but that the better sort of people should hold the dignities[6]; intending also to be moderators[7] of your counsels, and meaning not to deprive the state of your persons[8], but to reconcile you to your kindred[9]; making you enemies to no party, but contriving that you should be at peace and amity with all.

LXVI. "Now as a proof that we had no hostile views, we offered injury to no one[1], but proclaimed that whoever was willing to have a constitution moulded after the common form of all the Bœotians should join us. You then came in[2] readily, and, entering into a treaty with us, were at first quiet: but afterwards, perceiving us to be few in number (even though we might[3] seem to have done something violent[4] and harsh, by

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5 *Lower Ranks.*] Or plebeians. This sense of οἱ χείρους is not unfrequent in Xenophon. See Sturz Lex. Xen., to whose examples I add Xen. de Repub. Att. 3, 10., where the οἱ χείρους are opposed to the οἱ βέλτιστοι, the best or the highest ranks. To denote those the orator here uses a more modest term, οἱ ἀμείνους.

6 *Dignities.*] Or, affairs of state. This use of τὰ ἄξια for τὰ ἀξιώματα is very rare, and unnoticed by all the lexicographers. Hobbes and Smith have here quite mistaken the sense.

7 *Moderators.*] Or censors. The sense of this word σωφρονιστὴς is best treated of by Hemst. on Pollux, 9, 138., where he remarks, that it denotes those who bring others to a right mind, who are a check on vice and lawlessness; as Thucyd. 8, 48. says: τὸν δὲ δῆμον σφῶν καταφυγὴν εἶναι καὶ ἐκείνων σωφρονιστὴν. It was also (he adds) the name given to magistrates, ten in number, at Athens, who superintended the morals of the youth.

8 *Persons.*] Σωμάτων, *persons*, is opposed to γνώμας, *minds* or *measures*. Abresch appositely compares Sirach, 11, 35. ἀπαλλοτριώσει σε τῶν ἰδίων.

9 *Kindred.*] Namely, the Bœotians. Goeller adduces an apposite fragment of Ephorus, p. 70. (p. 122. Marx.) οὗτοι μὲν οὖν συνετάχθησαν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. τοὺς δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁμόρους προσοικειοῦντες ἰδίᾳ Θηβαῖοι προσηγάγοντο πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν. On the signification of ἔσπονδοι see Mitford. 3, 194.

1 *We offered injury to no one.*] It is true that they so acted, and that, as we find by Thucyd. 2, 2., from motives of policy, though it was not the fault of the aristocratical party that they did not pursue the opposite course; for *they* would have had them gone and murdered in their houses the principal persons of the democratical party.

2 *Came in.*] χωρήσαντες is for προσχ.

3 *Even if we might, &c.*] The meaning is, that "notwithstanding that, the Platæans were bound to return them like for like, forbearance for forbearance."

4 *Something violent.*] i. e. though it might seem a rough sort of pro-

not entering with the consent of the commonalty) ye did not make us the like return to what ye received; namely, to proceed to no violence[5] in deed, and by *words* only persuade us to depart thence, but, attacking us contrary to the treaty ——[6] And as to those[7] whom ye slew in combat, for *them* we do not so much lament, for they fell with some colour of law and justice. But respecting those whom, though receiving on free surrender, and afterwards promising to spare, ye butchered, in violation of all law — have ye not thereby perpetrated a horrible enormity[8]? committing in a brief space three atrocities,— the breach of the covenant, the butchering of our men, and your falsified engagement[9] to us not to kill them, if we would not injure any of your property in the fields. Yet ye say that it is *we* who have been the injurers, and ye plead that ye ought not to suffer the penalty of the law. But that will never happen[10] — if at least *these* give right decision — but for all your misdeeds ye shall receive condign punishment!

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cedure. In this sense ἀνεπιεικὴς is used by Dio. Cass. 183, 13. Arrian, E. A. 3, 22, 3. 4, 21, 16.

[5] *Proceed to no violence.*] Smith most erroneously renders, "you made no remonstrances against violence." Even Portus might have taught him better; though, neither *he* nor the other translators, seem to have been aware of the true sense of νεωτερίσαι, though it is clear from 2, 3. ἐς οὐδένα οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέριζον.

[6] *Attacking us, &c.*] Here the editors ought to have placed a mark of *aposiopesis*, per euphemismum, thus ξύμβασιν ——

[7] *And as to those, &c.*] The passage is imitated by Dio Cass. 400, 14. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις τετελευτηκότων ἀλλ' ἧττον γε ἄξιον ἐστιν ὀλοφύρασθαι.

[8] *Have ye not, &c.*] So Isæus, p. 27. πῶς οὐκ ἂν δεινὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶναι δοκοίη.

[9] *Falsified engagement.*] So Dionys. Hal. 1, 617. τὰς ψευσθείσας ὁμολογίας ἀνακαλούμενος., and 367. ult. τῆς ψευσθείσης ὑποσχέσεως. and 598, 18.

[10] *But that will never happen.*] The οὐχ is wrongly rendered by Hobbes and Smith, "it is otherwise," "it is false." The negative has reference to the ἀντιδοῦναι δίκην, and may very well be rendered by *no!* like the *non* of the Latin writers. In this case it is almost always followed by an ἤν or εἰ, very rarely an ἀλλά; and, in all cases, there ought to be at least a colon placed after it; though editors have mostly placed not even a comma. As the idiom is little known, and neglected by the commentators, the following examples may be acceptable: — Xen. Hist. 1, 7, 19. οὐκ· ἂν ὑμεῖς γε μοι πειθοῖσθε. Aristid. 2, 12. B. ουκ· ἐὰν γε ἐμοὶ πείθησθε. Dionys. Hal. 1, 383, 27. οὐκ· ἐὰν τὰ γε δικαια βούλησθε πράττειν. and 41, 9, 33. οὐκ· ἐὰν γε σωφρονῆτε.

LXVII. "We have, Lacedæmonians, entered thus at large into the matter, for *this* reason, both as regards you and us; for *your* sake, that you may know that you are about to justly condemn them; for *ours*, that we have as rightly and justly pursued them to vengeance. And be not moved from your purpose by the recital of their antient virtues (if, indeed, they ever had any); for such ought, indeed, to be a help to the *injured*[1], but to those who commit any base act, they should bring down double punishment, inasmuch as their offences are unsuitable to their character.[2] Nor let their wailings or your compassion aught avail them — calling aloud upon[3] the sepulchres of your fathers, and their destitution! — for we, on our part, can prove that our youth have suffered far *worse* in being destroyed by them, whose fathers partly fell in the field of Coronea in bringing Bœotia over to you, and are partly yet left alive in helpless age; whose destitution and the desolation of their families offer a far juster supplication to you for vengeance.[4] *Those* are rather worthy to obtain compassion who have to suffer any thing unbecoming their situation. But such, on the contrary, as (like these) have to suffer justly, deserve only to be objects of rejoicing.[5] And as to their being deserted[6] by all — they owe it to themselves; for when better allies offered themselves, they rejected them. They also violated every bond of law, without any previous

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[1] *A help to the injured.*] Ἐπίκουρος, here, stands for an adjective. So Xen. Mem. 4, 3, 7. τὸ πῦρ ἡμῖν ἐπίκουρον μὲν ψύχους, ἐπίκουρον δὲ σκότους. Eurip. Iph. A. 1027. χερ' ἐπίκουρον κακῶν.

[2] *Unsuitable to their character.*] Construe ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων, Προσεχ. is used as at supra, c. 64., where see note. Hack here explains, "meliore enim natura præditi erant; ergo in pejus degeneraverant." So Smith: "because they sin in foul contrariety to their former *selves*."

[3] *Calling aloud upon.*] So Eurip. Med. 21. βοᾷ μὲν ὅρκους, ἀνακαλεῖ δὲ δεξιὰς, Πίστιν μεγίστην, καὶ θεοὺς μαρτύρεται.

[4] *Partly yet left alive, &c.*] Mitford paraphrases: "Some, now in old age, living to bewail the treacherous massacre of their sons, and the orbitude of their families, are, with far better plea, your suppliants for revenge!"

[5] *Objects of rejoicing.*] ἐπίχαρτοι. So Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. P. V. 164. explains: "res ita dicitur quam *lætamur*." Of this the following are examples: — Æschyl. Agam. 701. γεραροῖς ἐπιχάρτον. Aristoph. Cent. ap. Pollux. 9, 36. ἐν κομήτισι καπηλοῖς τ' ἐπίχαρτον. The term is nearly of the same sense with ἐπιχαρμα, as Theocr. Idyll. 2, 20. τιν ἐπίχαρμα τέτυγμαι.

[6] *Being deserted.*] This has reference to the words of the Platæans, c. 57. "spurned by all — left abandoned and unassisted."

wrong on our part; actuated by hatred rather than justice, — and who are not even now to pay the full penalty of their iniquities; for most justly will they suffer, nor are they, as they say, men with hands uplifted from battle, but who, on treaty, delivered themselves up for trial. Maintain, therefore, Lacedæmonians, both the laws of the Grecians by these transgressed [7], and afford to us who suffer against law, a just return [8] for the zeal we have evinced in your service; and let us not meet with a contemptuous repulse [9] from you at the representations of these men; but make this an example to the Greeks, that you will not hold forth contests [10] of *words*, but of *deeds* [11]; for which, if they be *good*, a short detail will suffice, while if *evil*, speeches dressed out with rhetorical ornaments serve but as a veil to falsehood and wrong. But, indeed, if those in authority (as you are) will but in all cases proceed to decision after summary process [12], men will less devise plausible words as a cloak to [13] unjust actions."

LXVIII. Thus spoke the Thebans. Whereupon the Lacedæmonian judges, being of opinion that their interrogation "Whether they had received any benefit from them or not in the war?" was rightly conceived, because, forsooth, they

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[7] *Maintain, therefore, &c.*] So Eurip. Orest. 516. *ἀμυνῶ δ', ὅσονπερ δυνατός εἰμι τῷ νόμῳ.*

[8] *Just return.*] Χάριν is for *ἀντίχαριν.* Δίκαιος here signifies *just and right;* as in St. Matt. 20, 4. *καὶ ἐὰν ᾖ δίκαιον δώσω ὑμῖν.*

[9] *Meet with a, &c.*] See note supra, c. 57.

[10] *Hold forth contests.*] Or *authorise.* Ἀγῶνας *προτίθεσθαι* is a rare phrase, but similar to *νόμον προτίθ., τιμωρίαν προτίθ.*, and many others.

[11] *Contests of words, but of deeds.*] The phrase, λόγων *ἀγῶνες*, refers to that sort of rhetorical gymnastics which then prevailed, and to which Cleon, in his oration, adverts in the words *ξυνέσεως ἀγῶνι*, at c. 37., and *ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀγώνων* at c. 38., also *ἄθλα* and *ἀγωνοθετοῦντες, θεαταὶ τῶν λόγων, ἀκροαται τῶν ἔργων.* By the contests of *deeds* is denoted what is adverted to by Pericles, 2, 45. *παισὶ δ' — ὁρῶ μέγαν τὸν ἀγῶνα.*

[12] *Will proceed to decision, &c.*] Hobbes here rather paraphrases than translates. Κεφαλαιώσαντες signifies, "proceeding by summary process;" namely, in the present instance, by shortening the interrogatories.

[13] *Plausible words as a cloak to.*] Of this metaphor there are also examples in Æschyl. Choeph. 487. *βουλευτοῖσιν ἐν καλύμμασι.* Joseph. 1219. and Dionys. Hal. 400, 11.

Those who, in the present age, see somewhat of *evil*, mixed with good, in the prevalence of universal education, might not inappositely advert to the above words, and those of Aristoph. Vesp. 960. *Ἐγὼ δ' ἐξουλόμην ἂν οὐδὲ γράμματα, Ἵνα μὴ κακουργῶν ἐνέγραφ' ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον.*

had [1] both at *other* times desired them to preserve a neutrality, according to the old treaty of Pausanias after the Median war, and since afterwards, before they were besieged, they had made them offers to be common friends of both, on conditions which they rejected; in consequence, then, of this rejection, and accounting themselves, by having made this fair overture, discharged from all civil obligations [2] towards them, and

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[1] *Because, forsooth, they had, &c.*] This is one of the most perplexed sentences in our author, and it is impossible to digest some parts of it into any regular construction. I cannot, however, agree with Goeller, that the reading here is corrupt, I should rather suppose an *irregularity* proceeding from anacoluthon. The sense seems to be that above assigned; though there are certain idioms which have caused it to be imperfectly understood by the translators. The force of δῆθεν has been neglected by all the interpreters; and yet it is very important, as conveying our author's opinion that the allegation was a mere pretence. On which signification see Suid. and Viger. de Idiot. p. 499.

In the words καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον — ἐδέξαντο is centered the chief difficulty; and these, in whatever way they are viewed, must involve an anomaly. Nor is this quite removed by the alteration, without authority, of the text adopted by Goeller, who edits thus: καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον πρὸ τοῦ περιτειχίζεσθαι προείχοντο αὐτοῖς, κοινοὺς εἶναι κατ' ἐκεῖνα, ἃ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ὡς τῇ ἑαυτῶν δικαίᾳ βουλήσει ἔκσπονδοι ἤδη, ἡγούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν κακῶς πεπονθέναι. This is little less than writing the sentence anew. To me it appears, that a much milder, and yet equally effectual emendation, may be offered by merely cancelling the ὡς before οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. If the ὡς be from Thucydides, he, perhaps, wrote, or ought to have written, ἐκεῖνα οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ὡς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. Such is, certainly, the full sense, though I would not venture to say that Thucydides did *not* write what we have in the vulg., which will only be another instance in that writer of an idea imperfectly developed, and imperfectly expressed, by the blending of two phrases, ἃ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, and ὡς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. The alterations of Goeller, in the words following, are too bold, and, indeed, unnecessary. Perhaps no other change is requisite than the insertion of a τε after αὐτῶν. The same commentator is also wrong in referring τῇ ἑαυτῶν δικαίᾳ βουλήσει to the Platæans. His remark that, if it referred to the Lacedæmonians, we should have had ἀξιώσει, not βουλήσει, is too hypercritical. The expression may surely denote an *overture* or *proffer*. Certainly it does not signify *existimatione*, as it is explained by Hack. The δικαίᾳ means *just and fair*.

[2] *Discharged from, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of ἔκσπονδοι εἶναι, which expression literally signifies to be out of the pale of law, to be as an outlaw, to have no claim to civil rights. "Those," says Mitford, "connected with them by political or social compact, the Greeks described by a term peculiar to themselves, *enspondi*; meaning, originally, persons with whom they had poured wine to the gods; those who were bound to them by no compact, or who had forfeited their claim to the benefit of a compact once existing, they called *ecspondi*, out of compact, or outlaws." And he further observes: "It appears to have been very generally held, among the Greeks of that age, that men were bound by no duties to each other without some express compact. The property of foreigners might be any where seized, and themselves reduced to slavery, or even put to death,

esteeming themselves to have suffered evil at their hands, they again took them aside, and asking them "Whether they had done the Lacedæmonians and their allies any good in the war?" and on their answering "*No*[3]," led them away[4] to death, making a reserve of no individual. They destroyed of the Platæans themselves not less than two hundred, and of the Athenians twenty-five[5], who had stood the siege with them. The women they sold for slaves. As to the city, the Thebans gave it up, for about a year[6], as a residence to some Megaræans[7] expelled by faction, and to such of the Platæans

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without the breach of any human law; and, not only without the breach of any divine law, but prayers were addressed to the gods for favour and assistance in the commission of such violences." I cannot, however, but consider this as a somewhat overcharged picture. One can scarcely suppose that the being out of civil compact, was thought a sufficient reason to authorise persons to be put to death or enslaved; still less, that divine assistance was prayed for such enterprises, except by persons who would have trampled on every *other* law, human and divine. It seems implied in this very passage, that the having suffered injury, at the hands of such alone, gave a right to kill or enslave them. That, without some express compact, men held themselves not bound to do others any *good*, I readily admit. As to the seizure of the persons and property of foreigners, who visited any country without permission, *that* had proceeded from the universal prevalence of piracy and robbery; and the same custom still continues, from the same cause, in various parts of the world.

[3] *Answering "No."*] Hobbes renders, "answering not," from ignorance of this idiom, on which see Hoogev. de Partic.

That the Lacedæmonians were not unaccustomed to put such questions, appears from Xen. Hist. 2, 1, 32., where Philocles, bringing the Andrians and Corinthians out to death, first puts the question τί εἴη ἄξιος παθεῖν;

[4] *Led them away.*] Ἀπάγειν is a vox solennis de hac re; as in Herod. 5, 38. Dionys. Hal. Ant. 284, 4. And so *abducere* in the Latin writers, as Hirtius Bell. Afr. c. 45. abducite.

[5] *Of the Platæans, &c. two hundred, and of, &c.*] Thus, it should seem that about forty only had been slain during the siege. The putting to death of the Athenians may be considered a yet greater enormity than that of the Platæans; and, though Mitford thinks it may be imputed to the late execution of Salæthus at Athens, yet it could not be justified on that ground. Salæthus, by drawing allies to revolt, might be thought to have violated the ordinary rules of war; and persons so acting have, in every age, been adjudged deserving of death.

I cannot but observe, that the ruin of Platæa seems to have been owing not so much to the hatred of the Thebans, as to their own factious spirit, and want of enlightened patriotism.

[6] *About a year.*] So Hobbes rightly renders. The τινὰ, after numbers, answers to our *some* (as in *some two, three, &c.*), which always has the force of the Latin *circiter*. Ἔνα is here left to be supplied, which is *expressed* at 6, 61. καί τινα μίαν νύκτα κατέδαρθον.

[7] *Megaréans.*] So Hobbes and Smith spell the name. Though, from antient inscriptions and coins, *Megaræans* would seem to be at least an

yet surviving as had embraced their party.[8] Afterwards, however, demolishing it to the very foundations, and levelling it with the ground[9], they erected, near the temple of Juno[10], an inn[11], of two hundred feet square[12], having around it rooms[13], both on the ground-floor and the upper story[14]; em-

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equally proper form. See Berkley ap. Steph. At all events, *Megarians* is not the proper orthography.

The Megaræans, thus expelled, were, we may suppose, from their being harboured by the Thebans and Lacedæmonians, of the aristocratical party. And this is confirmed by 4, 66., whence it appears that the government was democratical, and the exiles aristocratical.

[8] *Embraced their party.*] So, in a figurative sense, St. Matth. 16, 23. *οὐ φρονεῖς τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ.* and Mark, 8, 33., where see my note. So also Aristoph. Equit. 1216. *τὰ τοῦ δήμου φρονεῖ.* See my note on Rom. 8, 5.

[9] *Demolishing it, &c.*] The use of both the phrases, *ἐκ θεμελίων* and *ἐς ἔδαφος* (which are not unfrequently met with separately), forms a very strong expression, and not, as Goeller fancies, a *pleonasm*, a figure, indeed, not usual in Thucydides.

The passage is imitated by Joseph. p. 174, 29. *καὶ κρατήσαντες μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασπᾷν θεμελίων, καὶ μηδὲ ἔδαφος — καταλιπεῖν.* See also Dionys. Hal. 167, 18.

[10] *Temple of Juno.*] On the building of this Hudson refers to Plutarch in his Aristides. From this, and what follows, it would seem that Juno was especially worshipped at Platæa. Hence, too, we may infer that the *temples* were preserved, of which, it appears from Posidippus, cited by Dicæarchus, there were two. The words of that writer (who lived about 288. B. C.)* are these: *Ναοὶ δύο εἰσι καὶ στοὰ, καὶ τοὔνομα, καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον, καὶ τὸ Σηράμβου κλέος*; perhaps he adverts to the other temple erected (as it is just afterwards said) to Juno.

[11] *An inn.*] This, Mitford observes, was something like the Caravanseras of the east. Indeed it was exactly like them; and here we have another proof of the affinity of Grecian to oriental customs. Why an inn should have been erected there, the commentators do not enquire. Perhaps Platæa was in the way from Athens to Delphi; and, what is more, this building was probably meant to accommodate the votaries attending at the adjoining temple of Juno, of great fame, we may suppose. Indeed I remember to have read in other authors, of buildings erected near celebrated temples, for the accommodation of worshippers, called *στοαί*. Indeed this very building seems to have been meant by the *στοὰ* of Posidippus, above cited.

[12] *Of two hundred feet square.*] Not "in diameter," as Hobbes renders. Nor has the same translator rightly represented the rooms just afterwards mentioned as "in circle." The phrase *ἐν κύκλῳ* is often used of what is placed about or around, even though the form be, as in the present instance, square. This sense is fixed by the *παντα χῇ*.

[13] *Rooms.*] Or apartments. A somewhat rare sense, of which to the examples of Stephens from Philo and Athenæus, I add Pausan. 3, 16, 3. where the word signifies a *lodging*, as opposed to a *house*.

[4] *Upper story.*] Of the two stories the upper was used for lodging-rooms, the lower for ware-rooms, or for the reception of luggage.

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* Hence it appears that Dicæarchus was not so antient an author as he is commonly supposed.

ploying for its erection the roofing and doorsteads[15] of the Platæans; and as to the rest of the materials, or such moveables as were found in the city wall[16], as brass and iron, they formed them into couches[17], or bedsteads, which they dedicated to Juno, and built for her a stone chapel[18] of a hundred feet in length. The territory they confiscated to the public use, letting out the lands on a lease[19] of ten years; and they were occupied by the Thebans. Now the Lacedæmonians were almost entirely thus set against[20] the Platæans, for the sake of the Thebans; supposing that they would be useful to them in the war then on foot. And thus was Platæa brought to destruction in the ninety-third year after its alliance with the Athenians.

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[15] *Roofing and doorsteads.*] Including, no doubt, the beams and rafters of the floors, which in some measure falls under the term *ὀροφαῖς*. By the *θυρώμασι* are meant both doors and posts. Thus both terms designate what is called at 2, 14. *ξύλωσις τῶν οἰκιῶν*, which, it is there said, the Athenians took down. This it was likely they would do, in a country where timber was somewhat scarce, and labour, at least in Athens, high in price.

[16] *City wall.*] Smith renders, "in the houses." But that sense cannot be admitted. Gail well paraphrases, "du fer et airain qui servoit de liaison aux murs." That was doubtless the *cramps* which fastened the casing of stones at the top of the wall. So at 1, 93. med. it is said of the walls of Athens: *ξυνῳκοδομημένοι μέγαλοι λίθοι, καὶ ἐν τομῇ ἐγγώνιοι, σιδήρῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἔξωθεν καὶ μολύβδῳ δεδεμένοι.* The *brass* must have been for ornament as much as use.

[17] *Couches.*] These were probably not meant for the temple of Juno, but for the *inn*, which thus seems to have been closely connected with the temple near which it stood, and meant for the accommodation of religious votaries. These metal sofas would be all that was necessary in a country where no beds, properly speaking, are in use, travellers taking with them the thick woollen cloaks used for night clothes. The couches, it may be observed, were also dedicated to Juno, that they might not be liable to be taken away, in the event of war.

[18] *Chapel.*] Or *fane*. This was doubtless smaller than the *temple*, and probably built of the large *coping and casing stones*, removed from the city wall.

[19] *Letting out the lands, &c.*] This is, I believe, the earliest account in record of letting on lease. It is also mentioned by Appian t. 2, 10, 53, *τῆς δὲ γῆς δορικτήτου — τὴν μὲν ἐξειργασμένην αὐτίκα τοῖς οἰκιζομένοις ἐπιδιῄρουν, ἢ ἐπίπρασκον, ἢ ἐξεμίσθουν.*

[20] *Set against.*] It is strange that *ἀποτετραμμένοι* should be followed by a *περὶ*, when it usually takes, if *any* preposition, an *ἀπὸ*. But, in fact, the passive sense seems, in this case, to pass into a neuter one, and the participle to differ little from an adjective. Thus we say *averse from*, and averse *to*.

LXIX. The forty ships of the Peloponnesians[1], which went to the succour of the Lesbians, having then[2] fled across the sea, and being closely pursued[3] by the Athenians, and then overtaken in a storm off Crete, and thence, in a dispersed condition, having reached the ports of Peloponnesus, found at Cyllene thirteen triremes of the Leucadians and Ambraciots, and Brasidas son of Tellis, who had come thither as counsellor to Alcidas[4]: for the Lacedæmonians intended, as they had missed of their purpose at Lesbos, after increasing their navy, to sail to Corcyra (then embroiled with faction), while there were only twelve Athenian ships at hand at Naupactus, in order thus to effect their purpose before any greater naval force should go to reinforce them; and for this measure Brasidas and Alcidas were making preparations.

LXX. Now the Corcyreans had been in a state of faction[1] from the time that the prisoners taken in the battle near Epidamnus by the Corinthians had returned home; being released, as was pretended[2], for eight hundred talents[3], for

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[1] *The forty ships of the Peloponnesians.*] The historian now resumes the narrative of events which he had left, supra c. 33. (Hack.)

[2] *Then.*] i. e. when they found themselves too late to accomplish their purpose.

[3] *Closely pursued.*] The ἐπὶ in ἐπιδιωχθεῖσαι seems to be intensive, and signifies "hard at the heels of."

[4] *Alcidas.*] It is strange this person should have been again employed, after having previously evinced such want of *judgment*, not to say *courage*. This must have been from some powerful influence at Sparta. As, however, Brasidas is just afterwards placed before him, it is probable that *he* had the real command.

[1] *The Corcyreans had, &c.*] We are now come to one of the most deeply interesting, though shocking, narratives that ever was penned; and Mitford truly speaks of the "more than curious information, the valuable instruction that may be derived from it."

[2] *As was pretended.*] The trick of making much of captives, dismissing them without ransom, and thereby bringing them over, was practised on other occasions. See Polyæn. 2, 1, 32. and Plutarch Arat. 24.

[3] *For eight hundred talents.*] This may seem an incredibly large sum, since we find by Herod. 5, 77. and 6, 79. that two minæ was the ransom of a prisoner. Nor can we imagine why the ransom should be fixed above the usual rate. It is true that men who never intend to fulfil a bargain do not haggle about the price. Yet suspicion might be excited by too *high* as well as too *low* a ransom. Goeller, indeed, supposes that, in course of time, the price of ransom was increased. And he refers to Æschin. de falsa leg. who says a talent was the ransom of a man not very wealthy. But the time of Æschines is no rule for that of Thucydides, and we can scarcely

which they stood pledged to their hosts[4], but in reality, as having undertaken [5] to bring Corcyra over to the Corinthian interest. Those persons set about accomplishing the business, by going to each of the citizens and soliciting[6] their influence, in order to withdraw the state from the Athenian alliance; and on the arrival of an Athenian ship[7], and also a Corinthian one, each bringing ambassadors, and on their being allowed respectively to address the assembly, the Corcyreans resolved to continue to be allies to Athens, according to their engagements, but to be friends with the Peloponnesians, as before. The above persons also proceeded to [8] the public impeachment

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suppose that the price had so much risen from the times spoken of by Herodotus to that of the Peloponnesian war. And though the persons in question were several of them of the higher ranks, yet many more would not be such; so that even thus the sum will appear exorbitant. I should, therefore, be inclined to read, from Valla and some others, *ὀγδοηκόντα*. The authority of MSS. is here of little weight, since the difference between the numbers, in the *literal* mode of writing them is very slight, i. e. ϟ 80 and ω 800, so that when the top of the ϟ had faded away, it would stand for ω 800.

At *ταλάντων* subaud. *ἕνεκα*. The same syntax if found in Dionys. Hal. Ant 426, 45. *διεγγυήσαντες τὰ σώματα χρημάτων*. Sometimes a dative is used as Dionys. Hal. Ant. 633, 28. *διεγγυηθεὶς χρήμασι*. With the *ἦλθον διηγγυημένοι* here I would compare a very similar passage of Nehem. c. 1, 3. *διεγγυηθέντες ἐπανῆλθον*.

[4] *Their hosts.*] Hence it would appear that, though at first they might be committed to prison, yet as they were then treated *θεραπείᾳ πόλλῃ*, so afterwards they were distributed to the keeping of certain families of the Corinthians (as public prisoners were formerly, in our own country, committed to the custody of powerful noblemen); and thus having formed an intimacy with them, their hosts became their sureties for the ransom.

[5] *Having undertaken.*] Literally, being prevailed upon. The author means to say that the real price of their freedom was the undertaking to &c. It is sensibly observed by Mitford that "a less reward than the change from a dungeon with daily fear of death to liberty, affluence, and power might have induced them to accede." For to bring over Corcyra to the Corinthian interest (which supposed the predominance of aristocracy) would be far better than living (as they did) under the rod of democratical tyranny.

[6] *Soliciting.*] Literally, canvassing. For such seems to have been the view taken of the word by the Scholiast, who explains *μετιόντες* by *ὑποποιούμενοι*. and Hesych. Μέτειμι λιτανεύω concilio. And so it is used by Aristophanes and Plutarch ap. Steph. Thes.

[7] *On the arrival of, &c.*] It should seem that the Athenians had heard of the intrigues of the above persons, that parties were high, and the whole island in commotion: and had sent the embassy to counterwork the effects of the Corinthians, and support the interests of Athens.

[8] *Also proceeded to, &c.*] The aristocratical party, it seems, knew not when to stop; *alas! the fault of all parties in all ages!* It is truly observed by Mitford that "no discreet zeal directed their following measures."

of one Pithias (who was a voluntary public host [9] of the Athenians, and was the leader of the democratical party [10]) on the charge of aiming to enslave Corcyra to the Athenians. He, however, being acquitted [11], in his turn brings an accusation against four of the persons in question, charging them with cutting stakes from the sacred inclosure [12] of Jupiter and of

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9 *Voluntary public host.*] The force of ἐθελοπρόξενος and its difference from πρόξενος is accurately stated by Pollux Onom. 3, 59. where, after detailing the duties of the πρόξενοι, which consisted in receiving ambassadors, and all persons, in a public character from the city for which they acted, as also directing such other matters as fall under the office of our present *consuls*, he adds: ποιεῖ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἐθελοπρόξενος, ὁ ἀνάγραπτον τὴν προξενίαν ἔχων. where Kuhn would read ὁ μὴ αναγρ. And certainly the sense requires the insertion of a negative: But the mildest emendation will be to substitute οὐκ for ὁ; for the article may be dispensed with. But to proceed. Sometimes, or at least in process of time, these πρόξενοι or ἐθελοπρόξενοι were natives of the country for which they acted. The whole is admirably illustrated by the following ancient inscription, cited by Goeller: ΕΔΟΞΕ ΤΑΙ ΆΑΛΙΑΙ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΜΕΝ ΤΑΣ ΠΟΛΙΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΩΝ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΩΝΑ ΘΕΥΔΩΡΟΥ ΛΟΚΡΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΤΟΝΟΥΣ ΕΙΜΕΝ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΙΑΣ ΕΓΚΤΑΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΙΜΙΑ ΟΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΙΣ ΓΕΓΡΑΠΤΑΙ ΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΝ ΤΡΑΥΑΝΤΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΧΑΛΚΩΜΑ ΑΝΑΘΕΜΕΝ ΟΠΕΙ ΚΑ ΔΟΚΗ ΠΡΟΒΟΥΛΟΙΣ ΠΡΟΔΙΚΟΙΣ ΚΑΛΩΣ ΕΧΕΙΝ ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΑΜΙΑΝ ΔΟΜΕΝ ΤΟ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΑΝΑΛΩΜΑ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΩΝΑ ΘΕΥΔΩΡΟΥ ΛΟΚΡΟΝ.

It is, however, probable that though the ἐθελοπρόξενος was not appointed by the state in question, nor included in its records as discharging the duties of a πρόξ., yet that he was *recognised* as *performing* them. Otherwise it is not likely that the appellation would have been so used. The ἐθελ exactly answers to our *volunteer* in composition, as a volunteer-laureat.

10 *Leader of the democratical party.*] Hobbes renders, "leader of the people:" Smith, "at the head of the people." But that sense would require προστάτης τοῦ δήμου, a phrase used of Cleon; and it seems not agreeable to what is afterwards said, "for he happened also to be of the senate." The version, therefore, above adopted seems preferable, and it is supported by Mitford and Gail.

11 *Acquitted.*] ἀποφευγών. This use is remarkable. It is far more usual for the verb to take after it δίκην or γραφὴν or αἰτίαν or εὐθύνας; but sometimes the word is left to be understood, as here, and in Athenæus cited by Steph., to which example I add Xen. Hist. 1, 3, 18. Arrian 3, 27, 4. Ælian V. H. 13, 38. where there is a neat antithesis between φεύγειν and ἀποφεύγειν.

12 *Cutting stakes from, &c.*] This sacred *close* was, it seems, as usual, planted with trees of various sorts: and, indeed, some such *with trees yet growing* have been described by recent travellers in Greece. On this superstition of the antients as to cutting down the trees of sacred groves. Duker refers to Ovid. Metam. 8. 741. and Fast. 4, 753. Ælian V. H. 5, 17. I would add that the law in question seems to have extended to the groves of the *heroes* as well as those of the gods. So Pausan. 2. 28, 3. καὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι ἡρῷον τιμὰς καὶ ἄλλας δεδώκασι, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς πεφυκόσιν ἐλαιοῖς, καὶ εἴ δή τι ἄλλο δένδρον· ἐς ὃ καθέστηκε νόμος, τὰ θρανύμενα μηδὲνα ἐς οἶκον φέρεσθαι, μηδὲ χρᾶσθαι σφισιν ἐς μηδέν, κατὰ χώραν δ' αὐτοῦ λείπουσιν ἱερὰ εἶναι τῆς Ὑρνηθοῦς.

Alcinous. Now the fine set was a stater [13] for each stake. They being found guilty, and sitting as suppliants in the temple, in order that, because of the greatness of the fine, they might be allowed to pay it by instalments [14], Pithias (for he happened also to be of the senate) prevails [15] that the law might be put in force. But they being by law excluded from the

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The χάρακας Smith and Heilman render *poles*. But thus it is difficult to conceive how these persons could have wanted so many as should come to a sum sufficient to ruin men of opulence. I prefer, with Hobbes, Mitford, and Goeller, to render it *stakes*, i. e. the κάμακες or *statumina, vine props*, around which the vines wind, something like our hop-poles. Now of these they might require a great number for their vineyards *; and if they could be proved to have used them for several, the amount, estimated by the number used in one year, might come to a very great sum. Goeller, indeed, says it was the wood, or material, that was cut from the groves, and not the stakes. This, however, displays ignorance of the nature of the thing; for such stakes (like hop-poles) require no more forming than barely smoothing of the twigs and sharpening one end.

To advert, however, to the charge itself, it seems a strange one. "We cannot (says Mitford) imagine an inducement for men of wealth and rank to risk the heavy penalty." Yet such persons were sometimes found. Thus Philostr. Vit. Soph. p. 614. ἱερὰς δὲ λέγεται κέδρους ἐκτεμὼν δημευθῆναι τὸ πολὺ τῆς οὐσίας. where Olearius observes that imperial rescripts had ordered the groves in various places to be inviolable. Such, it seems, were thought necessary; since the spread of Christianity had, no doubt, much loosened the antient superstitions. See also Philostr. Vit. Apoll. 1, 16. No. 7. It is, however, probable that the law in question was, in the age of Thucydides, in some places very much of a dead letter, so that such groves were occasionally violated; in which case it would be the *rich and powerful* who would do it, since they could brave a prosecution. Sometimes, however, it would happen (as in the present instance) that advantage was taken by enemies of *this*, like *other* obsolete but unrepealed laws, to effect the ruin of persons against whom they entertained a grudge.

[13] *Stater.*] Or tetradrachm. Of course *Attic* must here be meant; and doubtless the *silver* stater, not the golden one. *Stater*, without any addition, can only mean the *silver* one. As to the golden one, it was in such little use, that had it been meant, the epithet χρύσεος would have been added.

[14] *Pay it by instalments.*] Smith renders, "to obtain a mitigation of their fine;" and so Mitford seems to have taken the words: but the above is clearly the true sense, and κατὰ χρόνους must be understood, ταξάμενοι seeming to suggest that idea. The *full* phrase occurs at 1, 117. καὶ χρήματα — κατὰ χρόνους ταξάμενοι ἀποδοῦναι. The ταξ. implies that the instalments shall be such as shall be agreed on, and engaged for by the payer.

[15] *Prevails.*] Or carries his point; as 3, 42. and often elsewhere.

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* Of these there appear to have been many. Thus Xenophon, in his Hist. 2, 6. describes the country about Corcyra as παγκάλως πεφυτευμένην, beautifully planted, and μεγαλοπρεπεῖς οἰῶνας ἔχουσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν, having magnificent vineyards.

senate[16], and, moreover, well aware that Pithias, as long as he was of the senate, would endeavour to persuade[17] the people to form an alliance, offensive and defensive[18], with the Athenians, combined together[19], and seizing daggers, they suddenly burst into the senate-house, and killed Pithias and some others of the senators and private persons, to the number of sixty. Some few, however, who were of the same party with Pithias, effected their flight on board the Athenian trireme, which was yet there.

LXXI. Having perpetrated this deed, they called an assembly of the people, and told them that the measures they had pursued were for the best, and those by which [1] they would least be enslaved by the Athenians; and that for the future it would be advisable to receive neither of the belligerents, otherwise than with one ship, and conducting themselves in a peaceable way[2], but any force beyond that to consider as hostile. Having thus spoken, they compelled the people to authorize the measure. They, moreover, immediately send ambassadors to Athens on what had been done, to represent that they had

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16 *Excluded from the senate.*] Namely, as not having paid the fine; for it is a very probable conjecture of Hack, that there was a law by which those who did not pay what they owed to the public treasury, should be deprived of their rights as citizens. With respect to the *phraseology*, Smith and Gail render, "debarred of all redress;" but that sense would involve an exceedingly harsh ellipsis. I here adopt the interpretation of the Scholiast, Portus, Hobbes, Goeller, and Bredow, who suppose that τῆς βουλῆς, which occurs just after, is to be understood. So Æschin. 5, 15. ἐξειργ. τοῦ βήματος. and 79, 2. ἐξειργ. τῆς ἀγορᾶς. Dio Cass. 207, 3 and 12. 447, 34. 1350, 17., which writers, it is plain, so took the passage of our author. This, too, is required by what follows.

17 *Endeavour to persuade.*] The ἀναπείσειν has reference to the decree just before passed of preserving a neutrality.

18 *Form an alliance, &c.*] Such is the real sense of the words, which may be literally rendered, "to regard the same persons as friends or enemies," a locutio solennis de hac re.

19 *Combined together.*] This seems to imply the co-operation of their respective adherents; and thus συνίσταντο is for ξύστασιν ἐποιοῦντο; as Lucian 2, 191, 8. συνίσταντο ἐπ' ἐμέ. Dionys. Hal. 239. τοὺς συνισταμένους ἐπ' αὐτῷ. and so in Xenophon and Dio Cass.

1 *The measures they, &c.*] This must be meant, not of the *assassination*, but of the previous policy of *neutrality*.

2 *Conducting themselves, &c.*] i. e. not with hostile designs upon the others. And such is, at the present day, the policy of the national law as to neutral ports. Ἡσυχάζοντας (which is misconceived by Portus) is for ἄγοντας. And ἡσυχία often signifies *peace*, as 4, 62. and Herod. 1, 66.

only done what expediency required[3], and also to persuade those who had fled thither for refuge, not to do any thing unfriendly or prejudicial to their country, lest there should be a revolution.[4]

LXXII. On their arrival, the Athenians apprehended[5] the ambassadors, as guilty of revolt, and sent them and such of the Corcyreans as they had prevailed with in custody to Ægina.[6] Meanwhile those Corcyreans who held the reins of administration, encouraged by the arrival of a Corinthian trireme with ambassadors from Lacedæmon[7], made an attack on the democratical party, and came off victors in the combat. But under cover of the night[8], the democrats were enabled to take refuge in the citadel and the more elevated part of the

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[3] *Only done what, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the meaning of ὡς συνέφερε scil. τὰ πεπραγμένα, to which no tolerable sense is affixed by the translators. These persons pleaded that the measures were called for by expediency and self-preservation, if not warranted by strict justice. So, too, the Scholiast seems to have taken the passage. Perhaps, also, they urged that the thing was done without premeditation and on the impulse of the moment.

[4] *Revolution.*] What is meant by ἐπιστροφὴ is not very clear. Hobbes renders it *relapse;* Smith, "miseries that might ensue:" neither of which versions I can approve of. Formerly I was of opinion that it might signify *animadversio, punishment;* as in Demosth. ap. Steph. Thes., to which passage may be added Dio. Cass. 89, 7. 281, 3. Appian 2, 575, 77. Polyb. 4, 4, 8. 25, 6, 7. 28, 4, 7. 22, 17, 7. Now, however, I am inclined to think that Portus *rightly* rendered it "rerum turbatio mutatioque." Of this sense, indeed, I am not able to adduce any example; but it receives some support from the use of ἀποστροφὴ by Xenophon. See Lex. Xen. in v.

[5] *Apprehended.*] Thus treating Corcyra as a dependency of Athens. But, indeed, all secession from her alliance was accounted by Athens *rebellion.*

[6] *Sent them and, &c.*] A measure before resorted to by Paches with the Lesbians. In such cases we may suppose the persons were left to go at large, the Athenian navy being considered a sufficiently strong jailor for them.

[7] *A Corinthian trireme with, &c.*] The triremes mentioned supra 70. had probably returned to Corinth or *Cyllene,* and thence produced fresh authority, and sailed back to Corcyra, to endeavour to suppress the insurrection by Lacedæmonian influence.

With the οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ πράγματα may be compared Herod. 6, 39. κατολαψομένου τὰ πρήγματα. and 83. οἱ δοῦλοι ἔσχον τὰ πρήγματα. both passages cited by Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Theb. 2. ὅστις φυλάσσει πρᾶγος.

[8] *Under cover of the night.*] This seems implied in the literal sense, "the night coming on."

city, and collecting a force, took post[9] there, and occupied the Hyllaic port. The other party, however, seized possession of the market-place (where most of them resided), and the port adjoining to it and fronting the continent.[10]

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9 *Took post.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of ἱδρύνθη; for I would restore the *old* reading, which seems to have come from our author, as partaking of the harshness of the *old* Attic, afterwards softened down into the middle and new Attic. Thus the rough form is found in Homer, Apollonius Rhodius 3, 1268. and 4, 723. (and at 4, 133 should be restored, as the nature of the sentence requires), and also in Pollux, Suidas, and Dionys. Hal. Ant. 603, 16. ἱδρυνθῆσαν. So Joseph. 198, 4. in a kindred passage, perhaps imitated from the present: ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὰ πλησίον ὄρη. καὶ κατασχόντες ἱδρύνθησαν. In Strabo 745, 35. all the *MSS.* have ἱδρύνθη, as is also frequently the case with the *MSS.* of Herodian.

10 *The port adjoining to it and, &c.*] This is somewhat perplexing; for by our maps *both* ports would seem to have fronted the continent. Without a more correct knowledge of the configuration of the island than we at present possess, it is impossible to clearly understand this and other parts of the present narration. If I should succeed in procuring any more accurate information on the chorography of Corcyra before this work be completed, I will impart it in an appendix.

Scylax says there were *three* ports, one of them ὁ κάλλιστος. That we may suppose was the port of the agora. The Hyllaic port *, I suspect, was south of the other; and the *city* stood on a peninsula †, occupying chiefly the isthmus of it. It is graphically described by Hom. Odyss. 6, 262. Αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν πόλιος ἐπιβήσομεν, ἣν περὶ πύργος Ὑψηλὸς, καλὸς δὲ λιμὴν ἑκάτερθε πόληος, Λεπτὴ δ' εἰσίθμη· νῆες δ' ὀδὸν ἀμφιέλισσαι Εἰρύαται· πᾶσιν γὰρ ἐπίστιον ἐστὶν ἑκάστῳ. the πύργος of which passage corresponds to the *citadel* mentioned a little before. From this, indeed, the modern name of the *island, Corphu, Corypho,* may be derived; κορυφω, or κορφοι as Dodwell, adverting to the two peaks of the hill of the Acropolis. And so, I find, Dodwell derives its name from its double Acropolis. Reference to its form may be also seen in the other names given to the island, namely Macria (Long Island), Drepane (Sickle Island, so *Sicily*), Κερκυρα (Tail Island), and Scheria (Long-drawn). In the time of Xenophon (see Hist. Græc. 2, 3, 5.) the city was five stadia from the hill of the Acropolis. From that passage it plainly appears that the hill in question was on the *isthmus*, and that the city, in the time of that writer, occupied a situation farther into the peninsula. He only adverts to *one* port, which we may suppose to have been what Scylax calls ὁ κάλλιστος, and what Thucydides terms the *port of the agora*, the present port. The chief point is to ascertain the exact situation of the city. This may be, in some measure, done by a passage of Cicero Epist. Famil. l. 16,

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* So at c. 81., where ships in passing from the port of the agora to the Hyllaic port, are said περιπλεύσαι. This is confirmed by Dodwell, c. 38., who says that it must have been formerly capacious and good, though now so filled up with sand and mud that even small boats enter it with difficulty. The port of the agora is now the port used for large vessels, and is sheltered by the island of Vido.

† So called, I imagine, from some tradition of its having been visited by Hyllus the son of Hercules, on his expulsion from Peloponnesus. This port is very rarely mentioned, perhaps by no other writer except the Schol. on Apoll. Rhod. 4, 1149., referred to by Duker.

LXXIII. On the day following they skirmished[11] with each other, and each party sent up and down the country, inviting the slaves[12] to join them, with a promise of freedom; the greater part of whom took part with the democrats, while the other party was joined by eight hundred mercenaries[13] from the continent.

LXXIV. After the interval of a day there was again a battle, and the democratical party being superior in numbers and strength of situation, obtained the victory. The women, too, courageously took their part in the conflict, by launching tiles at the enemy from the tops of the houses[1], enduring the tumult in a manner beyond their sex. On the rout, which took place about dusk, the weaker party[2] fearing lest the

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8. adduced by Palmer in his Græc. Antiq. p. 353., namely a hundred and twenty stadia from Cassiope, the only other *city* of Corcyra, where the Porto di Casopo is placed in Ortelius's map. Palmer, Antiq. 364., says it exists in the same double-headed promontory that it did.

Thus also Dodwell 1, 33. speaks of this peninsula as being the site of the antient city now called Palaiopolis. He also mentions two *contiguous rocks* rising from the sea, which formed the *Acropolis* of the antient city. They are now called le due Mammelle, or the *old forts*, the "Aerias Phæacum Arces" of Virgil. "They are," he adds, "approached by a drawbridge, built over an artificial canal, which may be filled with sea water and thus they become insulated. The fortress is now one of the strongest in Europe. Nothing, he adds, is seen above ground of the remains of the ancient city, except some frusta of large columns; which from having flutings without intervals were evidently of the Doric order. They have a large square base which forms but one mass with the column, a singularity I never elsewhere observed. There are also the remains of the cella of a temple composed of parallelogram blocks of moderate dimensions, and now converted into a church. This was probably one of the four temples mentioned by Thucyd., either that of Juno, or Bacchus, or the Dioscuri, or of Alcinous."

[11] *Skirmished.*] Ἀκροβολίσαντο. This refers especially to the use of distant missiles such as stones from slings, arrows, and darts. A full account may be seen in Schwebel on Onosand. p. 177.

[12] *Slaves.*] Called by Mitford peasant slaves, such as were employed in agricultural work.

[13] *Mercenaries.*] Or hired troops. On this sense see 1, 116. and 3, 34. Smith renders *auxiliaries*, but that is not significant enough.

[1] *Launching tiles at, &c.*] Another instance of this daring valour of Greek females we had at 2, 4., where see the note, to which may be added the following passages, Pausan. 2, 20, 8. Dionys. Hal. Ant. 415, 10. and 497, 4. where for τείχεσι read τέγεσι. also 641, 7.

[2] *The weaker party.*] Hobbes and Smith render "the few;" but that sense can hardly have place here. The one above adopted seems the most simple and natural.

people should carry the dock by a coup de main[3], and put them to the sword, set fire to the houses around the market-place, and to the lodging-houses[4]; so that great quantities of merchants' goods[5] were consumed, and had the wind set strong in the direction of the city, it would have been in great danger of being destroyed. Thus the contrary party ceased from the battle, and both of them kept quiet for the night, and stood on their guard.[6] On the democratical party gaining the victory, the Corinthian ship stole away, and the greater part of the mercenaries secretly effected their passage to the continent.

LXXV. On the day following, Nicostratus son of Diotrephes, commander of the Athenian force at Naupactus, arrived[1] thence with twelve triremes and five hundred Messenian heavy-armed, and setting himself to mediation and negotiation,

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[3] *By a coup de main.*] Or, "on the first onset;" as 2, 81. and 72. where see the notes. Hobbes and Smith render, "even with their shout," "at a shout;" which is a proof that by aiming at being extremely literal, the true sense is sometimes most effectually missed.

[4] *Lodging-houses.*] Here the translators are perplexed. Portus, Hobbes, Smith, and Gail take ξυνοικίας to mean "houses adjacent to it." I have no doubt (and Duker seems to have suspected the same) that it denotes large buildings consisting of many houses *contiguous*, and let out either whole or in part; houses of which kind would be likely to be near the market-place and port of a much frequented city such as was Corcyra. In the above sense the word ξυνοικία occurs in Xen. de Rep. Ath. 1, 17., Lucian 3, 375. (where the commentators wrongly render it *vicos*), and Ælian V. H. 13, 12. It is also used in this sense thrice by Æschin. C. Timarch., who at p. 17, 18. explains the difference between οἰκία and συνοικία. Jamb. de Vit. Pyth. c. 3. sub. fin. εἰς τὰς ἐγγὺς διέσωσε (read διεσώσε) συνοικίας. Aristoph. Eq. 1001. ἐμοὶ δ' ὑπερῶον καὶ συνοικία δύο. See also note supra, 67, 13.

[5] *Goods.*] Not *pecunia*, as Portus renders. The above sense, indeed, is little known to philologists, but it occurs in Xen. Hist. 1, 6, 38. Lycurg. C. L. 150. τῶν ἐμπόρων — τὸν σῖτον ἐξείλοντο καὶ τἆλλα χρήματα. Polyæn. 4, 9. and 6, 11. Aristoph. Lys. 895. Thucyd. 7, 24. Procop. p. 39, 39. which last writer closely imitates the present passage. See also note on 1, 2. The Scholiast may seem to have oddly explained it πράγματα; but such, in the Græcism of the middle ages, signified *wares, merchandise*. See Du Cang. Gloss. Med. and inf. Græc. in v.

[6] *Thus the contrary party, &c.*] This passage is inadvertently omitted by Hobbes.

[1] *Arrived.*] "His arrival, perhaps, gave greater joy to the defeated nobles, who dreaded nothing so much as the unrestrained revenge of their fellow-citizens." — *Mitford.*

prevailed upon them to treat on terms of mutual concession[2], namely, that they should bring to judgment ten of the most guilty (who had already absconded[3]), but the others permit to remain unmolested[4]; making peace with each other, and a treaty of alliance defensive and offensive with Athens. Having effected this, he would have taken his departure; but the leaders of the democratical party persuade him to leave for them five of his ships, that the opposite party might be somewhat less in commotion[5], on their sending with him an equal number of their own. To this he agreed, and they selected[6] their enemies to man the ships withal. They, however, fearing lest they should be sent to Athens, take refuge as suppliants in the temple of the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux). But Nicostratus endeavoured to induce them to rise[7], and sought to encourage them.[8] Not being able, however, to prevail, the democratical party, taking up arms on the pretence that they intended no good by this distrust and refusal to sail with the Athenians, went and took away the arms from their houses, and some of them whom they met with they would, had not Nicostratus interposed, have slain. The rest,

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2 *Prevailed upon them to, &c.*] Such seems to be the full sense of πείθει ὥστε ξυγχωρῆσαι ἀλλήλοις (sub. ὥστε) κρῖναι, &c.

3 *Who had already absconded.*] Literally, "had no longer remained;" having probably contrived to effect their escape to Epirus.

4 *Permit to remain unmolested.*] Οἰκεῖν is for ἐᾶν οἰκεῖν, and has reference chiefly to the not expatriating them, as was done in the case of some other islanders who had revolted from Athens.

5 *In commotion.*] Ἐν κινήσει. Literally, "would be less likely to be stirring (in any mischief)."

6 *Selected.*] i. e. put on the list.

7 *Endeavoured to, &c.*] In ἀνίστη we have an example of a verb denoting rather attempt than performance, on which see Glass. Philolog. Sacr.

8 *Sought to encourage them.*] Namely, by showing that their fears were groundless. This officer certainly evinced throughout the affair singular judgment and humanity. The conduct of the aristocrats was marked by want of firmness and a weak and imprudent, and, as it seems, causeless distrust. In fact they acted just like the partisans of Cylon, on which see note on 1, 126. In such cases too much distrust is as imprudent as too little, and only tends to produce the evil which it deprecates; since men will seldom suffer themselves to be suspected for nought; while, on the other hand, a liberal confidence has *some* effect in making even indifferent characters aim at acting in a manner worthy of it. This extreme distrust and pathetic appeal to the public feelings seemed acting, or even *overacting*, a part, and excited suspicion in the minds of the democrats, that something more than they knew of was concealed under this, and that the aristocrats had very good reasons for wishing to stay at home.

on seeing what was done, seated themselves as suppliants at the temple of Juno[9], to the number of not less than four hundred. But the democratical party, fearing lest they should proceed to some act of violence[10], prevailed upon them to rise and transported them to the island[11] before the temple of Juno, whither provisions were conveyed to them.

LXXVI. In this state of the sedition, on the fourth or fifth day after the removal of the men to the island, the ships of the Peloponnesians, to the number of fifty-three sail, arrived from Cyllene (having kept in port[1] there since their voyage from Ionia), under the command of Alcidas, as before, with Brasidas for a counsellor. Having touched at Sybota, a port of the continent, they, at dawn of day[2], made sail for Corcyra.

LXXVII. The Corcyreans, amidst much tumult, and in equal fear of the state of things in the city and of the fleet coming against them, proceeded to make ready for sea sixty ships, and as fast as they were manned sent them out against the enemy, though the Athenians counselled them to let *them*

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[9] *Temple of Juno.*] Having, it seems, removed to it from that of the Dioscuri, as to a more sacred fane, and therefore safer refuge.

[10] *Fearing lest they, &c.*] They might very well fear lest, being driven to utter desperation, these men might act as they had before done in the case of Pythias.

[11] *Island.*] Called, as we find from 4, 46., Ptychia, a name given it, perhaps, from its form (that of a leaf), as *Morea*, for the same reason. Palmer, Antiq. Græc. p. 362., thinks this is the island now called St. Vito (or Vido), off the mouth of the port of the city of Corfu.

They consented to be removed thither, since, in their present state, they were in danger of starving, and, if they left it, of assassination. It is justly remarked by Mitford, that "the same confidence, earlier given to the oaths of their adversaries, and to the faith of the generous Nicostratus, might have prevented the miseries that followed."

[1] *Having kept in port.*] Such seems to be the sense of ἔφορμοι οὖσαι, and not "lain at anchor," as Hobbes and Smith render; for Cyllene was a *port*, not an anchorage. The adjective ἔφορμος is very rare; indeed I know of no other example.

[2] *Having touched — they at dawn, &c.*] The antients, it may be observed, never kept at sea by night but from necessity, always endeavouring to find, if not a port, at least an anchorage, or shore, where they might draw up their ships.

On Sybota, both insular and continental, I have treated at 1, 47, and 50.

go out first, and then afterwards themselves follow them all together and in a body.[1] But as soon as their ships, advancing in a straggling and scattered manner, had neared the enemy's fleet, two of them immediately deserted, and in others the crews went to blows with each other, and there was no regularity preserved in any thing that was done. The Peloponnesians, on seeing this, formed in line, with twenty ships, against the Corcyreans, and with the rest engaged the twelve Athenian ships, of which were the Salaminia and Paralus.[2]

LXXVIII. Thus the Corcyreans, closing with the enemy unskilfully and scatteringly[3], had, on their part, much difficulty to maintain the combat.[4] On the other hand, the Athenians, in awe of superior numbers, and apprehensive of being surrounded, did not close with the whole of the opposite line, nor at the centre, but attacking it at the wings[5], sunk one

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[1] *Though the Athenians counselled, &c.*] Such is clearly the sense, which has been missed by Smith. The Athenians had, at this time, quitted the port, and were standing out watching the approach of the enemy. Mitford, I must observe, has committed an egregious error, in saying that Nicostratus directed the Corcyreans to support him as they could get their triremes ready. Whereas the direction, and that a judicious one, was, that they should come forth in a body.

[2] *Salaminia and Paralus.*] One of these ships, we may suppose, was that mentioned supra 70., as having conveyed the Athenian ambassadors to Corcyra. The other, perhaps, had been sent from Athens since the account had reached of the revolt of Corcyra. Certainly intelligence would be transmitted very quickly from Naupactus to Athens. This passage, it may be observed, proves how mistaken is the supposition of some (as Smith), that the Salaminia and Paralus were not ships of war, but only packets. We see them here acting as what we call *line of battle ships.*

[3] *Closing with — unskilfully and scatteringly.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of the words κακῶς τε καὶ κατ' ὀλίγας προσπίπτοντες, on which the translators and commentators are not agreed. In the above sense προσπίπτειν is used just after, and at 7, 17. and 6, 34. The κατ' ὀλίγας refers to their forming a regular line, to oppose the enemy's τάξις. The κακῶς has reference to the preceding words οὐδεὶς κόσμος τῶν ποιουμένων.

[4] *Had much difficulty, &c.*] The words ἐταλαιπωροῦντο καθ' ἑαυτούς are variously rendered. By Valla, "a seipsis profligabantur." But that sense would require ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, nor would ταλαιπ. be a very suitable term. Portus renders, "soli graviter laborabant;" which is a sense very agreeable to the signification of καθ' ἑαυτοῖς, but not so suitable to the context as that I have adopted, which is supported by Stephens, Hobbes, Smith, and Kistemacher.

[5] *Wings.*] Or, what we should call the *flanks*, in a column of land forces.

ship; and afterwards forming themselves into a circle, they sailed round the enemy's line, and endeavoured to throw it into disorder.[6] But those who were opposed to the Corcyreans perceiving this, and fearing that there would be some such disaster as at Naupactus, went to their aid, and their united ships made sail upon the Athenians. But they now retreated, beating, however, to prow[7], intending by thus retreating with the utmost slowness, and keeping the enemy drawn in line against them, that the Corcyrean ships might effect their escape to port. Such was the event of the battle, which terminated at sunset.

LXXIX. And now the Corcyreans, fearing lest the enemy should, as victors, make sail upon them, or should remove the men from the island, or effect some other mischief, fetched the men back to the temple of Juno[1], and put the city in a a posture of defence. But their enemies, notwithstanding the victory they had obtained, did not venture to attack them[2], but made sail for the continent whence they had weighed[3], with thirteen captured ships of the Corcyreans. Neither on the following day were they at all more disposed to sail against the city, though in such disorder, and notwithstanding, as it

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6 *Sailed round, &c.*] The same evolution as that mentioned at 2, 83. Ταξαμένων has a reciprocal sense; and κύκλον is for ἐς κύκλον. Θορυβεῖν has here the sense of ταράσσειν, as in Xenophon Cyr. 5, 3. and Plutarch ap. Steph. Thes.

7 *Beating to prow.*] Hobbes renders, "rowing astern;" Smith, "shifting the helm;" both from not being aware of the nature of the phrase, which has been fully explained at 1, 50. This passage, it may be observed, extremely confirms the view there taken of the phrase, that it denoted a sort of slow retreat, with the face to the enemy, like that of the lion so finely described by Homer.

1 *Temple of Juno.*] Levesque render here and supra, "the sacred grove of the temple;" because we afterwards read of trees in the place. But it is not likely that the suppliants would have thought themselves safe any where but in the *temple;* and, as to the *trees,* the great court of the temple might have some around it. Palmer, Antiq. p. 363., fixes the site of it to some magnificent ruins near the town of Saint Angelo, near the promontory of Amphipolis.

2 *Their enemies — did not, &c.*] This is, for Thucydides, a very strong expression, and justifies the remark of Mitford, that "the inability of the Spartan commander-in-chief, and apparently his cowardice, uncommon as that defect was in a Spartan, were the best security of the Corcyreans."

3 *Continent whence, &c.*] i. e. that part of it whence they, &c., namely, the port of Sybota.

is said, the advice of Brasidas (not backed, however, with equality of authority[4]) to that effect, but only disembarked at the promontory of Leucimme, and devastated the country round.

LXXX. Meanwhile the Corcyrean democrats, in great consternation lest the fleet should sail upon them, came to a conference[5] with the suppliants, and with the rest[6], on the best means of saving the city; and some of them they induced to go on board the ships[7]: for, notwithstanding all disasters[8], they had manned thirty ships, in expectation of the attack. But the Peloponnesians retired after ravaging the country until midday, and being about night-fall apprized by lamp signals[9] of the approach of sixty Athenian ships standing

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4 *Not backed by, &c.*] Smith renders, "but in the council of war quite overruled;" and so Portus, Kistemacher, and Gail. This, however, is judging of antient affairs according to modern ideas. We have no reason to suppose that there was a council board. There was only one counsellor, and that Brasidas, and he *only* a counsellor, not a director. The term ἰσόψηφος is here to be taken for ἰσότιμος, as at 1, 141. 3, 11. Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 111, 14. βασιλέας μὲν εἶναι Ῥωμαίων, Ῥωμύλον καὶ Τάττιον, ἰσοψήφους ὄντας καὶ τιμὰς καρπουμένους τὰς ἴσας. Eurip. Suppl. 353. ἐλευθερώσας τήνδ' ἰσόψηφον πόλιν. Æschin. p. 43, 24. Plutarch Lycurg. c. 5. Dionys. Hal. p. 224. And so ὁμόψηφος in Herod. 6, 109. 7, 149. Hence, perhaps, may be emended a corruption which has foiled the editors on Æschyl. Agam. 1446., where, for κράτος τ' ἰσόψυχον, read ἰσόψηφον.

5 *Came to a conference.*] They did not molest them, knowing that any violence offered to *them* might be amply revenged by the Peloponnesians. Indeed by before placing them again in an *adytum*, they then, it seems, meant no harm to them.

6 *The rest.*] Portus and Smith render, *others.* But the sense above assigned is required by the article; and such is the one adopted by Hobbes. We must understand those of the aristocratical party who had not been selected for the fleet, and, consequently, not of the four hundred before mentioned.

7 *Some of them they induced, &c.*] "The body of the aristocratical party," says Mitford, "still refused all confidence to their opponents, and, as the sequel of this horrible story will show, not without reason."

8 *Notwithstanding all disasters.*] Such seems to be the full sense comprehended in ὅμως.

9 *Apprized by lamp signals.*] Such seems to be the most accurate version of αὐτοῖς ἐφρυκτωρώθησαν, on which Bredow annotates thus: "Hinc colligi potest φρυκτωρίαν veterum non tam inopem signorum fuisse, quam Polyb. 10, 40. describit, dicens eam parum utilitatis attulisse, utpote intra fines paucorum, de quibus conventum esset, indiciorum restrictam. Jam ex his verbis Thucydidis existimare licet, non solum indicatum esse Spartanis, hostes advehi, sed etiam, sexaginta et Leucade et Atheniensium advehi. Quemadmodum etiam e verbis 3, 22. apparet, Peloponnesios certam quan-

towards them from Leucas. These the Athenians, on hearing of the sedition, and that the ships with Alcidas were about to sail to Corcyra, had despatched under the command of Eurymedon son of Thucles. Aug. 26, 1852.

LXXXI. Hereupon the Peloponnesians hastily got under weigh, and under cover of night proceeded on their voyage homeward along the coast [1], conveyed their ships across the isthmus [2] of Leucas [3], that they might not be seen in their passage round, and so reached home. But the Corcyreans, perceiving the Athenian ships approaching, and that those of the enemy had departed, introduced the Messenians into the city, who had before been encamped outside the walls, and the ships which had been manned being ordered to sail round to the Hyllaic port, they, in their way thither, put to death all of the enemy whom they met with [4], and then those whom they had persuaded to go on board the ships they set on shore and butchered [5]; then proceeding to the temple of

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dam rem ignibus accensis Thebanis significare voluisse." The perfection of this invention (he adds) centres in the *telegraph* of modern times. Goeller refers to a dissertation of the same writer, on the telegraph of the Greeks and Romans, entitled, Genius der Zeit, 1797, and compares Thucyd. 6, 61. and Hom. Il. 18, 207. Æschyl. Agam. init. Theogn. 561. Pausan. Corinth. c. 25.

[1] *Along the coast.*] This is all that is meant by παρὰ τὴν γῆν, and not "*crept* along the coast," as Smith renders, or, "close under shore," as Mitford. This was, indeed, their right way homewards.

[2] *Conveyed their ships, &c.*] To expedite their passage and avoid the danger of a circumnavigation round Leucas.

[3] *Leucas.*] This was now, as it originally had been, a peninsula; for though the isthmus was dug through by Cipselus, the Corinthian, yet, by this time, the canal had, probably, been choked with alluvial matter, and the island converted again to a peninsula. Compare 4, 8. and Hudson. (Hack.) On the use of machines for carrying ships over isthmuses, see note on 3, 15.

[4] *Met with.*] These persons were probably in vessels on board of which they had embarked to effect their escape to the continent, which vessels were, perhaps, run down and sunk.

[5] *Put on shore, and butchered.*] That such is the sense intended to be conveyed by the author, there cannot be any doubt. The common reading, ἐκβιβάζοντες ἀπεχώρησαν, cannot be tolerated, as not giving a satisfactory account of what was done with the men; nor is it likely that they would be content to put some of their enemies coolly on shore while they killed others: besides, ἀπεχ. would thus have a frigid effect. As to the sense assigned by Portus, Hobbes, Smith, and Mitford, it can by no means be admitted, since ἐκβιβάζοντες cannot signify *threw over board.* It was, there-

Juno, they prevailed upon about fifty of the suppliants[6] to submit to a trial; all of whom were condemned to death.[7] The remainder and greater part of the suppliants, who had not been prevailed upon to stand trial, on seeing[8] what was done, destroyed each other in the very temple[9], and some hanged themselves from the trees[10]; others made away with themselves[11] just as they could[12]; and for the seven days

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fore, with good reason that Duker, Bekker, and Goeller read *ἀπεχρῶντο*, from three MSS. of good note, and confirmed by some antient lexicographers. This, then, as far as MSS. go, may seem to be the true reading. But I suspect that Thucydides wrote *ἀπεχρήσαντο*, which is more suitable in tense, and, if I mistake not, was read by Dio Cass. (who often uses the word in passages evidently imitated from this, as 288, 16. 533, 54. 849, 31.), and, perhaps, by Hesych.; and the word occurs also in Aristoph., J. Malela, and Pollux. Besides, *ἀπεχρήσαντο* approaches nearer to the common reading than *ἀπεχρῶντο*. And, in truth, the imperfect does not appear to have been used in this sense. The degrees of corruption were *ἀπεχρήσαντο, ἀπεχρήσαντ', ἀπέχρησαν, ἀπεχώρησαν.*

[6] *Prevailed upon, &c.*] It would not require much trouble to persuade men already nearly reduced to death by famine. We may observe, that they did not venture to violate the sanctuary, from that fear of temporal evil for such an offence which superstition instilled, while the transgression of every moral rule excited no fear.

[7] *Condemned to death.*] It seems implied, in the words following, that they were all executed.

[8] *Seeing.*] Or, rather *learning;* for the persons in question would hardly be put to death in their presence. So, indeed, *ὁράω* is elsewhere used. Verbs of *sense*, it may be observed, often interchange their significations.

[9] *In the very temple.*] Such seems to be meant by the emphatic phrase, *αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ*, which is not a mere pleonasm. I would compare Herod. 4, 135, 4. *αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ.*

[10] *Trees.*] Namely, of the sacred grove, according to Mitford. But the air of the sentence leads us to suppose that the trees were in the temple; and (as I have before conjectured) they might be in the principal court.

That men should, in such melancholy circumstances, seek any way to put an end to their wretchedness, is natural; but why the unhappy persons in question should have studiously killed themselves *in the temple*, is not so clear. It was, I imagine, in order thereby to bring on their persecutors the same guilt as that which would have arisen from killing them there. They, then, hastened with a horrible eagerness to do this, before they should be taken from the temple. Perhaps, too, they thus sought, in the words of the poet, to "give repentance to" their persecutors, and "wring their bosoms;" on the same principle as some have slain themselves in the presence of their injurers.

[11] *Made away with themselves.*] Such is the most simple version of the word in the original, of which the middle or reflected sense deserves attention. In the former it occurs in Dio Cass. 817, 27. et alibi. See Valckn. on Eurip. Phœn., and Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Sept. 813.

[12] *Just as they could.*] A very singular example of the devices which men, in such miserable circumstances, have resorted to, is found in

during which Eurymedon, who came with the sixty ships, remained, the Corcyreans continued butchering [13] such as were thought to be their enemies; criminating (or prosecuting), indeed, only such as had aimed at overturning democracy [14], though some perished from private enmity, and others on account of debts owing to them by those that apprehended them; and, indeed, of what usually takes place in such circumstances there was *nothing that did not happen* [15] — and worse! [16] for fathers slew sons [17], and men were dragged [18] from

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Plutarch Mar.: *τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας, ἀπορίᾳ δένδρων, τοῖς κέρασι τῶν βοῶν, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς σκέλεσι προσδεῖν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν τραχήλους.*

[13] *Butchering.*] This exactly answers to the original *ἐφόνευον*, a very strong term, seldom used by Thucydides, and never but when he means to express great reprobation of cruelty.

[14] *Criminating, indeed, &c.*] This version of the somewhat perplexing words of the original, I have adopted, as seeming to me the best hitherto proposed, and being supported by the authority of Bauer, Herman, Hack, and Goeller. Yet I have some doubt whether such be the real sense intended by the author. Did he mean to say, that none were criminated but those who had favoured aristocracy, though persons perished from private enmity who otherwise would not have been indicted? I think not. Doubtless all the aristocrats perished, and many, probably, were implicated unlawfully and causelessly. And such is, perhaps, what is meant by the words, namely, that crimination was brought forward against all such as had been concerned in putting down democracy; but some perished (who had not been implicated in any such charge) through mere private enmity, &c.

The article *τὴν* is for the possessive pronoun, and has reference to the *τοῖς* in *τοῖς καταλύουσιν*. In *καταλύουσιν* the *attempt* stands for the *performance;* on which idiom see Glass Philolog. Sacr. Ed. Dath. Finally, *λαβόντων* does not denote the *borrowers* (as the Scholiast, Portus, Hobbes, and Smith suppose), which would yield a very frigid sense, but is for *καταλαβόντων*, *met with*, or *apprehended*, as a little before in this chapter.

[15] *And, indeed, of what, &c.*] Goeller compares Virg. Æn. 2, 369. Crudelis ubique Luctus, ubique pavor, et plurima mortis imago. I add Socrat. Eccl. Hist. l. 2, 2. *διὰ πάσης ἰδέας θανάτου.*

[16] *And worse.*] Goeller cites an imitation from Sallust Jug. 48. I add Dio Cass. 953, 35. and 1075, 58. 1008, 90. (which are almost transcripts of the present passage), and also Joseph. 786, 41. and 792, 16. *κακὸν δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐ μὴ φύεντος ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν ἀνδρων, καὶ περαιτέρω.* and 854, 10. There is great elegance and pathos in the *καὶ περαιτέρω*, which is imitated by Josephus, and found in Aristoph. Thesm. 705. *δεινα πράγματ' ἐστὶ, καὶ περαιτέρω.* Æschyl, P. V. 255. *μή πού τι προῦβης τῶνδε καὶ περαιτέρω.*

[17] *Fathers slew sons.*] Many passages illustrative of the *ἀστοργία*, or want of natural affection, which prevailed among the Heathens, may be seen in my note on 2 Tim. 3, 2.

[18] *Dragged from the temples, &c.*] Smith renders, "some were dragged from altars; and some were butchered at them;" and, deceived by his *usual guide*, Gail renders, "on arrachoit sa victime aux asyles sacrés, on la frappa sous les yeux même des Immortels:" but it is not likely that such horrid guilt would so needlessly be incurred. The sense above

the temples and slain near them, and some were even walled up in the temple of Bacchus[19], and thus perished.

LXXXII. To such a height of atrocity had this sedition reached[1]; and it seemed so much the worse, as being the first.[2] For afterwards one may even say that all the Grecian nation was in commotion, differences every where existing between the supporters of democracy, who sought to bring in the Athenians, and those of oligarchy, whose intention was to introduce the Lacedæmonians. In peaceful times, indeed, men would not have had any pretext, nor been disposed to invite their interference; but when at war, opportunities readily offered themselves to those of either party who were disposed to innovation and violence for the annoyance of the adverse faction, and, moreover, at the same time, for

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assigned is far more probable, and is supported by all the other translators. Ἱερῶν does not signify *altars*, as Smith renders, but *temples*.

19 *Walled up in, &c.*] It seems by this that the miserable wretches had fled to other temples as well as that of Juno. Of this walling up we have had another example in the case of Pausanias, 1, 134., at least as the passage has been hitherto explained. The same atrocity has been often had recourse to by the wretched devotees to Roman Catholic superstition, in the punishment of heretics, and peccant monks and nuns.

On the word περιοικοδηθέντες Duker has a long and learned note which, however, conveys little information. The truth is, the περὶ does not here appear very suitable, since this muring was, probably, effected only by walling up doorways and windows. Of this very rare word neither Duker nor any other commentator adduces a single example, nor have I recorded more than one, Ezekiel, 6, 39, 11. καὶ περιοικοδομήσουσι τὸ περεστόμιον τῆς φάραγγος.

1 *To such a height of, &c.*] Such seems to be the closest version of οὕτως ὠμὴ στάσις προυχώρησε, the harshness of which is occasioned by a confusion of two phrases.

2 *It seemed so much, &c.*] There is something perplexing in διότι ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ ἐγένετο, where the Scholiast would take τοῖς for αὐτοῖς, namely, the Corcyreans. But, surely, the *Grecians* must be meant; nor is it clear that τοῖς can ever stand for αὐτοῖς. Hack says, that ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ simply signifies *prima*. But that is *gratis dictum*, and unsupported by any proof. To me it seems that ἐν τοῖς πρώτῃ is for ἐν τοῖς πρῶτον, scil. γενομένοις, amongst the first; for, surely, it was not the very first example of faction between democrats and aristocrats. If the present reading, and that at 1, 6., be correct, the irregularity is considerable to take πρῶτος and πρώτῃ for πρῶτον; yet not so great as that of supposing the whole phrase only meant for πρῶτος and πρώτῃ. As to altering the word (which I have recommended at 1, 6.) that may seem too hazardous, as the idiom seems to be supported by too many passages to be an error of the scribes.

the aggrandizement of their own.[3] *Many and calamitous events befall*[4] *states through faction!* — things which have been, and ever will be, while human nature continues what it is[5], but extreme or milder[6], and varied[7] in their forms, as the changes of events fall out[8]: for in seasons of peace and prosperity[9], both states and private persons are better disposed, by reason of their having not fallen into those necessities which hurry men into what they otherwise would not do.[10]

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[3] *But when at war, and opportunities, &c.*] Such seems to be the real sense, and the closest version of this perplexed passage, which has been but imperfectly understood. At πολεμουμένων we must supply αὐτῶν; and ἑκατέροις is for ἑκατέρων. Moreover, ξυμμαχίας belongs to *both* the datives κακώσει and προσποιήσει, which are for accusatives with an εἰς or πρὸς. Πορίζεσθαι has a reflected sense. By ξυμμαχίας is denoted *confederacy*, or, perhaps, *faction*. Πολεμοῦσθαι signifies to *be at war*; a rare sense of the word, of which the following are examples: Appian, 1, 91, 61. οἱ δὲ πανταχόθεν πολεμουμένοι. Phylarch. Athenæi, 442. c. διὸ δὲ πολεμουμένων πότε αὐτῶν. With respect to ἐπαγωγὴ, it is used in an uncommon sense; but, as the word denotes an entrance, so it will also signify *means* and *opportunity*.

[4] *Befall.*] Ἐπιπίπτω is used of what happens unexpectedly and suddenly, and for *harm*. Thus, it is applied to disorders, earthquakes, deluges, &c.

[5] *Things which ever, &c.*] This is imitated by Dio Cass. 88, 52. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὅτε ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ἂν παύσαιτο πότε, ἕως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἀνθρώπων ᾖ. Procop. 132, 22. Arrian, E. A, 2, 6, 7. ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' ἡδονὴν ξυνόντων τε καὶ ξυνεσομένων ἐπὶ κακῷ τοῖς ἀεὶ βασιλεύουσιν. Procop. 132, 23. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν — ἦλθε, καὶ ἀεὶ ἥξει, ἕως ἂν αἱ αὐταὶ τύχαι ἀνθρώπων ὦσι.

[6] *Extreme or milder.*] Μᾶλλον is here (as a little before) used for an adjective, and signifies *sæviora*. A use almost peculiar to Thucydides. I have, however, observed it in Dionys. Hal. 1, 615. (imitated from this passage), καὶ πάντα ὅσα τούτοις ὅμοια συνέπιπτεν, εὑρίσκετο καὶ πάλαι πότε γεγόνοτα, ἦττον δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον. Æschyl. Choeph. 213. μὴ μάτευ' ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον φίλον. Of ἡσυχ. a similar use occurs in Æschyl. Eum. 218. Schutz.

[7] *Varied.*] Discrepantia, diversa. So Dionys. Hal. 23, 17. ταῖς φωναῖς αὐτῶν διηλλαγμέναις.

[8] *As the changes of, &c.*] Ἐφίστασθαι (of which the ratio significationis is not perceived by the commentators) is used of things which à fortunâ immittuntur, et hominibus accedere adeoque accidere solent. So Eurip. Hippol. 819. ὦ τύχα, Ὡς μοι βαρεῖα καὶ δόμοις ἐπεστάθης. Polyb. 2, 20, 7. ἡ τύχη — ἐπέστησε πᾶσι Γαλάταις.

[9] *In seasons of, &c.*] The sentence is almost transcribed by Procop. p. 9, 30. 24, 19. 288, 30. 315, 29. Hence at 205, 4., ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, I would insert τοῖς and subaud πράγμασι.

[10] *Fallen into those necessities which, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense, which is very inadequately represented by the translators. The phrase ἀκουσίους ἀνάγκας may, to our modern ears, seem to savour of pleonasm, or something more unphilosophical; but the antients were not so scrupulous. It is not ill rendered by Gail "imperieuses necessités." Indeed this phrase of our historian is used even by his hypercritic, Dionys. Hal. Ant.

But war, by withdrawing the means for the supply of men's daily wants, is an imperious dictator[11], and assimilates their dispositions to their present situation and circumstances.[12] Thus, then, the Grecian states[13] were agitated with factions, wherein those who had been behindhand[14] in hearing of what had been before done, introduced a decided superiority[15], by contriving new devices, both in respect of artful stratagems of attack and in novel atrocity of punishments.[16] Nay, the

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169, 40. ἐπὶ ἀκούσιον ἀνάγκην ἀναφερόντων τὸ πρᾶγμα. And a little after: εἰς ἀκούσιας ἀνάγκας ἀφῖχθαι, and p. 535, 36. εἰς ἀξουλήτους ἀνάγκας καταστᾶσι. So also Joseph. 172, 17. ἀνάγκη εἰς ἀξουλήτους κινδύνους ἐμπεσεῖν. Agath. p. 13, 1. εἰς ἀξουλήτους ἀνάγκας καταστῆναι. Hence may be emended Dio Cass. 913, 9. ἐς ἑκούσιον δὴ θανάτου ἀνάγκην — κατέστησε. where I conjecture either ἀκούσιον or ἑκουσίου. Sometimes, it may be observed, the ἀνάγκης is changed to τύχας or πράγματα, and the ἀκούσ. is changed to ἀξούλητος, or ἀναγκαῖος.

[11] *Is an imperious dictator.*] Namely, by the necessity which it brings with it. Διδάσκαλος is here used figuratively; as Xen. Cyr. 2, 3, 5. διδάσκαλος τούτων οὐδεὶς κρείττον τῆς ἀνάγκης. Theophyl. p. 28. A. ὁ πόλεμος τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων κακῶν ἀρχηγέτης καὶ διδάσκαλος αὐτοδίδακτος. There is a similarly figurative use of διδάσκ. in Eurip. Glauc. frag. 4. and Theocr. Idyll. 21. init. Ἁ πενία — τῶ μόχθοιο διδάσκαλος.

[12] *Assimilates their dispositions, &c.*] Ὁμοιοῖ signifies *componit, effingit,* conforms, moulds; as Eurip. Med. 886. οὔκουν χρῆν σ' ὁμοιοῦσθαι κακοῖς. Ὀργὰς, *tempers, passions;* as Dionys. Hal. Ant. 434, 11. ἐπιεικέστεραι πρὸς τοὺς εὐπόρους αἱ τῶν πενήτων ὀργαί. See Soph. Antiq. 354. and Erfurdt there.

[13] *Thus, then, the Grecian states, &c.*] The whole of the foregoing profound remarks of the great historian were had in view by Joseph. p. 1314. who has closely imitated the phraseology.

[14] *Those who had been behindhand, &c.*] The passage is imitated by Procop. p. 94. init. Gail well *paraphrases* "instruites au crime par le recit des crimes anterieurs."

[15] *Introduced a decided superiority, &c.*] Such seems to be the meaning of this dark and irregularly expressed sentence. But, perhaps, for τοῦ καινοῦσθαι the true reading is τῷ καιν., of which the reading of Dionysius is a gloss, τῷ being for ἐς τό.

There is a similar sentiment in Eurip. Hippol. 941-4. Τί τέρμα τόλμης καὶ θράσους γενήσεται; Εἰ γὰρ κατ' ἀνδρὸς βίοτον ἐξογκώσεται, Ὁ δ' ὕστερος τοῦ πρόσθεν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν Πανοῦργος ἔσται.

[16] *Novel atrocity of, &c.*] On this subject see an important passage, supra, c. 45. and the notes. The words are not ill rendered by Gail, "l'atrocité des *vengeances;*" for such, without an abuse of the term, could scarcely be called *punishments.*

Hence is illustrated Lucian Tyrann. 1, 648. τὸ τῶν κολασέων πρὸς ὠμότητα καινουργόν. And hence may be emended Isocr. Archid. § 22. p. 191. χρὴ — δὲ τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας τῷ πολέμῳ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν — ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ταραχῆς καὶ τῆς πανουργίας ἥττον ἂν μεταβολῆς τύχοιεν. where read, from Dionys. Hal. for πανουργίας, καινουργίας. Josephus, p. 1206, 6., mentions this as a trait of the Jews of his time. See also the impressive remarks of the same writer at 421, 5.

accustomed acceptation of names in respect of things they interchanged at their own pleasure.[17] Thus a rash headlong[18] daring was accounted a faithfully devoted courage[19]; a provident delay, specious cowardice; prudence, a cloak for pusillanimity[20]; and the use of wisdom in any thing, was being

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[17] *Nay, the accustomed, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense. Ἀξίωσις denotes *signification*, or acceptation. Ἀνταλλάσσω signifies to make a change, by taking one thing for another. The chief difficulty, however, rests on ἀξιώσει, which is by some rendered "for their justification." Others omit the word. There is, I think, no doubt but that it was rightly rendered by Portus *arbitratu suo*. And so Steph. Thes., and, I suspect, the Schol.; for δικαίᾳ seems to come from the margin. Gail well paraphrases the sentence thus: "La signification ordinaire des mots, qui servent à caracteriser les actions, fut changée conformément au nouveau code de justice." This practice of calling bad things by good names was termed ὑποκορισμός; and to this the Athenians had been always prone; though it was prevalent throughout Greece, and afterwards *Rome*, as appears from Horat. Serm. 1, 3. and Sallust Catal. c. 52. Here may be compared Dionys. Hal. 397, 20. συγχέοντες τῆς ἀληθείας φύσιν, καὶ τὴν τῶν δικαίων ἀξίωσιν ἀναστρέφοντες. and 609. ὁρῶντας ὡς οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἤθεσι πᾶσιν οἰκεῖ ἔτι τὸ ἀρχαῖον φρόνημα, ἀλλ' αὐθάδεια μὲν ἡ σεμνότης καλεῖται πρὸς ἐνίων, μωρία δὲ ἡ δικαιοσύνη, μανικὸν δὲ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον. καὶ ἠλίθιον τὸ σῶφρον. (ἃ δὲ μισητὰ παρὰ τοῖς προτέροις ἦν, ταῦτα τε πυργοῦται νῦν, καὶ θαυμάσια φαίνεται τοῖς διεφθαρμένοις ἀγαθὰ, ἀνανδρία καὶ βωμολοχία καὶ κακοήθεια,) καὶ τὸ πανοῦργον σοφὸν, καὶ τὸ πρὸς πάντα ἰταμὸν, καὶ τὸ μηδενὸς τῶν κρειττόνων ἀντέχεσθαι εὐπειθές. Muson. ap. Stob. p. 31, 45. κακίαις αὐτῶν πλάσσονταί τινες ῥημάτων εὐπρέπειαν, τὸ μὲν φιλοσώματον, ἁπλοῦν· τὸ δὲ φιλάργυρον, προμηθίαν ἀποκαλούμενον. where for φιλοσώματον I read ἀφιλοσώματον. See also Philo Jud. 739. D. Procop. 268, 35. Pollux 6, 132 and 134. Nay, to this self-deceit all nations in all ages have been prone. Of this we find mention in the most antient writings of Divine inspiration; as Isaiah 5, 20. "Wo unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter!" and 32, 5.

[18] *Headlong.*] i. e. precipitate. Such seems to be the true sense of τόλμα ἀλόγιστος, which expression also occurs in Polyb. 1, 296. and 3, 19, 9. where is added, as if by way of explanation, ἄκρατος. The ἀλόγ. Dionys. Hal. 609. above cited seems to have taken to signify *mad*. Thus he says μανικὸν [καλεῖται] ἀνδρεῖον. Τόλμα used with ἀλόγ. by Xenophon, Demosthenes, and Eurip.

[19] *Devoted courage*] Literally, "friend-devoted, true-hearted." For such seems to be the sense of φιλέταιρος, which is a somewhat rare word; though I have met with it in Lucian 3, 216. 2, 514. Arrian E. A. 7, 4, 11. Xen. Cyr. 8, 3, 48. Aristot. Rhet. 127, 6. and Pollux. And it should, I think, be restored to Polyb. 24, 5, 7. for φιλέραστος. In citing this passage of Thucydides, Plutarch adds εὐγνώμων, i. e. faithful, to which φιλέρ. seems to have been a very antient, and not incorrect, *gloss*.

[20] *A provident delay, &c.*] There is sound wisdom and ever-during truth in the dict of Eurip. Suppl. 508. σφαλερὸν ἡγεμὼν θρασὺς, Νέως τε αὐτῆς. ἥσυχος καιρῷ σόφος. Καὶ τοῦτό μοι τ' ἀνδρεῖον, ἡ προμηθία. Æschyl., too, Prom. V. 389. thus inculcates the union of valour and prudence: ἐν τῷ προμηθεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τολμᾶν τίνα Ὁρᾶς ἐνοῦσαν ζημίαν. Hence may be

sluggish in every thing.[21] An uncontrollably passionate spirit[22] was thought to form the part of manliness[23]; and caution in projecting[24] was accounted a specious excuse for declining a project. The furiously violent was ever esteemed trusty, while he that withstood him was suspected.[25] He who plotted any knavery was, if successful, thought clever, and he that suspected and anticipated him was thought yet more knowing[26]; but he who used prudent forethought, so as to need neither the one nor the other[27], was esteemed a dissolver[28] of good fellowship, and a craven before his foes. In a word, he that

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emended Eurip. Incert. frag. 51, 8. ἡ δ' εὐλάβεια σκότον ἔχει καθ' Ἑλλάδα, Τὸ διαβιῶναι μόνον ἀεὶ θηρωμένη. where I would read σκόπον.

[21] *The use of wisdom, &c.*] Or to be all-wise was to be all-sluggish. It is, however, impossible to exactly express the antithesis in πρὸς ἅπαν (scil. ἀργόν and ἐπὶ πᾶν, or, as I suspect should be read, ἐπίπαν, omnino). The version of Smith is specious, but ill-founded. Hence may be emended a passage of Eurip. Œdip. frag. 6. which seems to have been in the mind of Thucydides.

[22] *Uncontrollably passionate spirit.*] Literally, *hasty* spirit; as Prov. 14, 29. " he that is hasty of spirit exalteth folly." and Eccles. 7, 9. The passage is almost transcribed by a writer in Suid. v. Ἡρασκλεῖος. also by Agath. p. 10. δεινος τε ἦν καὶ αὐθάδης, καὶ οἷος τὸ μανιῶδες καὶ ἐμπλήκτον ἄνδριαν ἡγεῖσθαι. In ἐμπλήκτως there is the same metaphor as in our colloquial phrase " touched in the head."

[23] *Part of manliness.*] Literally, " part of a man." So Dionys. Hal. Ant. 486. ἐν ἄνδρος μοίρᾳ θείην ἄν. Æschyl. Choeph. 585. ἀλλ' ὑπέρτολμον ἀνδρὸς εὐφρόνημα τίς λέγοι;

[24] *Caution in projecting.*] Or deliberation. Such seems to be the true sense; though there has been some debate respecting both the interpretation and the reading of the passage. It should, however, seem that the common reading is correct. Τὸ ἐπιβ. is unobjectionable; and τοῦ ἐπ.β. and ἀσφαλεία are needless attempts at emendation. At τὸ must be understood ἐς. Ἐπιξουλεύσας seems to be wrongly rendered by Goeller *insidias*. The sense *project* or *counsel* is found also at 3, 20. Ἀποτροπῆς signifies *detrectatio*.

[25] *Esteemed, &c. suspected.*] At each of these words we may understand " by the people." Χαλεπαίνων literally signifies *who rageth;* as Prov. 14, 16. By the *withstanding* is meant pointing out the rashness of his measures, and recommending wise counsels. In *suspected* seems also to be implied *anticipated*.

[26] *Knowing.*] Or *clever;* as 6, 36. Plutarch, Sympos. l. 8. οἱ δὲ τὴν πανουργίαν δεινότητα, καὶ φρονήσιν ἡγούμενοι τὴν ψευδοδοξίαν. Aristoph. Ran. 958. ἐδίδαξε — τεχνάζειν, κἀχ' ὑποτυπεῖσθαι, περινοεῖν ἅπαντα.

[27] *Neither the one nor the other.*] i. e. neither plotting nor counterplotting.

[28] *Dissolver.*] Or breaker up. The ἑταιρία Goeller renders *faction;* but I prefer *fellowship* or *friendship;* as Lobeck also interprets. And this sense is not only more agreeable to what follows, but is supported by Procop. p. 143, 43. ἑταιρίας διαλύτην ἀποκαλῶν. So also the word is used by Dionys. Hal. Ant. 234. Soph. Ajax, 683. and Eurip. Orest. 1070.

would be beforehand with[29] another, who was about to do him wrong, was commended, as was also he who set another on doing so[30], that thought not of it; and, indeed, relationship was esteemed not so close a tie as factious association[31], because it was more disposed to unhesitatingly dare: for such sort of combinations were not made for men's good[32], according to the existing laws, but for unjust gain, contrary to them; and pledges of faith towards each other were confirmed, not so much by sacred pledges, as by community of crime. Any equitable overtures from an enemy they admitted, if they were superior in power, but so as to keep a guard over their actions, and not with generous confidence.[33] To retaliate on another was held preferable to oneself not first suffering[34]; and oaths, if there were any for reconciliation, being interposed for the present on some difficulty, continued in force so long

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[29] *Be beforehand with.*] i. e. so as to bring on his head the meditated evil.

[30] *Set another on doing so.*] i. e., not "on doing evil or villany," as almost all the commentators explain; but "on anticipating another in doing injury." And so the Schol. understands. A very pithy dict on this subject may be seen in Xen. Anab. 2, 5, 8.

[31] *Factious association..*] Namely in clubs. The expression τὸ ἑταιρικόν also occurs in Dio Cass. 494, 19. It is much stronger than τὸ φίλιον, as appears from Aristot. Eth. l. 9. οὐ γίγνονται γὰρ φίλοι πολλοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑταιρικὴν φιλίαν. Yet a wiser man than even Aristotle says, that there is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother.

[32] *For men's good.*] Goeller would read ὠφελείᾳ. That, however, is not necessary, since ἕνεκα may be understood. Thucydides, it must be remembered, *varietatem perditè amat.*

[33] *If they were superior, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense: though translators and commentators are divided in opinion. Goeller rightly explains ἔργων φυλακῇ as put for διὰ τὸ ἔργοις πεφυλαγμένοι εἶναι.

[34] *To retaliate on, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of the words, and not that assigned by all the translators, which offers a sentiment very frigid and unworthy of Thucydides; whereas that which arises from the above version is profound, namely, that men sometimes prefer retaliation to personal security, insomuch that they expose themselves to fall by their enemy *before* they attain their purpose. The passage is imitated by Plut. Dion. 47. τὸ γὰρ ἀντιτιμωρεῖσθαι τοῦ προαδικεῖν νόμῳ δικαιότερον ὥρισθαι; φύσει γινόμενον ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἀσθενείας.

By the odious spirit of heathenism this sort of retaliation was thought quite innocent. So Soph. Œd. Col. 230. οὐδενὶ μοιριδία τίσις ἔρχεται, Ὧν προπάθῃ, τὸ τίνειν. i. e. no divine punishment awaits him who repays evil with evil, where the Scholiast explains in words which seem formed on this passage of Thucydides, as follows: οὐδεμία τίσις ἔρχεται τοῖς προπαθοῦσιν ἀντιτιμωρουμένοις. Also Œd. Col. 271. καίτοι πῶς ἐγὼ κακὸς φύσιν, Ὅστις παθὼν μὲν ἀντέδρων. See also Æschyl. Eum. 981. and Agam. 1234.

only as the parties had no power from any other quarter. But when occasion served, he who first dared an attack, if he saw his enemy off his guard, thought his revenge the sweeter, as taken on one lulled in security, than if he had gained it in the open way; partly because he thought it the safe course, and because by overreaching his foe he also gained the glory of dexterity.[35] Thus it is that the greater part of men are more willing to be called *clever rogues* than *honest fools*[36]; of the latter they are ashamed, in the former they exult.

Of all these events the source was the lust of rule, inspired by avarice and ambition, and from these arose an eagerness ever hurrying men to contentious rivalry; for those who held authority in the cities, each party with a specious name, whether as maintainers of *political* (or constitutional) *equality of rights and privileges in the people*, or of a *moderate aristocracy*[37] — these, though in words they courted the public, made it the prize of their contention[38], and straining every

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[35] *Partly because he thought, &c.*] So the passage is interpreted by Goeller, who has here a learned note.

[36] *Clever rogues than, &c.*] Or, "clever, though rascals, than men of probity, but fools." The sense has been completely missed by Portus, Hobbes, Smith, and Gail. The above view, it may be observed, is supported by the very learned Krueger. Goeller, indeed, scruples to adopt it, and proposes with Reiske, to supply ὄντες at ἀγαθοί. And so far he is certainly right, and Krueger was mistaken in regarding the ὄντες as redundant. In full construction, however, the ὄντες must be supplied in both clauses; if omitted in translation, it must yet be understood. Φαῦλος is the origin of our word *fool*.

The passage is imitated by Procop. 293, 36. ῥᾶον γὰρ οἱ θρασεῖς εὔτολμοι κέκληνται, ἢ οἱ προμηθεῖς ἀσφαλεῖς. Similar is the following of Eurip. Ion. 833. φαῦλον χρηστὸν ἂν λαβεῖν φίλον θέλοιμι μᾶλλον ἢ κακὸν σοφώτερον. Very impressive is the solemn declaration of Demosthenes ὅσῳ κρεῖττον εὐήθη δοκεῖν ἢ πονηρὸν εἶναι.

[37] *Political equality of rights, &c.*] These were the names respectively given by each party to their professed object. The former did not adopt the term *democracy*, because that was in ill repute with the other, and called ochlocracy, or mob-rule. And the latter did not use that of *oligarchy*, because it was equally liable to perversion. Therefore both parties took these specious names. A similar course was long pursued by the Whigs and Tories in our own country.

This signification of πολιτικὸς, *constitutional*, is also found in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 273, 23. πολιτικὸν καὶ μέτριον. See those admirable dissertations on civil government found in Herod. 3, 80—82. also 5, 92. and the notes of Valckn. On the word ἰσονομία see Wasse on Herod. 3, 80, 27. and Valckn. on Eurip. Phœn. 541.

[38] *Made it the prize, &c.*] So Appian 2, 77, 70. στασίαρχοι — συνεπλέκοντο ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἡ πάτρις ἄθλον ἔκειτο ἐν μέσῳ.

nerve, by whatever means, to get the better of each other, they ventured upon the most horrible outrages, went beyond all bounds of moderation, enacting punishments greater and greater[39], and not as far as justice and the good of the state authorized, but limiting them, either party, only according to their own pleasure[40]; and they were ever ready, either by an unjust decree of condemnation, or by the hand of assassination, when they gained the power, to satiate the infuriate passions of the moment[41]: so that neither party were in their conduct guided by any regard to religion; nay, those who happened to accomplish any thing memorable by plausibility of words were in the best credit.[42] As to the moderate part of the citizens[43], they were the common victims of both, either

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39 *Went beyond all bounds, &c.*] See supra, 3, 45. and the notes.

40 *Limiting them, &c.*] See my note on Acts 11, 29.

41 *Satiate the, &c.*] Here I prefer, with Bekker and Goeller, ἐκπιμπλάναι, as being not only a stronger term than ἐμπιπ., but far more used by the Attic writers, as I shall show in my edition. Goeller here compares Sallust Cat. 38. "Per illa tempora quicunque rempublicam agitavere, honestis nominibus, alii sicuti jura populi defenderunt, pars quo senatus auctoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum simulantes pro sua quisque potentia certabant, neque illis modestia neque modus contentionis erat: utrique victoriam crudeliter exercebant."

42 *Nay, those who, &c.*] On the sense of the words εὐπρεπείᾳ δὲ λόγου οἷς ξυμβαίη ἐπιφθόνως τι διαπράξασθαι, ἄμεινον ἦκουον the commentators are not agreed. The difficulty centres in ἐπιφθόνως, which admits both of a good and a bad sense. The *latter* is supported by most modern interpreters. And Goeller assigns the following as the general sense of the passage: "Si religio hos homines et divini numinis metus retinuisset, multa inauditæ adhuc immanitatis admittere horruissent; jam quæ nefaria patrabant, quæ aliis temporibus homines abominati essent, nunc vel excusabant, vel levia esse putabant, vel speciosa nomina prætexentes defendebant; quo factum est, ut conscelerati homines melius audirent." But this seems doing violence to the words. I prefer, with the Schol., the *former* sense. His words are: ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπίφθονου καὶ μέγα. τὰ γὰρ μεγάλα καὶ φθονεῖται. The same also is adopted by Stephens in his Thes. Of this word I do not remember any other example than Appian, t. 2. 28, 2. αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες ἐπιφθόνως.

43 *Moderate part of, &c.*] i. e. *moderates*, or *neutrals*. Such is the sense assigned by all the interpreters to τὰ μέσα τῶν πολίτων. But I have sometimes thought the expression might mean *the middle classes*, standing for οἱ μέσοι πολῖται, which occurs in this sense at 6, 54., where I have adduced many examples. Perhaps, however, Thucydides had both significations in view, which, indeed, merge into each other, since the middle class, no doubt, formed the *moderates*, the mob supporting democracy, and the higher class aristocracy. The phrase is, however, very rare, and I have not met with it any where else but in Dio Cass. 400, 90. (in an oration of Cicero), where the historian closely imitates this whole chapter, and has

because they did not take part with them, or through envy that they should survive. Aug. 26. 1852.

LXXXIII. Thus by faction every species of wickedness was set on foot[1] in the Grecian nation, and simple honest-heartedness[2], of which generous natures[3] have so much, was laughed down[4], and had vanished; while to be in thought ranged one against another, with mutual distrust, was thought the best course[5]: [and no wonder] for there was neither surety of words nor fear of oaths that could reconcile disputes; but

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written in a very masterly manner. He remarks that "the public at large is gradually drawn in to take a side, partly through pity for the vanquished, and partly through envy of the victor; fearing lest it should suffer the same with the former, and hoping to accomplish the same with the latter."

[1] *By faction every species, &c.*] Κακοτροπία is a strong term, denoting "evil dispositions and habits." Thus it is used by Hesych. to explain κακοήθεια. It is a very rare word, but occurs in Dio Cass. 750, 73., and ought to be restored from MSS. to Joseph. 857, 14. for κακοπραγίας. See my note on Rom. 1, 29.

Thucydides imputes this general infection of vice to *factions;* and, no doubt, wars of this kind, being in a manner *civil* wars, deprave morals in the highest degree. But *all* long continued war produces much the same effect. Thus Schiller, in his eloquent history of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, says: "All bonds of order were dissolved in this long confusion, the regard for human rights, the fear of the laws, the purity of morals, were lost. Truth and faith sunk, while force alone ruled with an iron sceptre. Vices of all kinds grew up luxuriantly, under the shelter of anarchy and impunity, and men fell into the same wildness as the countries they inhabited. No condition was too venerable for insult, no property sacred against want and rapine."

[2] *Honest-heartedness.*] What the French call *bonhommie.* So Herod. 1, 140. δι' εὐηθείαν, where see Wesseling. See also Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Prom. V. 391. Gloss., the interpreters in T. Mag. 382. Alberti on Hesych. εὔηθες.

[3] *Generous natures, τὸ γενναῖον.*] So Soph. Œd. C. 8. στέργειν — διδάσκει, καὶ τὸ γενναῖον. and 1040. In the same sense τὸ εὐγενὲς occurs at Eurip. Hipp. 1388. τόδ' εὐγενὲς σε τῶν φρενῶν διώλεσε., and in Alcm. frag. 9. ὀρθῶς, *prudently,* is opposed to γενναίως, *generously.*

[4] *Laughed down.*] i. e. laughed out of vogue. The word in the original often signifies laugh *at;* but such is not the sense *here.* It is used in both these significations in that witticism of Diogenes, ap. Plutarch. Fab. Max. 10. Διογένης, εἰπόντος τινὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν, οὗτοι σοῦ καταγελῶσιν, Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, εἶπεν, οὐ καταγελῶμαι — μόνους ἡγούμενος καταγελᾶσθαι τοὺς ἐνδιδόντας, καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ταραττομένους. See also Xenophon, Anab. 2, 6, 22. and Max. Tyr. Diss. 10, 3.

[5] *To be in thought ranged, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of the figurative and strongly expressed words of the original. See my note on Acts, 18, 4.

being all strongly persuaded never to expect any sure trust, they forecasted rather *not to suffer*, than could be disposed to place any reliance.[6] And persons of meaner intellects had, for the most part, the best success; since, through fear of their own mental deficiency, and the talents of their adversaries (lest they should be overreached in words, and be fore-plotted by the policy of subtle wits[7]), they went boldly to *work* in *deeds*[8]; while the others despising them, as thinking they should perceive any attempts in time, and that there was no need for them to seek by force what they could acquire by stratagem, were mostly destroyed when off their guard.[9]

LXXXIV.*

[6] *Being all strongly, &c.*] This version I have adopted, as being the most probable, and supported by the Scholiast and the best commentators; though it is not easy to elicit from κρείσσους ὄντες λογισμῷ the requisite sense.

[7] *Policy of subtle wits.*] Πολύτροπος here denotes that versatile aptitude to seek for expedients, in which men of genius excel. Yet, as in ποίκιλος, there is an adjunct sense of *versutia, astutia,* as also in the *varius* of the Latin. So Sallust says of Catiline: "*varius,* cujuslibet rei *simulator* et *dissimulator.*"

[8] *Went boldly to work in deeds.*] A euphemism for *despatched* them. So at 2, 2. εὐθὺς ἔργου ἔχεσθαι. and 1, 49.

[9] *Despising them, as thinking, &c.*] Here there is an ellipsis of οἰομένοι or νομίζοντες. And at προαισθέσθαι must be supplied αὐτοὺς, and at δεῖν, σφᾶς. Ellipses, indeed, harsh, but see Bos, Ellip. p. 640. This mode of interpretation is placed beyond doubt by a similarly elliptical passage of Xen. Hist. l. 4. κατεφρόνουν δὲ διὰ τὰς ἔμπροσθεν τύχας μηδένα ἂν ἐπιχειρῆσαί σφισιν.

In *the great circle of human events,* this again occurred during the Peloponnesian war of our own times, the *French Revolution,* when there was the same struggle between aristocracy and democracy, and the good and evil principles in society; and when men of ability, who had flattered the vanity and prejudices of the multitude, and thereby attained an unworthy preeminence, were soon pulled down by others who were ready to go *greater* lengths to obtain the same objects, and who, conscious of their inferiority to those whom they sought to destroy, *in wisdom* and *talents,* endeavoured to make amends for that deficiency by *low cunning,* with which they contrived to work the ruin of those otherwise so greatly their superiors.

* This chapter I have omitted, because all the interpreters, antient and modern, are agreed that it did not come from Thucydides; it is, indeed, a repetition of what went before, with much feebleness of thought and neoteric expression; though, in some respects, a *cento* of Thucydidean phrases. It does not seem, however, to have been a *forgery,* but merely a *marginal scholium,* and summary of the preceding, which was incautiously received into the text. That it is not so antient as the *old* scholiasts is plain, from there being nothing written on it by them.

LXXXV. Thus the Corcyreans of the city first glutted their passionate fury against each other; and Eurymedon and the Athenians departed with the fleet.[1] Afterwards those of the Corcyreans who had fled, (for some had saved themselves, to the number of five hundred,) seizing some forts which were on the continent, made themselves masters of the territory belonging to their country on the other side[2], and sallying from it as head-quarters, carried on a petty war of plunder and devastation[3] on those in the island, and did them much injury, insomuch that an extreme famine arose in the city. They also sent an embassy to Lacedæmon and Corinth, in order to their restoration; but not being able to procure any actual assistance[4], they afterwards provided themselves with boats and some hired troops, and crossed over to the island, to the number of about six hundred in all; and having burned their boats[5], in order that no other

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[1] *And Eurymedon and, &c.*] By this short clause being subjoined to what preceded, the opinion of Thucydides, as to Eurymedon, is sufficiently clear; as he had before, in an equally brief and indirect way, hinted his opinion of Nicostratus. This, Mr. Mitford, with his usual discernment and taste, perceived; and he observes that "our historian, without any offensive remark, merely stating facts in the simplest manner, gives the reader fully to discover which deserved the highest praise, and which disgraced himself and his country. Nicostratus, arriving in the very height of the sedition, with only a small force, with which he had soon to cope with a very superior enemy, interfered as a generous mediator, and so efficaciously as to prevent all outrage. Eurymedon came commanding a fleet of sixty ships of war, a force that deterred opposition: he staid seven days, during which all the enormities were committed, and he went away."

[2] *The territory belonging, &c.*] I have before observed, that there were few of the more powerful states, founded on insular situations, off the coasts of Greece and Asia, which had not some possessions on the continent opposite, as Lesbos, Samos, Chios, Rhodes, Thasos, &c.

[3] *Carried on a petty war, &c.*] Mitford elegantly paraphrases: "seizing ships, making descents on the coast, living by depredation, and wasting whatever they could not carry off." They were animated, he observes, with all the activity that the spirit of revenge, the thirst of plunder, and the desire of recovering their antient possessions, united, could excite."

From this *waste* it is no wonder that a famine should have arisen.

[4] *But not being able, &c.*] The Lacedæmonians, no doubt, stood in awe of the naval superiority of Athens, which they dared not again encounter.

[5] *Having burned their boats.*] An expedient not unfrequent in like cases of desperation. Mitford considers this as "an ill-judged rash measure, dictated by passion;" and thinks that "had they instead thereof sought to establish themselves on the continent, they might have raised a powerful city." Indeed, as to the *prudence* of the measure, they acted like desperate men

course should be left them but that of gaining a firm footing in the country, they ascended to the mountain Istone [6], and having erected a fort, they committed devastations on those in the city, and were masters of the open country.

LXXXVI. Towards the close of the summer the Athenians sent a fleet of twenty sail [1] to Sicily, under the command of Laches son of Melanippus, and Charœades son of Euphiletus. This they were induced to do, from a war which subsisted between the Syracusans and the Leontines; the former of whom were assisted by all the other Dorian cities except Camarina, which had at the beginning of the war been reckoned in the Lacedæmonian confederacy, but, however, had not taken any part in the war. With the Leontines were associated the Chalcidean [2] cities and Camarina. Of the Italian states the Locrians were on the side of the Syracusans, but

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who had no other hope, for they had, probably, escaped with little or nothing; and, therefore, the notion of founding a powerful city, appears chimerical.

[6] *Istone.*] By some improperly spelt Histone. This is mentioned by no other writer but Thucydides, Polyænus, and Steph. Byz. From the two passages in which it is spoken of by Thucydides, Palmer (Antiq. p. 363.) thinks it clear, that the fort here mentioned was not on the top of the mountain, since the site was very lofty, but yet *on* the mountain, which was not far from the city, and is now called Falaria Monte, and in that part which looks towards the plain and the city, or in the mountain where now the castle of St. Angelo is marked. Dodwell says that the mountain is called Monte St. Angelo, and may be seen from the old port.

It was customary for those who wished to maintain a footing in a country, to seize and fortify some mountain. Thus the Helots, in their insurrection against the Lacedæmonians, seized on Mount Ithome.

[1] *Twenty sail.*] Diodorus says one hundred. But that is a number far too large; and, though twenty may seem too small, yet it must be remembered that this was only an expedition of observation, as Thucydides says, *πρόπειραν ποιοῦμενοι.* It is plain, from c. 88., that twenty must have been about the number, since the united fleet of Athens and Rhegium is only said to have been thirty sail. The mistake seems to have arisen from a confusion of *ἑκ*, an abbreviation for *ἑκατὸν*, and *κ*, the literal figure for twenty. On the *causes* of the war see Diod. l. 12, 53.

Palmer thinks it strange that Thucydides says nothing of the expedition of the Athenians, under the command of Lampon, to the assistance of the Catanæans. But that, it may be observed, was not so connected with the events of the Peloponnesian war as to make it necessary to be here mentioned.

[2] *Chalcidean.*] Namely, as being of Ionian origin.

the Rhegines, influenced by consanguinity, were on that of the Leontines. And the allies of the Leontines [3], sending to Athens, entreat the Athenians in regard of the antient alliance, and because they were Ionians, to send them some ships, as they were hemmed in by the Syracusans, and excluded both from the land and sea; and the Athenians sent them aid, under pretext of consanguinity, but in fact from a wish to prevent the introduction of corn thence to Peloponnesus, and to make a previous trial whether it were possible to bring Sicily [4] into subjection. Having, then, arrived at Rhegium in Italy, they assisted the confederates in the war. And thus ended the summer.

LXXXVII. On the return of winter the pestilence broke out a second time at Athens, having, indeed, never at any time wholly ceased, though there was an intermission. But this second time it continued not less than a year, and the first time two years; so that there was nothing that more impaired the strength of the Athenians than this; for there died not less than four thousand four hundred regular [5] heavy-infantry, and three hundred cavalry, and of the rest of the multitude a number that was never ascertained.[6] There were also then many earthquakes [7], both at Athens and in Eubœa and Bœotia, especially at Orchomenus.

LXXXVIII. And now the Athenians in Sicily, and the Rhegines, this same winter undertake an expedition with

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[3] *The allies of the Leontines.*] So all the translators take the words. But the sense seems to be, "the confederacy of Leontini."

[4] *Sicily.*] Literally, "the affairs of Sicily." It is rare to find ὑπερχείριος γένεσθαι construed with a *thing*. It is usually joined with a *person*. There are, however, examples in Xenophon and Herodotus. Besides, here the thing is put for the person.

[5] *Regular.*] Or, of the roll, otherwise called οἱ ἐκ καταλόγου, 6, 43. Goeller refers to Boeckh. Staatsh. d. Ath. t. 1. p. 283. t. 2. p. 35. Hemsterh. on Lucian, t. 1. p. 425. Schneider on Aristot. Polit. 5, 2, 8. Sturz lex. Xenoph. t. 2. p. 688. and he compares 7, 20.

[6] *A number that, &c.*] Or, as some render, "that *could* not be ascertained." The phrase is rare, but occurs in Dio Cass. and Joseph.

[7] *Many earthquakes.*] It is strange that all the editors and commentators should have failed to see that the article is here not to be tolerated, and may be thought to have arisen from the αἱ preceding. There is a similar passage in St. Matth. 24, 7. where see my note.

thirty ships against what are called the islands of Æolus [1]; for in summer it would have been impracticable, on account of the want of water. These are possessed by the Liparæans, who are a colony of the Cnidians [2], and live in one of the islands of no great size, called Lipara. The rest (which are Didyma, Strongyle, and Hiera) they cultivate, passing thither from Lipara. The inhabitants of these parts think that in

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[1] *Islands of Æolus.*] So they are called by Procop. 274., as also by Pliny and Diodorus, l. 5, 7—11. A full account of them is given by the first-mentioned writer, who, besides Lipara, Didyma, Strongyle, and Hiera, mentions Euonymus, Phœnicusa, and Ericusa. And Pliny has the same names. Strabo also reckons *seven*. These, it may be observed, are all called from some property. *Lipara* (where now much of Malmsey wine is made) derived its name from its extreme richness of soil. Thus to Thasos was applied the term λιπαρός. See Theocr. Ep. 9. *Hiera* signifies sacred to Vulcan. *Strongyle*, round island; it being (as Dr. Daubeny on Volcanos says,) a single conical mountain. *Didyma* signifies *twin-island*. All of volcanic origin, and containing extinct craters; though Strongyle (now called Stromboli) is the only one that is known to have any active volcano. Dr. Daubeny says that "it rarely has its periods of intense energy, and yet as rarely enjoys any intervals of repose, no cessation having ever been noticed in its operations, which are described by writers antecedent to the Christian æra, in terms which would be well adapted to its present appearances."

These islands were by the antients supposed to have a subterraneous communication with Ætna. There are now twelve to which the name of islands is given; and four are inhabited, the population being above twenty thousand. They produce wine and abundance of fruits, with some corn. See more in Duppa's Travels into Sicily. 12mo. Lond. 1828.

[2] *Liparæans, who are a colony, &c.*] Here Thucydides has reference to the *second* colonizers. The first were very antient, a son of Auson, and Æolus. Diodorus, l. 5, 8 and 9. relates how it happened that the Cnidians (and, he adds, Rhodians) colonized them. The race (he says) of its native princes coming to regal power among the Siculi, the islands were ruled by governors sent thither; but being gradually neglected and brought to desolation, some Cnidians and Rhodians, discontented at the tyranny of the Asiatic monarchs, resolved to colonize some island; and having created as their leader Pentathlus, a descendant of Hercules, went to Sicily about the fiftieth Olympiad (579 B. C., when Agrigentum was colonized), and being accidentally wafted to the Lipari islands, were kindly received by the inhabitants (now only about five hundred in number), and allowed to settle there. Diodorus adds, that they first cultivated the islands as common property, afterwards they lotted them out for twenty years, and at the expiration of that time again renewed the division (something like what was done by the Hebrews). At length they attained to a powerful naval force, and, as Diodorus says, defeated the Tyrrhenians in several battles. It does not, however, appear that they had any such at the time here spoken of by Thucydides. The volcano of Lipara the antients represent as being more antient than that of any of the other islands. See Dr. Daubeny ubi supra. It is probable that the mountain of pumice-stone *now* there was the seat of the former, and that the extreme ardency of its volcano formed the pumice.

Hiera Vulcan has his smithy [3], because it is seen to send forth much fire by night, and smoke by day. Those islands lie over against the country of the Siculi and Messenians, and were in alliance with the Syracusans. The Athenians having ravaged their lands, on their not coming to terms of submission, sailed away by Rhegium. And so ended the winter, and terminated the fifth year of the war which Thucydides hath composed. Aug. 26. 1852.

YEAR VI. B. C. 426.

LXXXIX. On the return of summer, the Peloponnesians and their allies advanced as far as the isthmus, with an intent to make an incursion on Attica, under the command of Agis, son of Archidamus, king of the Lacedæmonians; but on the occurrence of various earthquakes, they turned back [4], and no invasion took place. And about this time, earthquakes prevailing [5] at Orobiæ [6] in Eubœa, the sea rushing from what was

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[3] *Has his smithy.*] Most of my readers will call to mind the lines of Virgil, Æn. 8, 416—22. See also Olear. on Philostr. cited by Duker.

It is strange that Valckn. should not have suspected the words *νομίζουσι —κάπνον* to be not genuine, as being historicorum Principe minus digna. It may, however, be observed, that Thucydides does *sometimes* advert to mythological fictions. See 2, 29. and 3, 96. Besides, there is nothing unworthy of the philosophical historian, in mentioning a popular story in connection with certain natural phenomena which account for it.

[4] *On the occurrence of, &c.*] Most of the more extraordinary natural phenomena, especially earthquakes, were, by the ignorance and superstition of the antients, accounted as preternatural, portentous, and ominous, threatening dangers and evils to men; and, therefore, any undertaking then commencing was abandoned as unlucky. See Spanhem on Julian, p. 167. We are not, indeed, to suppose that the *wiser part* so thought; but it was sufficient if the ignorant believed this, to induce the wiser to abandon undertakings so inauspicious, and which, as in the present instance, by being persevered in to the violence of their feelings on whom the success of these mainly depended, would almost certainly *produce* the disasters which were supposed to be threatened.

[5] *Prevailing.*] Of this rare sense of *κατέχω* the following are examples: Theophrastus, ap. Steph. Thes. *ὅταν ἐπομβρίαι κατάσχωσιν.* Plutarch: *ὄμβρου πολλοῦ κατέχοντος.* Arrian, Ind. 22, 8. *ἀνάπωτις κατεῖχε.*

[6] *Orobiæ.*] The situation of this town is doubtful. Poppo (Proleg. 271.) says we learn from Strabo, p. 405. that it was in the vicinity of Æga, and opposite to Larymni and Anthedon. He thinks that it was subject to one of the greater cities of Eubœa, since it is not reckoned among those cities of that island which sent auxiliaries to Athens, 7, 57.

then land [7] [but now water], and rising up in turbulent waves[8], overwhelmed a portion of the city; and part of the water formed a pool, but part returned back[9]; so that what was before land is now sea. Such, too, of the inhabitants as were not able to effect a timely and speedy retreat to the high grounds, it destroyed; and about Atalante, an island on the coast of the Locri Opuntii, there happened a similar inundation, which swept away a part of the Athenian fort, and of two triremes drawn up on shore, it broke one to pieces There was also a rising up and incursion [10] of the surge at Peparethus, but it did not form any pool; and the earthquake shook down a part of the wall, as also the prytaneum [11], and some other buildings. The cause of such a phenomenon, I suppose, is this, that where the earthquake was most violent

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7 *Rushing from what, &c.*] This passage was variously taken by the antients; and the moderns have been more perplexed with it than they will confess. The *second* method of interpretation proposed by the Scholiast cannot be admitted. If the *reading* of the passage be correct, the first exposition of the Scholiast, and the version of Portus, may be considered right. And this sense I have adopted; though I am not satisfied with ἐπελθοῦσα for ἐπανελθοῦσα, as the Scholiast explains. The ἐπελθοῦσα and ἐπῆλθον form so disagreeable a tautology that I suspect Thucydides wrote ἐξῆλθ. A conjecture which is confirmed by such being found in one of the MSS. Instances, indeed, of water during earthquakes rushing forth from the earth, and afterwards disappearing, are not unfrequent. Several such are mentioned in the various works of Humboldt.

Goeller would read ἐπανελθοῦσα, which he thinks the Scholiast had in his copy. As to ἀπελθ., which he also proposes, it deserves no attention I have sometimes thought that the difficulty might be removed by reading for τῆς οὔσης γῆς, τῇ οὔσῃ γῇ. Thus the water will be supposed to have come from the sea, and part to have returned. Perhaps, however, the genitive may be tolerated. As to the ἀπὸ, it may have arisen from an ill-judged attempt to supply the ellipsis. The genitive is governed of the compound preposition.

8 *Rising up in, &c.*] In earthquakes near the sea, the surge rises to an excessive height, and makes incursions on the land.

9 *Returned back.*] Ὑπονοστέω is a vox solennis de hac re, as appears from two passages of Sozomen cited by Abresch in loco. Hence, I would add, may be illustrated Horat. Carm. 1, 2, 14. "vidimus flavum Tiberem *retortis* Littore Etrusco violenter undis."

10 *Rising up and incursion,* ἐπαναλώρησις.] The word is rendered by Portus *restagnatio;* by others, "recessus in alvos." But the latter sense involves a contradiction in terms, and the former cannot be elicited from the word. The context requires the sense above assigned, and *such* Hack thinks the term admits. If not, I would propose ἐπανέγερσις, which is explained by Hesych. ἐπανάστασις.

11 *Prytaneum.*] Or *town-hall.* This, I have somewhere read (in Athenæus, I think), was a fine building of white stone.

there it sent forth the sea, and suddenly drawing it back again, formed the pool. Without an earthquake it does not appear to me that such a thing could happen.

XC. This same summer there were other wars also, according as it might happen to each of the belligerents in Sicily; even the Siceliots themselves warring one against another, and the Athenians in conjunction with their allies. I shall make mention of such actions as seem most worthy of notice, either performed by the Athenians and their allies, or by their enemies against them. Charœades, one of the Athenian commanders, being slain in the war with the Syracusans, and Laches having assumed the sole command of the fleet, undertook an expedition, in conjunction with the allies, against Mylæ[1], a town of the Messenians. Now there happened to be two companies of Messenians in garrison there, who also had formed an ambuscade against the forces from the fleet; but the Athenians and their allies put to the rout those in the ambush, and killed many: then making an attack on the fort, they together compelled them to yield up the Acropolis and join in hostilities against Messene; and afterwards, on the approach of the Athenians and their allies, the Messenians also themselves came to terms, giving hostages, and affording all other securities.

XCI. This same summer, the Athenians sent[2] thirty ships to cruize round Peloponnesus, commanded by Demosthenes

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[1] *Mylæ.*] A fortified town on the neck of a peninsula, situated on the north coast of Sicily, nearly west of Messene, and (as we find from its being now occupied by the modern town Milazzo) about twenty-five miles from thence. See Cluver. Sicil. Ant. p. 300. and Hoare, t. 2. p. 314. referred to by Poppo. It seems to have derived its name from mill-stones being there found. Of similar derivation, indeed, are many places both in antient and modern geography.

[2] *The Athenians sent, &c.*] These expeditions, considered in conjunction with that to Sicily, showed no want of activity on the part of the present administration of Athens. It is well observed by Mitford that "as the war drew out in length, every circumstance tended more and more to justify the counsels which led the Athenians to engage in it. Notwithstanding that calamity, beyond human prudence to foresee, which had so reduced the strength of the commonwealth; notwithstanding the loss of those talents which had prepared its resources during peace, and directed

son of Alcisthenes, and Procles [3] son of Theodorus; also sixty to Melus, with two thousand heavy-armed, under the command of Nicias. They were desirous to reduce the Melians, who, though islanders [4], were not disposed to render obedience to them, nor enter into their confederacy. When, however, though their country was devastated, they would not submit, the Athenians, weighing from Melos [5], sailed across the sea to the Oropus; and, on making shore by night, the heavy-armed left the fleet, and proceeded to Tanagra in Bœotia, and the Athenians of the city, on a signal made, went to meet them, under the command of Hipponicus son of Callias, and Eurymedon [6] son of Thucles, and encamping for that day in the territory of Tanagra, they ravaged it, and there tented for the night; and on the following day, having defeated the Tanagræans, who advanced against them, and some Thebans who had come to their assistance, they set up a trophy, and then retired; these to the city, and those to the ships. Then Nicias [7]

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them during the two first years of hostility, Athens was advancing towards a superiority which promised, under able conduct in the administration, to be decisive. Indeed the energy of the Athenian government, directed for near a century by a succession of men of uncommon abilities, was so put into train, that notwithstanding the inferiority of the present leaders, it was scarcely perceived to slacken.

3 *Procles.*] For Patrocles, which, indeed, Montfaucon, Palæograph. p. 342., thinks ought to be here restored. See his learned note. However he wrote more like a profound antiquary (such as he was) than a sound critic. It is vain to say that such is the earlier orthography, unless we can prove it. Now *Procles* is as antient as the time of Herodotus, occurring at 3, 50, 5. of that author, where see the note of Wesseling.

4 *Though islanders.*] Such seems to be the sense of ὄντας νησιώτας, though it has been missed by all the translators except Hobbes. And this interpretation is placed beyond doubt by the following passage of Cleon's oration, supra, c. 39., which is the best comment on the present: νῆσον δὲ οἴτινες ἔχοντες μετὰ τειχῶν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν μόνον φοβούμενοι τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολεμίους — τοιαῦτα εἰργάσαντο!

5 *Weighing from Melos, &c.*] This was a well-judged enterprise. Whether, however, it had been concerted before the fleet left Athens, as Mitford thinks, may be doubtful. It was, at least, concerted with the Athenians at home, who only waited for a certain signal to march, to take the field.

6 *Eurymedon.*] He who was in command at Corcyra, and who had therein, it seems, not displeased his employers.

7 *Nicias.*] He had succeeded Pericles in the office of commander-in-chief. "He was (says Mitford) a man of high merit, but unfortunately not, like the great men who had preceded him, born for the peculiar circumstances of the situation for which he was wanted. His abilities,

coasting along, ravaged the maritime parts of Locris, and then likewise returned home.[8]

XCII. About this time the Lacedæmonians founded the colony of Heraclea in Trachinia.[1] Their intention in so

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political and military, were considerable. Integrity, piety, generosity, a pleasant complying temper, and an elegant taste, were conspicuous in him. Decidedly adverse to democratical power, he was, nevertheless, so clear a friend to public welfare, so ready and so judicious in the employment of his large fortune in gratifications for the multitude, so humane and liberal in relieving the distressed and promoting the advantages of individuals, that he was, in no small degree, a favourite of the public. But he was bashful and diffident: of clear courage in the field, in the assembly of the people he was a coward; while a reserve, the effect of bashfulness, injured him as if it had been the effect of pride. It was said of him, that his generosity was a revenue to the deserving, and his fearfulness to the undeserving. Under a better government, his character might have been splendid; but his diffidence and want of firmness, amid the civil turbulence in which it was his fate to live, gave it sometimes the appearance even of weakness."

[8] *And then likewise returned home.*] "The expedition seems to have had no great object. Apparently, the principal purpose was to acquire a little popularity to the leaders, and obviate clamour against them, by retaliating the evils of invasion on those of their enemies who were most within reach, and by holding out the recompense of pillage to gratify the public mind." (Mitford.)

[1] *Trachinia.*] It is strange the editors should not have seen that Τραχινίᾳ (found in several MSS.) is the true reading. See 4, 78. and 5, 50. It had been read by Portus and Wesseling on Diod. t. 5, 123. So Herod. 8, 31. ἐκ τῆς Τρηχινίης εἰς τὴν Δωρίδα. and 7, 199. τῆς γῆς τὴν Τραχινίην. Scymnus Teius ap. Athen. 462. A. Strabo, p. 554 and 592. Xen. Hist. 1, 2, 18. ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ Τραχινίᾳ. Yet the reading of one MS., Τραχῖνι, merits attention. It occurs at 5, 12 and 51. 3, 100. and often in Pausan., as 10, 22, 5. The *α* of the other reading might arise from the *α* following. Or we might conjecture Τραχίνιδι, which form occurs in Pausan. 337, 39. Certainly the common reading Τραχινίαις is indefensible. Τρᾶχις was originally the name of the district; and Τραχίνιος was the possessive adjective from it. But as the name was afterwards given to the *town*, so then Τραχινία was more usual to denote the *district*, which, it may be thought, was so called from its rugged nature. So Seneca, cited by Berkley on Steph. Byz. "Ad Trachina vocor saxa rigentia Et Dumeta jugis horrida torridis."

According to Boccage's map, Trachis was a small territory of about five miles square, bounded on the south by Mount Tichius, on the north by the river Sperchius, on the east by the sea, and on the west by Mount Rhoduntia. It is there represented as a flat piece of country. But in Dr. Clarke's, it has two ridges across, by which its extent might be much less, since either of those would form boundaries.

With respect to Heraclea, it was, as we learn from Strabo, p. 621., situated six stadia from old Trachis, which is mentioned by Homer. Its site is thus ably sketched by Livy, l. 36, 22. "ipsa in campo, arcem imminentem loco alto et undique præcipiti habet." Thucydides, it may be

doing was this. The Melians in all consist of three tribes; the Paralians, the Hiereans and the Trachinians. Of these the Trachinians, being much weakened in war by the Œtæans, who border on them, were at first about to have united themselves to[2] the Athenians; but apprehensive lest they should not prove true to their engagements[3], they sent to Lacedæmon, choosing Tisamenes as their ambassador. With them also the Dorians (who are the mother country of the Lacedæmonians) also sent ambassadors with the same request[4]: for they, too, had suffered from the Œtæans.[5] The Lacedæmonians, on hearing their request, resolved[6] to send out a colony, intending thereby to render assistance both to the Trachinians and the Œtæans. The city, too, seemed to be commodiously situated for carrying on war against the Athenians; for a navy might there be formed[7] against Eubœa,

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observed, not without reason, adds *in Trachinia*, for we learn from Steph. Byz. that there were no less than twenty-two places of the same name.

[2] *United themselves to, &c.*] The phrase προσθεῖναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς is a very significant one, and differs little from that of διδόναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, which elsewhere occurs. So the Schol. κατὰ προσθήκην δοῦναι, παραδοῦναι, ὥστε συμμάχους εἶναι. Both equally implied *protection* on the one hand, and *obedience* on the other, though the circumstances might vary according to a positive agreement; and this explains the πιστοὶ just after.

[3] *Not true to their engagements.*] Namely, that if any portion of freedom or independence were left them by treaty, it might afterwards be taken from them; as in the case of so many other subject allies.

[4] *Same request.*] No request, indeed, is before mentioned, but it was *implied* in the act of surrender.

[5] *Suffered from the Ætæans.*] This passage is illustrated by Xen. Hist. 1, 2, 18.

[6] *Resolved.*] So εἶχον τὴν γνώμην at 7, 12. And as ἀποικίαν does not very well admit the article, and γνώμην requires it, I suspect that Thucydides here wrote τὴν γνώμην εἶχον ἀποικίαν ε.

[7] *For a navy might, &c.*] There is some difficulty connected with these words, which the commentators do not touch on. It is not clear whether the navy was to be formed there, or brought thither. The *latter* sense is conveyed by the versions of Portus and Hobbes, as to Smith, he omits the words. But it should seem that the former must, at least, be *included*, as, indeed, appears from the words following νεώρια παρεσκευάζοντο. Peloponnesus, it may be observed, was not very favourable for ship-building, otherwise the Peloponnesians would not (as we have before seen) have fetched wood or ships from Italy and Sicily; whereas Thessaly, like Thrace, was well provided with timber. That such was the case with *Trachis*, we know from the graphic description of its scenery given by Sophocles in his *Trachiniæ*, where he enumerates among the trees there growing, the oak and the pine. And to the *minute accuracy* of this, Dr. Clarke bears testimony in his Travels 3, 231. Indeed in the interesting plate there given, the hills are found to be yet wholly clothed with woods of oak and

whither the passage was but short, and it was conveniently placed for passing into Thrace.[8] Upon the whole, they were eagerly bent on founding the settlement.[9] First, however, they consulted the god at Delphi upon the measure[10]; and being counselled to undertake it, they sent out colonists of themselves and the Periœci, and authorized all that were willing of the other Greeks to join them, except the Ionians and Achæans, and some other nations. The leaders of the colony, and the directors of the whole business, were Leo, Alcidas[11], and Damago, who, on arriving thither, rebuilt the city which is now called Heraclea, distant about forty stadia from Thermopylæ and twenty from the sea. They also set about forming docks, commencing at Thermopylæ, at the very narrows, that they might be the more easily defensible.

XCIII. The Athenians, on the establishment[1] of this city, were at first in alarm, and supposed it to be (as it was) especially fixed there with a design against Eubœa, the distance to the Cenæum, a promontory of Eubœa, being but short.[2] Afterwards, however, the event turned out otherwise than they had imagined; for no harm came of it. The reason of

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pine. Upon the whole, a better situation for a Grecian *Brest* can hardly be imagined.

[8] *Passing into Thrace.*] They had already, it seems, formed those designs respecting that country which they afterwards put into execution.

[9] *Founding the settlement.*] Not *building*, as Hobbes and Smith render. Κτίζειν often signifies to *colonize, settle*, as 1, 12 and 100. 2, 68. 6, 4.

[10] *Consulted the, &c.*] As was usual in settling a colony. On which custom Duker refers to Spanhem on Callim. Hymn. Apoll. 5, 57. And he compares the number of the οἰκισταὶ to the Triumviri of the Romans.

[11] *Alcidas.*] This appears to have been a decent way of laying on the shelf an officer who had so evinced his unfitness for great affairs. On this petty theatre, indeed, his timid caution might be even beneficial.

[1] *Establishment.*] Ξυνοικιζομένης is a term very suitable to the circumstances of the settling. See 2, 15. 1, 2. and 6, 2.

[2] *The distance to, &c.*] See the plate of the Maliacus Sinus in Dr. Clarke ubi supra, where the Cenæum appears on the right, and apparently is very near. With respect to the appellation Cenæum (on the origin of which the commentators and geographers are silent), it seems so be a dialectical variation for Χηναῖον, and may either have reference to the form of this promontory (not unlike a goose's bill), or may have been given from some antient temple there (and I have before observed that promontories were, especially, the places for religious fanes), where was practised the antient superstition of swearing by a goose, adverted to, also, by Hesych. in χῆνα ὀμνύειν.

which was, that the Thessalians, who were possessors of those parts, and upon whose territory the new settlement was founded, fearing lest the colonists should be too formidable neighbours, harassed them, newly settled as they were, with perpetual hostilities, until they wore them down to nought, though at first very numerous.[3] For as the Lacedæmonians were the colonizers, men went confidently, regarding the settlement as a thing of surety.[4] In a great measure, too, the Lacedæmonians who went thither as directors, ruined the business, and reduced the population to a mere handful; frightening most men away by their harsh, and in some respects unjust, manner of governing[5]; so that neighbouring nations the more easily prevailed against them.

XCIV. This same summer, about the time that the Athenians were detained at Melos, the Athenians on board[6] the thirty ships on cruize around Peloponnesus, in the first place cut off, by ambush, some garrison troops at Ellomenus in Leucadia[7], and then proceeded with a greater armament to Leucadia, accompanied by the whole armed population of the Acarnanians, as also by the Zacynthians and Cephallenians[8], together with fifteen triremes of the Corcyreans. The

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[3] *Very numerous.*] So Scylax, 596. says, that the Lacedæmonians sent μυρίους οἰκήτορας, by which, I conceive, is meant ten thousand.

[4] *A thing of surety.*] As we say, a sure card.

[5] *Harsh and, &c.*] The true character of Lacedæmonian government every where. Ἐξηγεῖσθαι is a very strong term, and imports *domineering*.

[6] *On board.*] Literally, "who were of, belonged to."

[7] *Ellomenus in Leucadia.*] This reading I adopt, with Bekker, Hack, and Goeller, from two MSS. and Valla. *Arcadia* (the old reading) can have nothing to do here. The degrees of corruption were Λευκαδίας, Λυκαδίας, Ἀρκαδίας. Ellomenus is, I believe, no where else mentioned; but the reading in question is placed beyond doubt by the testimony of Dodwell, who says, that it still retains its original name, and is a village, with a fort, and some ruins in the vicinity. When, however, the learned traveller says that Thucydides places it in a *peninsula*, he is greatly mistaken. The ἐν can import no such thing. It signifies *at* or near, as just afterwards. If we had *not* the positive testimony of Dodwell, it would seem likely enough that Ellomenus was on the *coast;* for Hesych. explains Ἐλλὸν by ἐνθαλάττιον. Or, perhaps, the word may have a reference to the ruggedness of its situation. Thus Hesych. explains Ἐλλόμενα by περικνώμενα.

[8] *Cephallenians.*] These had originally been of the Lacedæmonian confederacy, but were conquered or brought over to the Athenians in the earlier part of the war, as recorded at 2, 30.

Leucadians, though their territory was ravaged both without and within the isthmus [9] (on which is situated Leucas and the temple of Apollo), kept close, overpowered by numbers. And now the Acarnanians earnestly pressed Demosthenes, the Athenian commander, to invest the place by a wall of circumvallation, thinking they should easily reduce it by siege, and thus be rid of a city which had been their perpetual enemy. But Demosthenes rather hearkened to some persuasions of the Messenians, by whom he was induced to think it would be a glorious enterprise [10] for him, with so large a force, to attack the Ætolians [11], who were enemies to Naupactus [12]; imagining that if he should subdue *them*, he might easily bring the other tribes of that part of Epirus under the Athenian dominion: for though (said they) the nation of the Ætolians was great and warlike, yet, as they inhabited in villages unwalled and distant from each other, and as they were only lightly accoutred [13], it would not be difficult for them to

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9 *Without and within the isthmus.*] Hence it is plain, that the Leucadians had some territory beyond the isthmus, which is usually reckoned part of Acarnania, and that Leucas was, in a manner, within that country.

10 *Glorious enterprise.*] Or, splendid project. At καλὸν I would supply ἀγώνισμα, as 8, 2.

11 *Ætolians.*] Ætolia was a much more formidable foe to Naupactus than Leucas to Acarnania. Always numbered among the members of the Greek nation, yet, even in that age, when science and art were approaching meridian splendour in Attica, scarcely sixty miles from their borders, the Ætolians were a most rude people. Since the Trojan war, barbarism rather than civilization seems to have gained among them. They lived scattered in unfortified villages; they spoke a dialect scarcely intelligible to the other Greeks; and one clan of them, at least, the Eurytanian, was said to feed on raw flesh; they used only light arms, yet their warlike character was high. (Mitford.)

A good commentary on the words of Thucydides may be found in Strabo, l. 10., on the Ætoli: Ἔφορος δὲ τοὺς Αἰτώλους ἔθνος εἶναι μηδεπώποτε γενόμενον ὑφ' ἑτέροις· ἀλλὰ πάντα τὸν μνημονευόμενον χρόνον μεμενηκὸς ἀπόρθητον. Their country, it may be observed, was mountainous and woody. See 3, 96. They were warlike, as perpetually carrying arms (see Thucyd. 1, 5.); and, like the inhabitants of other mountainous and bare countries, used to hire themselves out in the wars of their neighbours of the plains. At all times, too, they followed piracy and robbery as a trade, as they and the Acarnanians still do; in many things resembling the Scottish highlanders of the seventeenth century.

12 *Enemies to Naupactus.*] The Ætolians, indeed, were always at war with the Locrians, as also with the Acarnanians; one reason of which enmity was, that they were of different races. Perpetual vestiges of this enmity may be found in the pages of Polybius, Livy, &c.

13 *Were lightly accoutred.*] Σκευὴ properly signifies *dress*, but is also applied to military accoutrements in general. The complete phrase, σκευὴ τῶν

be subdued before they could assemble for defence. They counselled him first to attack the Apodotians[14], then the Ophioneans, and after these the Eurytanians (who form a considerable portion of the Ætolians, but are the most barbarous in their dialect, and, as it is said, live on raw flesh), for if these were secured, the rest would be induced to submit.

XCV. He being thus, partly out of the good-will[1] which he bore the Messenians, induced to comply with their wishes, but especially as he thought that independently of any aid from the Athenians[2], and only with the Epirot allies, together with the Ætolians, he should be able to proceed by land against the Bœotians; penetrating first through the Ozolian Locrians to Cytinium in Doris, with Parnassus on the right hand[3], until he should descend into the country of the Phocians, who, he thought, from the constant friendship they had borne to Athens[4], would be readily disposed to take part in the expedition, or might be brought over by force[5], arrived in

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ὅπλων, occurs at 1, 8. The argument is, that as they were only light-armed, they could not make any stand against heavy-armed troops.

[14] *The Apodotians.*] These, we may presume, being the nearest to Naupactus. The Ophioneans were further off, and situated at the north-east corner of Ætolia. On all these tribes the best information (though that is very scanty) may be found in Palmer's Antiq. 5, 5., and the commentators on Steph. Byz.

[1] *Out of the good-will, &c.*] Such is the full sense of πεισθεὶς χάριτι τῶν Μεσσηνίων, which is for π. τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος.

[2] *Independently of, &c.*] i. e. without any other forces than those under his command.

[3] *With Parnassus on the right hand.*] I have before (on 2, 99.) remarked on this rude method of marking a route; a vestige of the simplicity of the phraseology of the early ages.

It may seem strange, that Demosthenes should have taken his course so far to the left as Cytinium, in order to proceed to Bœotia. But it must be remembered, that as it was impossible for him to cross the extensive mountain range of Parnassus, so he must leave it either on the right or left; and the former was the safer course, for, in the other, he would have to encounter the hostility of the Delphians and others, who would stop his passage. As a proof of which, Delphi was the rendezvous of the troops afterwards sent out against the Athenians, c. 101. At all times, indeed, the Delphians had been favourable to the Lacedæmonians.

[4] *The constant friendship, &c.*] They were, probably, not in the Athenian confederacy, since, being surrounded by the Peloponnesian nations, they could hold no effectual communication with it.

[5] *Brought over by force.*] This may seem inconsistent with the friendship just mentioned; but, in fact, the words only refer to a *party* adverse

Phocis, he would be on the borders of Bœotia.[6] Setting forward, therefore, with his whole force from Leucas, though against the wishes of the Acarnanians, he coasted along to Sollium. Then communicating his project to the Acarnanians, as they, from displeasure at his refusal to besiege Leucas, would not enter into it, he proceeded on his expedition with the rest of his forces, the Cephallenians, and Messenians, and Zacynthians[7], and three hundred Athenian marines[8] belonging to the ships, except those of the fifteen Corcyreans which had departed.[9] He set out from Œneon[10] in Locris; for

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to the Athenian interest, such as was found even in those countries that were in close alliance with Athens.

[6] *Arrived in Phocis, he, &c.*] "He would," says Mitford, "make such a diversion on the northern or western frontier of that powerful hostile province, that, with due co-operation from Athens, and some assistance from a party favouring democracy, which was to be found in every Grecian state, there was no degree of success against the enemies of the commonwealth in the northern parts of Greece, to which it might not lead." This scheme is thought by Mitford to have been ably projected, and one which only missed of success from obstacles occurring against the projector's hopes. But it seems to have been extremely complicated, and dependent upon many contingencies; and, as the obstacles appear to have been too many, and the force of Demosthenes too small, to warrant any well grounded hopes, we may consider the project as a very wild one. Indeed the character of the projector's mind was daring and adventurous, with too little of reflection, which made him partial to the Messenians, since, as Aristotle says, in his Ethics, similarity of character is the greatest bond of friendship.

[7] *Cephallenians and Messenians, &c.*] Apparently no great force, Mitford observes.

[8] *Marines.*] So I render ἐπιβάται, not *rowers*, as the Scholiast takes it; for the ἐπιβάται were a class of sea forces exactly corresponding to our *marines*. Compare 7, 1. 6, 43. 7, 62 and 7. 8, 24. Therefore Smith has *wrongly* rendered, "soldiers *draughted* from," &c. They were a separate class.

[9] *Except those of the, &c.*] Such appears to be the real, though not the literal, sense of the words. Thucydides means to hint at the reason why the marines were so few. "The Corcyræans," says Mitford, "followed the example of the Acarnanians in departing, and because the government, pressed by a domestic foe, could ill spare any part of its strength." He also thinks Demosthenes was inclined to persevere, in this scheme, from the continued assurances of the Messenians.

[10] *Œneon.*] Of the situation of this place we have no other knowledge than what is afforded by this passage (and what follows) of Thucydides. But, from circumstances, we may suppose it to have been a seaport; and, that it was such, we have the assurance of Steph. Byz. It is placed by Boccage, with much probability, at the mouth of the Daphnus, about twenty-two miles from Naupactus. The name seems to denote *Wine-town*, as several other names of places in Germany, Italy, and Sicily.

those Ozolian Locrians [11] were allies, and it had been planned that they should meet [12] the Athenians with all their forces in the interior; for, from their being borderers upon the Ætolians, and armed in the same manner [13], it seemed that they would be very serviceable accompaniers, especially from their intimate knowledge of the country and experience of the manner of fighting there prevalent.

XCVI. Having taken up his quarters for the night in the sacred precincts [1] of the temple of the Nemean Jove (where Hesiod is said by the inhabitants of the country to have died; for it being announced to him by the oracle that he should perish at Nemea [2], he set out with the dawn of day [3], and went

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[11] *Those Ozolian Locrians.*] This has reference to the Locri Opuntii and Epicnemidii, who were *not* allies.

[12] *It had been planned that they should meet, &c.*] They readily joined in the enterprise against the Ætolians, as being willing to humble an antient and constant enemy. The reason why it was planned that the Locrians should join Demosthenes, not at Œneon, was that the great bulk of the Locrian territory lay further on their way to Ætolia than Œneon: which, it may be observed, shows that the limits of Locris Oz., traced by Boccage, are far more correct than those of Danville and Butler.

[13] *Armed in the same manner.*] i. e. says the Scholiast, τῇ αὐτῇ σκευῇ χρώμενοι, ἤγουν ψίλῳ. The word ὁμόσκευος is somewhat rare. It occurs in 2, 96. and in Dionys. 5, 302. referred to by Schafer on Steph. Thes. And in Menand. Hist. ap. Corp. Hist. Byz. 1, 132. D., I would add, should be read for ὁμοσκήνοι, ὁμοσκεύοι The same error seems to have crept into Max. Tyr. Diss. 6, § 4.

[1] *Sacred precincts, &c.*] i. e. the τέμενος or close which encircled the temple, and which would be a very fit place for night quarters, especially in the summer season.

[2] *Perish at Nemea.*] It probably was added that he would *shortly* perish there.

[3] *He set out, &c.*] Intending, it should seem, to go as far as possible from Nemea. From this we are not to infer that he perished the next day, or immediately after he reached Nemea. The circumstances are narrated by Proclus Vit. Hesiod. p. 3. Diod. cited by Goeller, and by Plutarch in his Sympos., cited by Smith, by the latter it appears that the oracle was given him at Delphi immediately after a signal poetical triumph, and that he thence fled to Œneon, and was there hospitably entertained at a certain house, in common with a Milesian, who having secretly debauched the daughter of the host, with the connivance, it was unjustly supposed, of Hesiod; the brothers of the girl laid wait for him, and slew him at the Nemean temple, together with his servant, and threw their bodies into the sea, by the waves of which Hesiod's was carried to Rhium, where there was at this time held a solemn festival. Being immediately recognised, the assembly proceeded without delay to discover the murderers. In this they succeeded partly by the aid of the poet's dogs, and inflicted a complete retaliation, by putting the assassins to death, casting their bodies into the sea, and demo-

to Ætolia), he the first day takes Potidania[4], and on the

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lishing their houses. He was buried, as Plutarch tells us, in the temple of Jupiter Nemeus.

With respect to the whole story itself, it is, I am inclined to think, founded in truth, though with a considerable incrustation of falsehood. In it we discover a *legend* of Pagan priesthood, and that legend fabricated many centuries after the death of the bard, to bolster up the credit of a sinking cause. Perhaps Hesiod might have received an oracle warning him of *some* evil threatening his life, but conceived in the usual ambiguous manner; so that the oracle-mongers would not hazard much credit in respect of a man of Hesiod's advanced age. The oracle, however, might so affect his mind as to induce him to change his old and Alpine residence on the cliffs of Parnassus, for a warmer and more genial abode in one of the loveliest spots of all western Greece. That he sojourned some time at Œneon, and was accustomed to visit the Neméum in the neighbourhood, and was there murdered, there is no reason to doubt; and that his faithful dogs should have had some share in tracking out the murderers, is rendered probable by the many accounts which we have of similar attachment and sagacity in that most faithful of all man's brute allies.

I cannot but suspect that this story, and especially that part of it which respects the *dogs*, will enable us to ascertain the subject of a most antient bas relief seen by Dr Clarke near Orchomenus, and of which a picture is given by him in his Travels into Greece, vol. 3. p. 148. This Dr. Clarke is inclined to think a representation of Hercules with the dog of Hades. But the figure seems by no means such as we should connect with the idea of *Hercules*, being lean and slender, and of an elderly aspect. There is far more reason to suppose it that of Hesiod, represented as a *shepherd* with his rough staff, and leaning with fondness over his dog (a greyhound, it should seem), which he is feeding. Now this *may* be the sepulchral monument closing the entrance to the tomb of Hesiod. For that there was a tomb of Hesiod at Orchomenus, is countenanced by Pausanias 9, 38, 3., who relates that the inhabitants of that place were enjoined by the oracle, in order to remove a pestilence, to fetch the bones of Hesiod from Naupactia; which we may suppose was done; at what *time*, does not appear. But there can hardly be said to have been such a district as Naupactia before 460 B. C., as we find from Thucyd. 1, 103. Therefore if this bas relief be, as would appear from the style of the sculpture and the costume, of the very high antiquity ascribed to it by Dr. Clarke and others, it should seem to be not so much the *sepulchral monument* of Hesiod, as a more ancient *cenotaph*, erected on the spot by the inhabitants of Orchomenus, to the honour of their favourite poet, when the actual sepulchre enclosing his bones was at Neméum. Indeed it is probable that there were many cenotaphs, since we know that there were many *epitaphia* written, which are collected in the life of the poet by Gyraldus.

It is strange that Proclus should say Œneon was called the temple of the Nemean Jupiter. We may, however, infer that it was not *far* from it. Nor will the words of Thucydides (as Palmer and Poppo imagine) compel us to suppose that it was a *day's journey* from Œneon. On the contrary, Thucydides does not reckon that day at all, but says of the march to Ætolia, that on the *first* day Demosthenes took Potidania. It is likely that the religious and meditative bard had been accustomed to visit the sacred grove (probably in the evening), and was *there* (and not in the temple) waylaid and murdered.

[4] *Potidania.*] Not Potidanium, as Mitford spells the name. Of the situation of this place we know little except from Thucydides and Livy

second Crocylium [5], and on the third Tichium.[6] There he stopped, and sent the booty to Eupalium [7] in Locris: for it was his intention, after having subdued the other tribes, then lastly to advance upon the Ophioneans [8] (if they would not submit), having first retired upon Naupactus.[9] But the preparations he had made had not escaped the notice of the Ætolians; nay, the plan, from its first conception, was known to them, and as soon as the army set foot on their territory, they mustered for defence in great force, so that even the remotest tribes of the Ophioneans, whose territory stretches towards the Malian Gulf [10], the Bomians and Callians [11], joined the rendezvous.

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l. 28., from the former of whom we may presume that it was the nearest to Œneon (and probably situated to the N. W. of it); and, from the latter, that it was at no great distance from Œneon.

5 *Crocylium.*] On the situation of Crocylium there is the same or even greater uncertainty than that of Potidania. Palmer suspects that it was to the N. W. of Potidania. The place is said to be mentioned by Homer, (and in the plural form), but I agree with Wasse that the Crocylium of Homer was not this place, but another in Ithaca. And therefore the censure of Strabo on Homer's confounding towns and islands, will fall to the ground. Yet Steph. Byz. writes Κροκύλειον. νῆσος Ἰθάκης. where for νῆσος Wasse ably conjectures δῆμος, and confirms this from Strabo himself on δῆμος. Were it not for this, I should prefer a conjecture which I struck out many years ago, namely ἔθνος, *tribe.*

6 *Tichium.*] On the situation of this place we are in yet greater uncertainty. Nor could even the diligence of Palmer strike out a spark of information. Hudson refers to Liv. l. 36, 16, 19. as saying that Tichius is the peak of a mountain. It is, however, doubtful whether this can apply here. Palmer has with great probability conjectured that Tichium is a diminutive of τεῖχος, and signifies a castle or fortilege. By its being the head-quarters of Demosthenes we may suppose it was a place of some strength.

7 *Eupalium.*] Palmer infers from Steph. Byz. that this was situated not far from the N. E. of Naupactus, and at no great distance from the sea-port of Erythræ.

8 *Ophioneans.*] These, we may presume, lay somewhere on the Evenus, about the north of Naupactus.

9 *Having retired upon Naupactus.*] Hobbes and Smith render, "in his return, or retreat back to Naupactus." And so all the translators. But he had never yet been there; and, what is more, the Ophionians in the N. E. extremity of Ætolia, would not be in his way to Naupactus. The sense which I have assigned is required by the context, and agreeable to the force of the word ἐπαναχωρήσας.

10 *Towards the Malian Gulf.*] Not *to* or *upon* the Malian Gulf, as Hobbes and Smith render. No part of the Ætolian territory could be such, the countries of Doris and Dryopis coming between. The above signification of πρὸς is of perpetual occurrence.

11 *Bomians and Callians.*] Smaller tribes, it should seem, of the Ophioneans, and inhabiting the farthest N. E. angle of Ætolia. Of these, as of the other tribes, the accounts are very scanty. The Bomians appear from

XCVII. And here the Messenians gave such sort of counsel as they had before done. Assuring him that the subjugation of the Ætolians was easy, they advised him to proceed against the villages as speedily as possible, and not to wait till all should be assembled in battle array against him, but to aim at mastering each town as it occurred.[1] Swayed by these representations, and trusting to his good fortune, since he had not yet experienced adversity[2], without waiting for the Locrians, who ought by this time to have joined him (though he was much in want of light-armed and darters), he marches towards Ægitium[3], and advancing upon it, takes it by storm; the inhabitants having abandoned the city, and taken post on the hills above it; for it was situated in a hilly country, about eighty stadia from the sea. But the Ætolians, for they had now collected for defence at Ægitium, made a charge on the Athenians and their allies, rushing down from the hills, first from one quarter and then another, launched their darts at them; and whenever the Athenian force advanced, they retreated; but when it retired, they attacked. Such was, for a long time, the sort of fighting maintained, alternate chasing and retreat; in both of which the Athenians came off with the worst.

XCVIII. As long, however, as their archers had arrows, and were able to use them, they stood their ground; for the

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Steph. Byz. to have derived their name from some mountains called *βωμοί*, probably from some fancied resemblance to altars. Strabo recognises the Bomians as forming a part of the Ophioneans. The Callians occupied the *very angle*, but ought not to be expressed by any city or town, but only as a tribe. See more in Palmer's Antiq. 5, 4.

[1] *As it occurred.*] Ἐν ποσίν. Literally, "as it came to foot." So we say, "come to hand."

[2] *Experienced adversity.*] Ἐναντιοῦτο seems put for ἐναντίωμα ἦτο. How often has this happened in the case of other great generals!

[3] *Ægitium.*] Of this town Wasse says there is no other mention in the classical writers. On its site Duker refers to Palm. Ant. 3, 14. Thucydides says it was twenty stadia from the sea. It seems, however, to be wrongly placed in all the maps about sixty stadia to the N. E. of Potidania. When we consider that it was the purpose of Demosthenes to subdue the western and N. W. parts of Ætolia, and then fall back on Naupactus, and afterwards proceed to the eastern parts, we shall see that this position (which is founded on authority independent of Thucydides) involves an inconsistency. It should seem to have been situated about N. W. of Crocylium and Tichium.

Ætolians being only in light armour, were held in check by the shots. But on their commander [1] being slain, the archers were dispersed, and the heavy-infantry became wearied out, as being incessantly occupied with the same toil [2]; and on the Ætolians pressing hard upon them with their missiles, they turned their backs and fled; and happening upon deep ravines [3], where there was no outlet, and bewildered in places with which they were unacquainted (for their guide of the route, Chromo the Messenian, had fallen), they perished miserably. Many of them, indeed, the Ætolians, in the rout itself, launching their missiles at them, and light of foot and armour, overtook by speed and slew. And many were there whom, missing their way and hurrying into a wood from which there was no outlet, the enemy burnt by setting fire to the wood around them; and now every species of flight was resorted to, and destruction encountered by the Athenian army, and with great difficulty such as survived effected their flight to the sea [4] and Œneon in Locris, whence they had set out. There were slain of the allies a considerable number, and of the Athenians themselves about a hundred and twenty heavy-infantry; a great loss not only for the number, but as being the very flower of the army. These, indeed, were the

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[1] *But afterwards, on their commander, &c.*] Such seems to be the true method of taking the sentence, which has been imperfectly comprehended by the translators. Διεσκεδάσθησαν, *scattered abroad*, may very well call to mind the words of the prophet Zachariah, 13, 7. quoted by our Lord, Matt. 26, 31. πατάξω τὸν ποιμένα καὶ διασκορπισθήσεται τὰ πρόβατα τῆς ποίμνης.

[2] *Occupied with, &c.*] Similar are the expressions συνεχ. νόσῳ, φόβῳ, κακοῖς, examples of which are adduced by Steph. Thes. 3979. In Æschyl. Prom. V. 677., too, we have συν. ὀνείρασι. Eurip. Heracl. 634. συνεχ. φροντίδι. The word συνεχ. is almost always, I believe, used in a *bad* sense. J. Chrys. indeed, has συνεχ. προθυμίᾳ.

[3] *Happening upon deep ravines.*] Not tumbling into caverns. For it is not likely that many could perish in that way: nor, indeed, have the words any such import. Of the same disaster, which happened on several other occasions, descriptions are given by historians in language imitated from this. So Dionys. Hal. p. 53, 12. εἰς φαράγγας ἀνεξόδους ἐμπιπτόντες. 194, 47. δυσχωρίαις ἐγκυρησάντες ἀνεξόδοις. The force of ἀνεκβάτους is illustrated by Procop. 318, 24. χαράδραι ἀνεκβάτοι, καὶ σηράγγες ἀδιέξοδοι. Appian 1, 792, 44. and Procop. 346. 30. Indeed it was a similar disaster which befell the Romans at the fatal affair of the *Caudinæ fauces*.

[4] *To the sea.*] i. e. I imagine somewhere between Œneon and Naupactus. These probably would be taken up by the ships.

flower of Athens, and the bravest that were slain in this war. Among the rest fell Procles, one of the commanders. Having fetched away their dead, under treaty, from the Ætolians, and having retired to Naupactus, the Athenians afterwards returned in the ships to Athens. (Reckless omitted)

XCIX. About the same time, the Athenians cruising about Sicily, sailed to Locris, and defeated some of those who attacked them in a disembarkation, taking also a guard-fort [1], situated at the river Halex.

C. The Ætolians had before, in the course of this summer, sent ambassadors to Corinth and Lacedæmon (Tolophus the Ophionean, Boriades the Eurytanian, and Tisander the Apodotian), and urged them to send an army against Naupactus, a constant harbour of the Athenians [2]; and the Lacedæmonians sent to them, about autumn, three thousand heavy-

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[1] *Guard-fort.*] I assent to the opinion of those who write περιπόλιον. Indeed the Scholiast long ago pointed out that this was not a proper name, but a place where περίπολοι, militia-men, or guards, had their abode. So Kuhn on Pollux 9, 16. says of these περιπόλια: "Sunt castella, in quæ se recipiebant περίπολοι circuitores, qui ad custodiendam regionem hinc inde vagabantur."

[2] *The Ætolians had before, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this awkwardly worded sentence, which has been misconceived by the translators. Hobbes omits the perplexing word πρότερον; and Smith endeavours to remove the difficulty by an expedient neither proper nor efficacious. The πρότερον must be joined with πείσουσιν, indicating that that is to be taken in a pluperfect sense. The ἐπαγωγὴ is rendered by Steph. and others, "hostile attacks." But it should seem that the ambassadors were sent *before* the actual invasion of Ætolia by the Athenians; for it was before said at c. 96. that the Ætolians had the earliest notice of the hostile intentions of the Athenians, before those were put into execution.* Thus ἐπαγ. may very well have the signification assigned by Portus; and this is confirmed by a passage of Dio Cass. 593, 89. imitated from this: τὸν Α. τιμωρήσασθαι τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπαγωγῆς.

Hence will appear the rash folly of Demosthenes in forming a project which, besides its dependence on luck and accident, began with drawing on the Athenians the hostility of a nation so formidable as the Ætolians, which had hitherto been neutral, but now, of course, joined the Lacedæmonian alliance.

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* And Mitford, indeed, has seen that the ambassadors were sent before the Athenian invasion; but he has failed to perceive that the embassy was not sent until the project had come to the ears of the Ætolians.

armed of the allies [3], of whom five hundred were from the then newly settled city of Heraclea in Trachis. The command was, however, given to a Spartan, Eurylochus, accompanied by Macarius and Menedæus, also Spartans.

CI. The army being collected at Delphi, Eurylochus sent a message by herald to the Ozolian Locrians (for the road lay through their country [4]), and also with a view to detach them from the Athenian interest. In this the Amphisseans [5] most of all the Locrians cooperated with him, through fear, from the enmity between them and the Phocians.[6] These first giving hostages, persuaded also the others, alarmed at the approaching army, to do the same; first their neighbours, the Myoneans (for there Locris is the most difficult of access), then the Ipneans[7], the Messapians, the Tritæans, Chalæans,

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[3] *Of the allies.*] Whether from the jealousy of the kings or of the people, there seems to have been always a difficulty in sending out a Lacedæmonian force otherwise than under royal command. The business of Ætolia not being thought of importance enough to require one of the kings of Sparta, no Lacedæmonian troops were sent. (Mitford.)

[4] *For the road, &c.*] In this is *implied*, what another writer would have *expressed*, that they asked a passage. That was the principal purpose of the message; a secondary one (καὶ ἅμα) was to detach, &c.

[5] *Amphisseans.*] The principal tribe of the Locrians; at least Amphissa was the principal, perhaps only, city. Amphissa was originally the name of the *territory*, if it be true, as Steph. Byz. affirms, that it was so called from being hemmed in by overhanging mountains. The city is now called Salona.

[6] *Through fear, &c.*] The meaning, which is rather hinted at than expressed, is not, as Mitford supposes, that they were apprehensive of any interest which their neighbours and inveterate enemies, the Phocians, might acquire with the Lacedæmonian commanders. It is (as Hack explains) that they feared lest the Phocians, whom they hated, and by whom they were hated, should seek to injure them when the Athenian forces were in that country.

[7] *Ipneans.*] Perhaps so called from ἴπνος, an oven; being situated in a gorge of the mountains. Of the *Myoneans* there is mention made in Pausan. 6, 19, 3. who has this very passage in view; also 10, 38. On the other tribes, see Palm. Antiq. and Duker ad h. l. *Chalæum* was a sea-port; and Pouqueville ap. Poppo Proleg. p. 168. thinks its ruins are between Cissel and Monastiraci. *Tolophon* was probably also on the sea-coast, or, as Pouquev. thinks, on the banks of the river Hylæus. As to Œanthia, or Œanthe, it was, as appears from Martianus cited by Wasse, a port. And Wasse says it corresponds to Pentagii; but Dodwell and Pouqueville, to Galaxidi. Poppo remarks, on the authority of Polybius, that it was opposite to Ægira in Achaia. Of most of the villages here mentioned, Poppo (Proleg. 170.) truly observes, the situation cannot exactly be fixed; and some are not to be found in the maps.

the Tolophonians, Hessians, and Œantheans. Those all took part in the expedition. The Olpæans gave hostages, indeed, but would not join their forces. The Hyæans did not give hostages before one of their villages, called Polis, had been taken.

CII. All preparations being accomplished, and the hostages deposited at Cytinium in Doris, he marched forward with his army through Locris to Naupactus, in his way thither took Œneon and Eupalium, two towns which had not submitted; and having arrived at the Naupactian territory [1], and the Ætolians now joined their forces, they proceeded to ravage the territory, and also took the suburb (or outer town [2]), which was unwalled; and proceeded thence to Molycrium, a colony of the Corinthians, but subject to the Athenians, they reduced it. But Demosthenes, the Athenian [3] (who ever since the affair of

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The Olpæi, as Poppo says, are to be distinguished from the Olpæ in the country of Argos Amphilochium. Yet it is probable that there was the same ratio appellationis in both.

Of the above tribes, the Tritæans may have derived their name (like the Tritæans in Achaia) from occupying originally a third part of the Locrian territory. Myonia was probably so called with an allusion to its confined situation among the mountains, from μυὼν, a *mouse-hole*, or cramped-up place. Chalæa and Hyæa seem also to have derived their names from their situation, exposed to hail and rain. From χάλω came the adjective χάλος and the substantive χάλη or χάλα, as χάλαζα from χαλάζω. With the ratio significationis in Hyæa we may compare that of Hysiæ or Hyampolis, and Hyanthe, the antient name of Bœotia.

On the epithet given to all these people, namely, Ozolæ, there have been several foolish conjectures. The most rational and probable mode of accounting for it is to suppose, with Pausanias, that it had reference to the smell of a strong-scented flower, very common in that country, and which Pausanias calls the *Asphodel;* though Dodwell, the *Euphorbia Characia.* Indeed one of its towns has now the name Galaxidi, doubtless from the same cause. Much to this purpose is what Dr. Clarke says of the island of Lessina: — "The island abounds with curious plants, so strongly aromatic, that the whole air is scented with them. They exude a glutinous matter, which, attaching itself to our clothes, as we walked about the rocks, so completely impregnated every thing it touched, that we were a long time before we got free of the smell."

[1] *Naupactian territory.*] Hence it plainly appears that Naupactus had *some* portion of territory belonging to it, though *how* much, cannot be determined.

[2] *Outer town.*] Or *bas ville*, like that at Calais and many other antient provincial cities on the continent.

[3] *Demosthenes, the Athenian.*] So all the MSS.; nor do the commentators hint any doubt or disapprobation. Yet I cannot but suspect that ὁ

Ætolia had his abode about Naupactus), hearing before hand of this armament, and alarmed [4] for the safety of the place goes round and persuades the Acarnanians (though with great difficulty, because of his departure from Leucas) to afford succour to Naupactus; and they send with him on board the ships [5] one thousand heavy-armed who, being introduced into the city, saved it: for there had been danger lest, the walls being of great extent and the defendants few, they should not have been able to hold out. But Eurylochus and his colleagues, when they discovered that those forces had been introduced, and that it was impossible to take the city by assault [6], did not return to Peloponnesus, but proceeded to what was once called Ætolis (now Calydon), and Pleuron[7], and the parts thereabouts, and to Proschium in Ætolia: for the Ambraciots had gone to their aid, and persuaded them to join with them in an attack of Argos Amphilochium, and the

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Ἀθηναῖος did not come from Thucydides; for why should he have added *that?* no other Demosthenes having been mentioned. Perhaps he wrote ὁ Ἀλκισθένους, as supra 91.

4 *Alarmed.*] Especially as the danger had been incurred by his own rash expedition.

5 *The ships.*] Namely, I imagine, some of the Athenian squadron stationed in those western parts, which, as we learn from c. 105., amounted to twenty sail.

6 *By assault.*] As to the mode of attack by *blockade* (which is here alluded to), that was impracticable, the town being open to the sea, of which the Athenians were masters.

7 *What was once called, &c.*] Such is evidently the meaning of Thucydides, though he has expressed it somewhat obscurely. It seems that formerly a certain district of southern Ætolia almost encircled by a bend of the Evenus, was called Ætolis; and, indeed, it appears from Eustathius on the first verse of Homer's Catalogue, that the Æolians had claims on this district, as also from our author's adding τῆς Αἰτωλίας. They, no doubt, had formerly occupied it.

On the two cities of Calydon and Pleuron, both of high antiquity and celebrity, see Palm. Antiq. p. 468. seqq. I cannot but suspect that Pleuron derived its name from being built in the κόλπος, or hollow side of a mountain. See supra 2, 99, 8. On the present situation of the places, Gell. ap. Poppo Proleg. 163. thus writes: "Ante vadum fluvii Fidari (Eveni) in colle est castrum Græcum, nunc *Curt Aga*, sive a possessore Turcico sive a Curetibus nomine derivato. Quod potest esse Pleuron, quum causæ adesse videantur, cur non possit esse Calydon. Calydon fortassis erat apud *Cabrolimne* collem versus, qui dicitur *Barnasoba*." Poppo, after referring to Dodwell, p. 110. [148.], adds "that Pouqueville also places antient Pleuron on the Evenus at Cortaga, modern Pleuron at the southern declivity of Mount Aracynthus, near Arsinoe and Lysimachia; Calydon, at the left bank of the Evenus and the roots of Varassova or Chalcis above the village of Mauromathia."

rest of Amphilochia and Acarnania, alleging that if they could overpower *these*, all the rest of that part of the continent [8] would join in alliance with Lacedæmon. Induced by these persuasions, and dismissing the Ætolians, Eurylochus kept quiet with his army in those parts, until it should be necessary to render assistance to the Ambraciots, on having entered upon the expedition against Argos. And thus ended the summer.

CIII. The Athenians in Sicily, at the beginning of winter, went with the Grecians their allies, and such of the Siculi as being under the severe rule [1] of the Syracusans had revolted, and becoming allies and fellow-combatants to the Athenians, had made an attack on Inessa [2], a Sicilian town, whose citadel was held by the Syracusans; and not being able to take it, departed. But on their departure, the Syracusans of the fort made an attack upon the Athenian allies who formed the rearguard, and fell upon and routed a part of the army, killing no inconsiderable number. After this, Laches and the Athenians with the fleet, having made some descents on Locris at the river Cæcinus, and defeated in battle some three hundred of the Locrians, who assembled for resistance with Proxenus son of Capato, and having taken away their arms, departed.

Proschium, on which see Palmer, p. 454., was evidently beyond the borders of Æolis (and so Theocr. 1, 56. has, Αἰολικὸν ϑάημα for καλυδωνικὸν), though Boccage, deceived by the authority of Palmer, has included it in them.

[8] *That part of the continent.*] Bredov., and some others, understand, "that part of Epirus," since Thucydides says Acarnania and Amphilochia were then reckoned as part of Epirus. (See supra, c. 95.) But I prefer, with Hack, to take the words in the former sense, and write ἠπειρωτικὸν, as 1, 46 and 47.

[1] *Under the severe rule.*] The phrase, κατὰ κράτος, imports what is forcible, compulsory, and severe. Thus Hesych. explains it ἰσχυρῶς, and Suid. κατὰ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν.

[2] *Inessa.*] So Bekker and Goeller edit from three MSS.; and the same had been already conjectured by Cluver. and Bochart. This reading, it may be added, is confirmed by Strabo, Ἴνησσαν, sine var. lect., also Thucyd. 6, 94. And Polyænus, l. 5, 1, 4. who has ἄρχοντα Οὐέσσης, and then τὴν Οὔεσσαν, seems to have meant this town.

CIV. The same winter also, the Athenians purified Delos, by the admonition, as they professed [1], of a certain oracle: for Pisistratus the tyrant had also, indeed, formerly purified it, yet not the whole, but only as much of the island as was within view of the temple.[2] Now, however, the whole was purified [3], in the manner following: — They dug up all the coffins of the dead in Delos, and publicly ordered that for the future no one should be allowed either to bring forth in the island [4], or to die in it, but should be carried over to Rhenea [5], the distance of

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[1] *As they professed.*] Or, "under pretence." A sense which is included in δή, and on which see Viger. de Idiotism. and Hoogev. de Part. This shows our author's opinion, namely, that it was a mere pretence, a piece of state craft, to quiet the minds of the people, which had been in a state of considerable agitation from the united afflictions of war, pestilence, and privation of every kind. It was natural, therefore, for them to suppose, that there must be some dire unexpiated guilt which occasioned these afflictions; and it was politic in their governors to encourage this belief, because, whatever might be the cause fixed on as the *origin*, it would not be difficult to contrive an *expiation*, and thus quiet the alarms of the people.

[2] *As much of the island as, &c.*] There is little doubt but that Thucydides had in view Herod. 1, 64, 8. τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον καθῆρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων. καθῆρας δὲ ὧδε· ἐφ' ὅσον ἔποψις τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἶχεν, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς, μετεφόρεεν ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Δήλου.

[3] *The whole was purified.*] This purification consisted in the removal of the corpses, and the performance of certain expiatory ceremonies, to remove the defilement thereby occasioned; for it had been enjoined by the Deity, that there should be neither births nor deaths in the island. Of course, it would occasionally happen, in spite of every care taken, that this order was violated; and though, for these transgressions, some temporary atonement might be offered, yet such, it was thought, was insufficient. Consequently, considerable *arrears* of unexpiated guilt were supposed to remain; especially as, by the convenient interpretation which we find was resorted to, there must have been nearly the whole of the corpses of the island interred *somewhere* within its precincts, and almost all the births would there have taken place. This, therefore, seemed to claim an expiation of a very public and solemn nature, and such as could not be expected to be efficacious except when accompanied by the removal of the corpses. On the *mode* in which this purification was effected Duker refers to Meurs. Att. Lect. 4, 23., and Spanheim on Callim. Del. 1 and 277.

From this passage of Thucydides may be emended Max. Tyr. Diss. 12, 5. 1, 224. Αἴγινα ἀνίσταται, Δεκέλεια τείχίζεται, Μῆλος ἀπόλλυται, Πλαταίαι ἀλίσκονται, Σκίωνη ἀνδρωποδίζεται, Δῆλος καθαιρεῖται., where, for καθαιρεῖται, read καθαίρεται.

[4] *Either to bring forth, &c.*] The reason of this was, that the whole island was considered as a temple. To which purpose Aristoph. Lys. 743. Ὦ πότνια Εἰλείθυι', ἐπίσχες τοῦ τόκου, Ἕως ἂν εἰς ὅσιον μόλω 'γω χωρίον (for the woman was then in the ἀκρόπολις and temple of Minerva). And Arist. Ran. 1080. Οὐ προαγωγοὺς κατέδειξ' οὗτος, καὶ τικτούσας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, καὶ μιγνυμένας τοῖσιν ἀδελφοῖς.

[5] *Rhenea.*] Or Rhenia. Smith writes Rhenæa; Portus, Rhenea, which

which from Delos was so short [6], that Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, who was once powerful by sea, and had taken and governed both Rhenea and the other isles, dedicated it to the Delian Apollo, fastening it with a chain to Delos. And now, after this purification, the Athenians first instituted the *Delia* [7], a festival kept every fifth year. There had, however, been of old a great resort to Delos of the Ionians and the neighbouring islanders: for they attended at [8] the games with their wives and children, as the Ionians do now at the Ephesia [9]; and there were contests appointed, both of gymnic exercises and of music; and the cities set forth [10] dances. That such things were is especially plain from those verses, which are from the Hymn [11] on Apollo: —

" In Delos [12], Phœbus, lies thy chief delight,
Thy isle's warm landscapes cheer thy gladden'd sight,

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seems preferable. For the former there is no good authority; and, as to that of Herodotus, alleged by Wasse, it is of no weight, since the best MSS. there have Ῥηνέη, which is edited by Schafer and Gaisford. Hesych. has Ῥήνη, and Pliny *Rhena;* but this seems to be a later form. Of the early ones, Ῥήναια seems the more antient. See Wesseling on Herod. 6, 97. I suspect that the name signifies *sheep island*, from ῥὴν, a sheep. Of the other names of this island, Artemitis and Celadussa, the former alluded to its being consecrated to Diana; the latter, perhaps, to the peculiar noise of the waves around its shore. See a description of its modern state in Tournefort, 1, 243., who says, that it seems to have had many magnificent buildings, from the monuments now to be seen of its antiquity. It may be observed, that the tombs of the Delians, on the east end of Rhenea, mentioned by Strabo, were those erected there after the order in question.

6 *So short.*] About five or six stadia. On the circumstance following see Polyæn. 4, 50.

7 *Delia.*] To the passages cited by the editors I would add Athen. p. 172 and 173.

8 *Attended at.*] Or, as we say, went to see. Of this rare sense of θεωρέω, with ἐς, Duker adduces two examples.

9 *Ephesia.*] The festival of Diana of Ephesus, on which Duker refers to Dionys. Hal. 4, 25., and Goeller to Locell. on Xen. Ephes. p. 132.

10 *Set forth.*] Or got up; or, trained the dancers. Not *mittebant*, as Portus renders. Smith very ill renders χορούς by *choruses*. On this use of ἀναγειν χορους Duker refers to Callim. Del. 279. I add Dion. Per. 527. Δῆλον ἐκυκλώσαντο, καὶ οὔνομα κυκλάδες εἰσι· Ῥύσια δ' Απόλλωνι χορούς ἀνάγουσιν ἅπασαι, Ἀρχομένου γλυκερου νέον ἔαρος, εὖτ' ἐν ὄρεσσιν Ἀνθρώπων ἀπάνευθε κύει λιγύφθογγος ἀηδών.

11 *Hymn.*] On this sense Duker refers to Menag. on Diog. Laert. 8, 57. and Schol. on Æschyl. Sept. 7.

12 *In Delos, &c.*] On this and the following citation from Homer,

When long-rob'd Ions throng around thy fane,
Whose blushing spouses swell the festal train,
Whose ruddy children's lisping accents sound thy name.
Thy feast to celebrate the leapers vig'rous bound,
The champions box, the dancers' footsteps beat the ground,
While music's magic echoes wide resound."

That there was, too, a contest of music, and that combatants resorted thither, is manifest from these verses, which are from the same hymn: for after celebrating the Delian dance of women, he ends the hymn [13] with these words; wherein also he makes mention of himself: —

" Hail! great Apollo, radiant god of day;
Hail! Cynthia, goddess of the lunar sway;
Henceforth on me propitious smile! and you,
Ye blooming beauties of the isle, adieu!
When future guests shall reach your happy shore,
And refug'd here from toils lament no more;
When social chat the mind unbending cheers,
And this demand shall reach your friendly ears —
'Who was the bard, e'er landed on your coast?
Who sung the sweetest, and who pleas'd you most?'

I shall not here enter into any minute criticism, but only remark on the marvellous variations between the text of Homer, and that of the MSS. of Thucydides. This certainly does not give us much reason to suppose, that we have the hymns in any degree as they came from Homer, if, indeed, they be Homer's; for their authenticity is rejected by some eminent critics. To me it seems that they are about as much Homer's as such of the poems ascribed to Ossian, as can be proved to be very antient, are Ossian's. If, originally, formed by him, they would be so much altered in the course of so many centuries by a sort of oral tradition, as almost to cease in effect to be his.

With respect to the ἀλλ' ὅτε of this first quotation, no number of MSS. could defend it, since it yields no tolerable sense. Upon the whole, the readings of Thucydides are less poetical than those of the present Homeric text, and some changes are made by the editors unnecessarily. However, ἀρκηστύι is confirmed by the usage of Homer, who often conjoins the word with ἀοιδῇ; and ξεινος is vainly defended by Poppo, since it is plainly a gloss on ἄλλος. So Hesych. ἄλλος ὁδίτης. ἀλλοφυλος. (and ἀλλοδαπος. ξενος.)

Finally, ἀφήμως is vainly advocated by Poppo and Hack. The sense absolutely requires εὐφήμως, which is found in two MSS.

[13] *Hymn.*] Or panegyric; namely, of the god, not of the Delian dancers. This sense is pointed out by Ruhnken, Epist. Crit. p. 91., and adopted by Goeller. And, in a similar sense, ἔπαινος is used at 2, 34.

With voice united, all ye blooming fair,
Join in your answer, and for me declare;
Say — 'The blind bard the sweetest notes may boast;
He lives at Chios, and he pleas'd us most.'" (*Smith.*)

By thus much does Homer bear witness that there was even of old a great assemblage and festival at Delos. In other times, however, the islanders and the Athenians introduced the dances together with the sacrifices.[14] But as to the games, they had been wholly done away (through adversity, it should seem), before the Athenians then restored them, and also established horse-races, which had formerly made no part of the solemnity.

CV. The same winter, the Ambraciots (as they had engaged to Eurylochus when they detained his army [1]) went on an expedition against the Amphilochian Argos, with three thousand heavy-armed; and making an irruption into Argeia [2], they lay siege to Olpæ [3], a strong hold on a hill by the sea side, which once the Acarnanians had fortified and used as a common tribunal of justice, or court-house.[4] Its distance from

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[14] *Sacrifices.*] i. e. victims, and other necessaries for the sacrifice. For such seems to be the sense of ἱερῶν, which is wrongly rendered by Hobbes, "their sacrifices;" and the version of Portus, *sacris*, clears nothing. The above sense of ἱερὸν is not unfrequent.

[1] *Detained his army.*] i. e. induced him to keep his army where it was, namely, in Æolis. See supra, c. 102.

[2] *Argeia.*] i. e. the territory of the Amphilochian Argos. See note supra, 2, 80. and Poppo Proleg. 2. p. 147. seqq.

[3] *Olpæ.*] A place noticed by Steph. Byz., and in the plural, with a view, indeed, to this passage. Thucydides elsewhere, c. 110 and 113. uses the *singular*. Whether the singular or plural be right, the name seems to have been given from the resemblance which the hill bore to an oil cruise, or two cruises. Or, it may mean Ὄλπη, an old form of ἔλπις, *Hope* (which occurs in Sappho ap. Athen. 425. D. ἔλων ὄλπιν, spem concipiens., and from which, in fact, our *hope*, by the medium of the Angl. Sax., is derived.) Now this is a name very appropriate to a fortress. So *Hope Castle*, mentioned in Lingard's History of England, 2, 399.

Travellers tell us that there is now an old castle on this very spot.

[4] *Common tribunal of justice.*] In these words there is some obscurity, which the commentators do not attempt to remove. It should seem that, as in the rude middle ages, *castles* were, even in the most civilized parts of Europe, resorted to as places for the administration of justice, from the means which they afforded of securing its regular course; so, in a similar state of society in western Greece, at the time of the Peloponnesian war, forts were erected, or employed, for the same purpose, and with the same

the city of Argos, also on the sea coast, is about twenty-five stadia. With part of their forces the Acarnanians came to the relief of Argos, while with the rest they encamped at a place of Amphilochia which is called Crenæ [*the fountains*], watching the motions of the Peloponnesians with Eurylochus, lest they should effect a secret junction with the Ambraciots. They also send to Demosthenes, the commander of the Athenian expedition, to Ætolia, with a request that he would take the command[5]; and also to the twenty Athenian ships which happened to be cruising about Peloponnesus under the command of Aristoteles son of Timocrates, and Hieropho son of Antimnestus. The Ambraciots, too, at Olpæ also send a messenger to their city, desiring them to come to their aid with their full force; fearing lest those with Eurylochus should not be able to pass by the Acarnanians, and that either they would be obliged to come to battle apart, or, if they wished to retreat, might not find it safe.

CVI. Now as soon as the Peloponnesians with Eurylochus had heard that the Ambraciots had reached Olpæ, they set forward from Proschium with all speed to assist them; and having passed the Acheloüs, they marched through Acarnania (which was left deserted by reason of the succours sent to Argos), keeping on their right the garrisoned city of the Stratians, and on their left the rest of Acarnania. Having passed

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view. The epithet κοινῷ, *common*, it must be observed, has no reference to any nation besides the Acarnanians, but to the various petty republics into which Acarnania (like Ætolia, Locris, and some other parts) was divided. This is clear, as well from other places, as from 6, 106. A strong hold was, it seems, thought necessary to secure an equal and firm administration of justice to all the tribes.

[5] *Sent for Demosthenes, &c.*] This remarkable fact, highly honourable to Demosthenes, proves more than that he was personally respected among the Acarnanians. Their country was nearly equal in extent to Attica, and perhaps proportionally populous in free subjects, though not in slaves; but being divided among a number of village republics, no man could have either the education of Athenians of rank, or that acquaintance with public business upon a great scale, which the Athenians in office acquired. Hence, in a great measure, the admitted superiority of the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to the other Greeks; and hence the Acarnanians felt the want of a man better educated, and better initiated in public business than any among themselves, to take, in the present moment of danger, the supreme direction of their affairs. (Mitford.)

over the territory of the Stratians and through Phytia [1], and again along the side of Medeon [2], and then through Limnæa [3], and entered into a territory no longer Acarnanian, but that of the Agræi, which was friendly to them, they reached Mount Thyamis, which is a wild and uncultivated tract [4], marched through it, and descended into Argeia, when it was now night [5]; and taking their course between the city of Argos and the

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[1] *Phytia.*] This name occurs in Polyb. and Steph. Byz., but written Φοιτεῖαι. The οι is doubtless an error, and the Cod. Vet. of Polyb. has ει. See Polyb. 4, 63. and the note of Schweigh. The above orthography, too, is confirmed by the ratio appellationis, which signifies a *plantation*, or, with the plural, *plantations*. The form Φυτίον in Suid. would seem to be an error for Φυτία.

Pouqueville Græc. 3. p. 152. (referred to by Poppo) says that the ruins of Phytia lie N. E. of the lake Ozeros, and, therefore, has been correctly placed by Boccage. By Phytiā, however, is, I conceive, here meant the *territory* of Phytia; for it is not likely that towns so strong would be unoccupied and unfortified. And as Mitford truly observes, Eurylochus avoided the towns.

[2] *Medeon.*] Written Medion by Polybius and Livy. But the reading of Thucydides is defended by Palmer, Antiq. 393. from Steph. Byz. and Eustath., and from the orthography of three other places of the same name. And he might have added that it is confirmed by the ratio appellationis; for the name seems formed from Μέδων, præfectus.

This place, Livy (referred to by Palmer) says, was a city, and one fortified and of considerable consequence. Its site has been ascertained by Pouqueville (referred to by Poppo, Proleg. 2, 147.) to be four miles from Ætus, on the *west* of the lake of Nozero, and an hour's distance from the present Midenico.

[3] *Limnæa.*] This appears from 2, 80. to have been an unwalled town, or village. On its situation there has been some controversy. Palmer and D'Anville have placed it on the gulf of Ambracia. But Poppo (Proleg. 2, 147.) has shown that it must have been between Medeon and the borders of Argeia and Agræa. It should seem also to be wrongly placed by Boccage. From the ratio significationis we may suppose it to have received its name from being situated near a lake or some marshy ground. It probably stood on marshy ground on the east of the small river which runs into the sea a little below Argos Amphilochium.

[4] *Wild and uncultivated tract.*] Here I read, with Bekker and Goeller, ἀγροῖκον, which may be confirmed from Hesych. on ἀγροῖκον, where see the interpreters. See also Steph. Thes. in v. and Stæber, Hemsterhus, and Bernard on T. Mag. The phrase is kindred to that at 2, 98. init. διὰ Κεστρίνης, ἐρήμου ὄρκους.

Thyamis is wrongly spelt in most maps, as D'Anville, Butler, and Arrowsmith. The mount seems to have derived this name from its being thickly set with woods of the θύα, a sort of cedar, or the Juniperus Sabina.

We may suppose that Eurylochus took a little bend to the right, in order to pass through the friendly district of Agræa, (whence he might have intelligence of the enemy), and especially in order to avoid being observed by the Acarnanians about Argeia.

[5] *Now night.*] He seems to have gone the whole of the distance from Proschium, by a forced march, in one day. Indeed so silently and speedily

Acarnanian guard at Crenæ, formed unperceivedly a junction with the Ambraciots at Olpæ.

CVII. Being thus united, they next morning took post at what is called Metropolis [1], and there encamped. Not long afterwards the Athenians entered the Ambracian gulf, with the twenty ships, in order to assist the Argives, and also Demosthenes [2] bringing two hundred heavy-armed of the Messenians, and sixty Athenian archers. These ships then blockaded the hill of Olpæ on the seaward; and the Acarnanians and a few Amphilochians (for the greater part were forcibly hindered by the Ambraciots) forming a junction at Argos, prepared to come to an engagement with their enemies, and chose Demosthenes as general of the whole of the allied force, together with their own commanders.[3] He, drawing his forces near to Olpæ, there encamped. A deep ravine [4] separated the combatants; and for five days neither party stirred, but on the sixth they were ranged respectively in order of battle. And now Demosthenes (for the Peloponnesian army was superior in numbers, and outflanked him), fearing lest he should be surrounded, placed an ambush, at a certain hollow and bushy way, of heavy-armed and light-armed [5] troops together, to the number of four hundred, in order that when the enemy in the charge should outflank his troops, these might stand forth, and take them in the rear.[6] Both parties being now ready, entered upon the action. Demosthenes occupied the right wing with the Messenians and a few Athenians; the other wing being maintained by the Acarnanians, ranged in separate

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did he pursue his course that no news of his approach reached the Acarnanians at Crenæ.

[1] *Metropolis.*] Of this nothing is said by geographers; nor is it placed in any of the maps. Indeed it were difficult to fix its site. We may suppose it was situated somewhere between Olpæ and Argos.

[2] *Demosthenes.*] He, no doubt, came on board the fleet; though Hobbes and Smith do not make this clear.

[3] *Together with, &c.*] i. e. with the assistance of those commanders as his colleagues, and so that he should be *αὐτοκράτωρ*.

[4] *Ravine.*] Or the dried-up channel of a brook.

[5] *Light-armed.*] Not *unarmed*, as Hobbes renders.

[6] *In order that when, &c.*] The stratagem is described by Polyæn. 3, 1, 2. where for λοχωδὲς (which is a vox nihili) read from our author λοχμωδὲς

corps, according to their tribes [7], and the Amphilochians present armed with javelins. The Peloponnesians and Ambraciots were mingled together, except the Mantineans [8], who were placed rather together, though they were not at the end of the wing; *that* place being occupied by Eurylochus and those with him, opposite to Demosthenes and the Messenians.

CVIII. And now, the armies coming to conflict, while the Peloponnesians with their troops were outflanking the left of the enemy, the Acarnanians of the ambush taking them in the rear, fall upon them, and put them to the rout; and into such a panic were they thrown that they did not venture to make any resistance; insomuch that they drew the rest and greater part of the army into flight: for on seeing that part of the army routed where was Eurylochus and the best of the forces, they were so much the more intimidated. And now the Messenians, who were there with Demosthenes, achieved a great part of the work.[1] But the Ambraciots, and those at the right wing defeated the part of the troops opposite to them, and chased them off the field [2] to Argos: for these are the

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which is defended by an imitation of Dio Cass. 13, 9. ἐν κοίλῳ τινι καὶ λοχμώδει τόπῳ. and 1279, 17. ἐς κοῖλον τινα καὶ λοχμώδη τόπον.

By ξύνοδος is meant the conflict of the two armies, a sense in which the word also occurs at 5, 70.

[7] *Ranged in separate, &c.*] Also according to the place each should occupy. Such seems to be the true sense of the ænigmatical words ὡς ἕκαστοι, the meaning of which is totally mistaken by Portus, Hobbes, and Smith. The idiom occurs elsewhere in Thucydides. See c. 105. No. 4.

[8] *Mantineans.*] These were probably the choicest troops, except, perhaps, those with Eurylochus, which were, doubtless, composed of men more devoted to the Lacedæmonian than were the Mantineans.

The Ambraciots were proper to be mingled with the rest; for, (as Mitford says) a Corinthian colony, they preserved the Peloponnesian arms and discipline, and were esteemed the best soldiers of that part of the continent.

[1] *Achieved a great part, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense (misconceived by Hobbes) of τὸ πολὺ τοῦ ἔργου ἐξῆλθον, or rather ἐπεξῆλθον, which Bekker has wrongly altered: for ἐπεξελθεῖν in the sense *accomplish* is used by the best writers (as Dio Cass. 407, 17. ἐπιτέλεσαι καὶ ἐπεξελθεῖν πάντα), ἐξελθεῖν by none. Thucydides means to say that the victory was greatly owing to the Messenians, who, it seems, boldly attacked the shrinking foe.

[2] *Chased them off the field.*] Such is the sense, if ἀπεδίωξαν be the true reading; but I suspect that Thucydides wrote ἐπεδ., "chased after them — into." That word is used by the best writers, as Thucyd. 3, 33 and 111.

most warlike of all the inhabitants of those parts. But when, on retiring back from the pursuit, they saw the greater part of the army defeated, and as the rest of the Acarnanians advanced upon them, they with some difficulty saved themselves at Olpæ [3], and many of them were slain as they were rushing forward [4] disorderly and in disarray, except the Mantineans. Those retreated in the most orderly manner of all the army. And thus the battle terminated at evening.[5]

CIX. On the day following, Menedæus (on whom devolved the command, in consequence of Eurylochus and Macarius having been slain), quite at a loss to know what course to pursue after so decisive a defeat, whether he should remain and stand a siege, being shut up both by land and by sea (by the Attic ships), or should seek his safety by departure, makes proposals to Demosthenes and the Acarnanian commanders, both respecting a departure and the removal of the dead for burial. As to the dead, they gave them up, and themselves erected a trophy, and took up their own, amounting to about three hundred; but a retreat for *all* they would not openly grant, but Demosthenes, in concert with his colleagues the Acarnanian commanders, privately agreed with the Mantineans, Menedæus, and the other officers of the Peloponnesians, and such of them as were the most considerable persons,

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Ælian V. H. 1, 30. Xenoph. often; though sometimes ἀπεδ. occurs in the var. lect. In Genes. 44, 4. we have ἐπιδώκειν ὀπίσω τινι.

[3] *Saved themselves at Olpæ.*] Διασώζεσθαι is here a vox prægnans. "At Olpæ" stands for "throwing themselves into Olpæ."

[4] *Rushing forward.*] Namely, into Olpæ. Not "on the enemy," as the Schol. interprets. Thus Xenophon uses the word in the sense *accurro*. See Lex. Xen.

[5] *Terminated at evening*] Such is the sense, if ἐς ὄψε be the true reading, which is found in most of the MSS., and occurs at 8, 23. 1, 51. 3, 78. and is preferred by Duker, Benedict, and Doederlin; though Bekker and Goeller retain ἕως. Thus the sense will be, "terminated at evening, having lasted till that time." But it is, I think, justly questioned by Doederlin whether this be good Greek. Indeed it involves an absurdity: though we may say a thing *continues until* such a time, we cannot say it *ends* until that time. Lobeck thinks ἕως too recondite a construction to have come from scribes; but I cannot agree with him. It seems to have been an alteration proceeding from those who wished to make the sense clearer. The truth is, that whichever reading be adopted, ἐτελευτᾷ must be a vox prægnans; and ἕως is the less to be approved, as suggesting the idea of a longer continuance to the battle than facts will authorize.

that they might depart without delay. His policy was to leave bare[1] and defenceless the Ambraciots and the multitude of foreign mercenaries[2]; and especially he was desirous to bring the Lacedæmonians and Peloponnesians into discredit with the Greeks of that country; as if, betraying *them*, they made their own safety and interest their chief object.[3] And those took up their dead, and interred them with all the speed that circumstances would admit; and those who had received permission to retire secretly, formed their measures for departure.[4]

CX. And now information was brought to Demosthenes and the Acarnanians that the Ambraciots of the city had, at the first message from Olpæ, moved in full force through Amphilochia, in order to affect a junction with those at Olpæ, knowing nothing of what had happened. Upon which he immediately sends a detachment of the army to previously beset the ways with ambuscades and preoccupy the strong

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[1] *Leave bare.*] The Scholiast well explains, *μονῶσαι ψίλους τῶν συμμαχων ποιῆσαι.* This sense of *ψιλόω* is elegant, and is illustrated by the following examples. Dio Cass. 106, 45. *ψιλοῖς οὖσι*, scil. *τῶν ὅπλων.* Dionys. Hal. 1, 164, 40. *τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας — ἐψιλωένον τῆς συμμαχίας* and 1, 313, 23. *ἐψιλωμένων τῶν ἀκρων.* Xen. Cyr. 4, 5, 6. *ἐπεμπεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μήδους, ὡς ψιλώσων αὐτὸν.* Herod. 2. 151, 17. *ψιλώσαντας τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς δυνάμιος.* I must observe that the force of the term *ψιλῶσαι* shows that the agreement made with the officers and principal persons was meant to apply to *all* the Peloponnesians.

[2] *Multitude of foreign mercenaries.* It is not easy to see who are here meant. For of the three thousand brought by Eurylochus, two thousand five hundred were from the Lacedæmonian allies, and the other five hundred from Heraclea; and thus there could be no foreigners among *them.* These must, therefore, have been some Epirots whom the Ambraciots brought with them. That the Epirots were accustomed to hire themselves out in war, in much the same way as the Arcadians, we have had several proofs.

[3] *Made their own, &c.*] Gail well renders "comme gens qui les trahissaient, en mettant leur propre intérêt au dessus de toute autre consideration." Of this use of *προυργιαίτερον ποιήσασθαι*, which is elegant, I subjoin the following examples. Polyb. 1, 1, 6. *ὅς προυργιαίτερον ἂν ποιησαιτο.* Joseph. 708, 40. *διοίκησιν προυργιαιτέραν ἔθετο.* Isæus 77, 17. *προυργιαίτερον ἡγεῖται τὸ χρηματίζεσθαι ἢ τὴν ἐμὴν συγγένειαν.*

[4] *Formed their measures, &c.*] Namely, by preparing their baggage, laying in provisions, &c.

The conduct of Menedæus was certainly as unprincipled as it was unwise and impolitic; for had he patiently endured a short siege, he must soon have been relieved by the great body of the Ambraciots from the city.

posts, and at the same time makes preparations for advancing upon them with the rest of the army.

CXI. Meanwhile the Mantineans, and those with whom the secret treaty had been made, going forth under pretence [1] of gathering herbs and collecting fire-wood [2], stole away, by a few at a time, collecting withal such things as they had pretended to have gone in search of. Having, however, proceeded pretty far from Olpæ, they moved off more speedily. But the Ambraciots, and the rest who happened to have gone forth with them in the same manner [3], when they perceived them making off, also themselves pushed forward at full run, intending to overtake them.[4] Now the Acarnanians, at first thinking that all had gone forth alike without any permission by treaty, set themselves to pursue the Peloponnesians; and some even of the officers, who hindered them and told them that there was a treaty with those men, they threw darts at [5], supposing that there was some treachery. Afterwards, however, they allowed the Mantineans and Peloponnesians to pass, but slew the Ambraciots; and much contention and tumult, and a great perplexity was there, to distinguish who was an Am-

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[1] *Under pretence.*] Literally, "as they pretended for the gathering of herbs," πρόφασιν is for κατὰ πρόφασιν; as I. 5, 80. ἀγῶνα τινα πρόφασιν ποιήσας. Dio Cass. 342, 8. πρόφ. ὅτι. Arrian E. A. 4, 1, 7. 7, 19, 12. Athen. 244. F. The plena locutio occurs in Herod. 1, 29. 2, 161. 3, 36. 4, 135 and 145.

[2] *Gathering herbs, &c.*] So Joseph. 1199, 39. ὅσοι λαχανείας ἕνεκα ἢ φρυγανισμοῦ προεληλύθεισαν. Pollux, 1, 162. ἐξῆλθον ἐπὶ ξυλισμὸν, ἐπὶ φρυγανισμόν. Polyæn. 4, 18, 1. φρυγάνων. φόρτια. Aristoph. Av. 642. εἰσέλθετ' εἰς νεοττίαν γε τὴν ἐμὴν — καὶ τὰ φρύγανα and Thesm. 457. ἀγριοῖσι τοῖς λαχάνοις οὑτὸς τραφείς. From Gell's Morea p. 191. it appears that these ἄγρια λάχανα (which he calls wild *cabbage*) are yet used in Greece.

[3] *In the same manner.*] i. e. for the same purpose.

[4] *To overtake them.*] Not with a view to hinder them, but to be gone likewise.

[5] *Threw darts at.*] With the τις the antient commentators were much perplexed, and devised various methods of removing the difficulty, none very effectual, any more than that of Smith, who renders "darted his javelin *amongst* them." Hack and Goeller adopt that of the Schol., whose words are these: ἴσως δὲ οὐκ ἀδυνατόν ἐστιν, ἕνα πλείω ἀκόντια ἔχοντα πλείους ἀκοντίσαι τῶν στρατηγῶν δύνατον δὲ τὸ ἠκόντισε τις καὶ ἐπὶ πλήθους λαμβάνεσθαι, οἷον ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος ἠκόντισεν. But, after all, the best method is, I conceive, to supose the τις used like the French *on* and German *man;* and thus understand it of *some.* There is a very similar use in Herod. 9, 18, 3. καὶ δὴ διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπήσοντες· καὶ κού τις καὶ ἀπῆκε.

braciot and who a Peloponnesian. Of the former they slew to the number of two hundred, but the rest escaped to the bordering country of Agræa, whose king Salynthius [6], being their friend, received them into his protection.

CXII. And now the Ambraciots of the city were advanced to Idomene [1], a name given to two lofty hills, the larger of which those detached from the army by Demosthenes had continued to secretly preoccupy; but the lesser the Ambraciots had already ascended, and pitched their tents for the night. As for Demosthenes, he, after supper, marched forward, and the rest of the army as soon as it was evening; himself proceeding with half the force to the pass [2], the rest taking the route of the Amphilochian mountains; and at the first dawn of day [3] he falls upon the Ambraciots, who were

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[6] *Salynthius.*] This seems to be a kind of patronimic of Salynthus, which occurred before.

[1] *Idomene.*] This name, also found in Macedonia, it should appear, was given because the two hills could be seen at a considerable distance. So Eustath. says, Ἴδη ὄρος Κρήτης καὶ Τροϊὰς, καὶ πᾶν ὄρος ὑψηλόν παρὰ τὸ ἰδεῖν καλεῖται. There are some mountains that have a similar appellation, but in another respect, i. e. with a reference to the extensive view from the hill. Thus Belvoir, Belvedere, &c.

From there being one name to the two hills, it should seem that they were indeed but one hill, but with two tops, like the mountain called the paps of Jura.

[2] *The pass.*] Or the space between the two hills. Snch is, I conceive, the signification of τῆς ἐσβολῆς, to which no tolerable sense is assigned by the translators and commentators. The above occurs elsewhere in Thucydides and the best writers, as Herod. 7, 172. τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν 7, 175. ἡ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολή. Xen. Anab. 1, 2, 21. and 5, 4, 48.

This manœuvre it is impossible fully to understand without a knowledge of the country and the nature of the ground. Why Demosthenes should have set out so soon, is not obvious; the distance being only about six or seven miles: but perhaps the ground was rugged, and they would move slowly in the dark. Besides, it would be day-break early at that time of the year. The true punctuation of the passage is: ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης διεπνήσης ἐχώρει, (καὶ τὸ ἀλλὸ στράτευμα ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας εὐθύς,) αὐτὸς &c.

[3] *The first dawn of day.*] The period thought most favourable for such attacks, being that when, it is somewhere said, men sleep the most soundly. We have not, however, in our language, a term exactly denoting what the earlier Greeks meant by ὄρθρον, which, as is clear from the words following, denoted not so much what we mean by *dawn* (for that implies *light*), as that *slight stir* of the air, or faint breeze, which precedes the dawn from ὄρω, to stir, excite (and from that source, indeed, *Aurora* may possibly have derived its origin). Nor is this inconsistent with the explanation of ὄρθρον given by Duker: "Est ὄρθρος, quum nondum cerni potest, et adhuc nox

yet in their beds, and knew nothing of what had happened, nay rather supposed them to be friends: for Demosthenes had designedly put the Messenians first, and bid them accost the piquet guard [4] in the Doric dialect [5] giving them their faith [6] [that all was right]. And this was the more practicable, as they were not actually seen [7], it being yet night. Thus at the very first onset they routed the army, and most of them they killed on the spot, the rest taking a hurried flight to the mountains. But the roads being preoccupied, and, moreover, the Amphilochians being intimately acquainted with their own country, and being light-armed opposed to heavy-armed, while *they* were unacquainted [8] with the country, ignorant of what course to take, they perished by tumbling into deep ravines, or falling upon the places previously beset [9] with ambushes; and as they tried every course to save themselves, some even rushed into the sea, which was not far distant, and seeing the Athenian ships coasting along at this very juncture [10], swam

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est, id est, tempus, quod præcedit auroram, quo quis adhuc lucerna uti potest." So 2, 3. φυλάξαντες ἔτι νύκτα, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ περίορθρον.

[4] *Accost the piquet guard.*] Not "discourse with each other," as Smith renders; for that noise would have roused the rest of the Ambraciots. Besides, the accusative belonging to προσαγορεύειν is προφύλακας, taken from the subsequent προφύλαξι.

[5] *In the Doric dialect.*] Or tongue. Of this remarkable phrase γλῶσσαν ἴέντας (wholly neglected by the commentators) I shall adduce numerous examples and illustrations in my edition.

[6] *Giving them their faith.*] i. e. the pledged assurance as, 5, 45. πιστὶν αὐτοῖς δοὺς.

[7] *Actually seen.*] Such seems to be the true sense of καθορωμένους τῇ ὄψει, which, in the phraseology of the writers of the New Testament would probably have been by some nice Atticists accounted an Hebraic or Hellenistic phrase. Nearly of the same force is the phrase to *see face to face*, occurring in Judg. 6, 22. and 1 Cor. 13, 12.

[8] *Unacquainted.*] Nothing is a greater proof of the little or no communication which existed between neighbouring states, when engaged in different interests, than this fact, that persons living scarcely more than a dozen miles from the scene, should be so utterly ignorant of the country. Of this we had before an instance in the case of the Thebans, who, though scarcely more than eight miles from Platæa, knew nothing of the place.

[9] *Previously beset.*] Προλοχίζω is a somewhat rare word; but I have remarked it in Procop. 59, 22 and 80. Dio Cass. 218, 23, 590. Dionys. Hal. 628, 66. Joseph. 208 and 123. 183, 46. Herod. 5, 121, 3.

[10] *At this very juncture.*] Literally, at the very crisis of the battle, the very instant when it took place, *in articulo temporis*. See 2, 42. sub. fin. In a similar way ξυντυχία is used by Herodotus, Dionys. Hal. 1, 226, 16. Pind. Pyth. 1, 69.

towards them, accounting it, in their present alarm [11], better, if it must be so [12], to perish by the hands of those in the ships than by Barbarians, and their mortal enemies [13] the Amphilochians. Under the pressure of such heavy calamities, few out of the many Ambraciots were able to effect their escape home; while the Acarnanians, after spoiling the dead, and setting up trophies, retired to Argos.

CXIII. On the day following, a herald came to them from those who had fled from Olpæ, requesting of the Ambraciots to be allowed to remove for burial those who had been slain after the first battle, when they had gone forth without treaty with the Mantineans and others who were under treaty. But when the herald saw the arms of the Ambraciots from the city, he was amazed at the number, for he knew nothing of the calamity, but supposed that these were the arms of those with them.[1] Then one asked him what he wondered at — how many he supposed of them were slain? The interrogator, on his part, supposing him to be the herald from those in Ido-

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[11] *In their present alarm.*] i. e. præ metu præsenti, urged by their present consternation.

[12] *If it must be so.*] There is a similar passage in Demosth. C. lept. t. 2. p. 148. Ed. Sch. μᾶλλον εἵλοντο μεθ' ὑμῶν, εἰ τι δέοι, πάσχειν.

[13] *Barbarians, and their, &c.*] Hobbes wrongly renders, "by the barbarians, and their," &c. It is certain that both epithets are meant to be applied to the Amphilochians. No others were there that could in any sense be called barbarians; and even those were only styled such by their foes, the Ambraciots. This is clear from 2, 68. whence it appears that Argos was a colony planted by a few Argives amidst barbarians, and though Argos itself was somewhat civilized in speech and manners by the Ambraciots, yet the country population remained *barbarous*.

With the savage cruelty of antient times towards vanquished enemies it is pleasing to contrast the more merciful feeling (doubtless resulting from the blessed influence of Christianity) evinced in modern times. Of this an interesting instance offers itself in the humane conduct of Commodore Curtis, at the memorable siege of Gibraltar, who, on board a little bark, exerted himself with great personal danger on a rough sea, in raising the wounded Spaniards belonging to those vessels which had been sunk or disabled by the red-hot shot from the batteries.

[1] *Those with them.*] There is some obscurity in this which the commentators do not attempt to remove. Smith renders, "the party for whom he was now employed." But that is quite inconsistent with what follows; since the herald must have known the arms of one thousand from those of two hundred. The μετὰ σφῶν rather, I conceive, denotes the Mantineans and other Peloponnesians, &c. who had gone forth with them, and who, he might suppose, had been disarmed by the Acarnanians.

mene, — "Two hundred, or thereabouts," said he. "Aye, but," rejoined the other, "these seem not the arms of that number, but of more than a thousand!" "Then," said he again, "they are not the arms of those who fought with us." "Indeed they are," says the other; "if, at least, you fought with us yesterday at Idomene." "Nay," replied he, "we fought with nobody yesterday, but the *day before* in the retreat." "But," rejoined the other, "we fought also yesterday with those who were advancing to aid the rest."[2] As soon as the herald heard this, and found that the reinforcement was destroyed, he burst out into a groan[3]; and overpowered with the greatness of the calamity, returned without executing his commission, and no longer asked for the dead.[4] Indeed this calamity was the greatest that, for one city, and in the same number of days, happened throughout the war. I have not recorded the number of the dead, because a number is reported to have perished incredible, considering the size of the city. This, however, I know, that if the Acarnanians and Amphilochians had been induced by the persuasions of Demosthenes to destroy Ambracia, they might have taken it at the first onset; but as things were, they feared lest, if it fell into the hands of the Athenians, those might be worse neighbours to them than the others.[5]

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[2] *Aye, but, rejoined, &c.*] Throughout this whole passage there is not a little difficulty occasioned by the dramatic form into which Thucydides has thrown the narrative, though that adds much to the spirit of it. Mitford, by endeavouring to shorten the narrative, has mistated the facts.

[3] *Burst out into a groan.*] It should seem that heralds were not quite such indifferent characters as they are represented in the dramatic writers. At least the herald here and the one at 2, 13. display considerable sensibility.

[4] *Returned without, &c.*] It is the very nature of heavy calamity to make us overlook petty evils, and even forget common duties. Thus it is said of the Athenians 7, 72. init. after the last and fatal defeat, that from the greatness of their present evils, they no longer thought of asking permission to remove the dead.

[5] *They feared lest, &c.*] A just jealousy in their chiefs prevented. While there were cities, in those parts, connected with the Peloponnesians, the Acarnanians would be necessary allies to the Athenians, and would be treated with deference; but when nothing remained adverse to the Athenian interest, they would not long avoid the fate of so many other states, once allies, but now subject to the despotic rule of the Athenian people. (Mitford.)

CXIV. After this, apportioning the third part of the spoils to the Athenians, they divided the rest in shares among the cities. Those of the Athenians were captured on the voyage; for as to what are now seen dedicated in the Attic temples, they were selected for Demosthenes [1], namely three hundred panoplies which he brought with him on his voyage home. And, moreover, his return after the calamity of Ætolia was from this exploit attended with less fear.[2]

The Athenians in the twenty ships returned to Naupactus; and after the retreat of the Athenians and Demosthenes, the Acarnanians and Amphilochians granted by treaty to the Ambraciots and Peloponnesians a return from Œniadæ, whither they had passed from Salynthius [3]; and with a reference to the future, the Acarnanians and Amphilochians made a treaty of peace and alliance with the Ambraciots for a hundred years [4], on these conditions: "that neither the Ambraciots should fight with the Acarnanians against the Peloponnesians, nor the Acarnanians with the Ambraciots against the Athenians; but should afford mutual help to each other, and the

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[1] *Selected for Demosthenes.*] Besides the third for the Athenians, and the two thirds for the Acarnanians, the general (as usual) had a certain portion selected for himself previously to any division. A custom as early as the time of the Trojan war, when we find Agamemnon possessing this right. See Hom. Il. *a.* 278.

On the dedication of these in the temples of Athens, see Stanley on Æschyl. Theb. 280. To which passage may be added Plutarch Demetr. c. 43. χιλίας καὶ τριακόσιας ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων ἐδωρήσατο πανόπλιας.

[2] *With less fear.*] And no wonder; for (to use the words of Mitford) "by the activity and able conduct of Demosthenes, both in previous measures and in the action itself, the face of things was now completely changed in the western countries; the Athenian affairs were at once restored, as if the disaster in Ætolia had never happened; and instead of gaining Naupactus, lately considered as the last refuge of the Athenian interest in those parts, the Peloponnesian cause was in a far worse situation than before any force from Peloponnesus was sent into the country."

[3] *From Salynthius.*] Doubtless thinking that this petty prince would not be able to defend them. Here I read, from the conjecture of Hermann, παρὰ Σαλυνθίου.

[4] *Made a treaty, &c.*] A limited period was always preferred, as being less likely to be violated. Mitford observes, that "this wise moderation of the Acarnanians was not without its reward. It established for a long time, in their part of the continent, not perfect peace, but more quiet than was usual among the Grecian republics; and it tended to fix upon them that character of benevolence and uprightness by which we find they were long honourably distinguished, and for which they were respected throughout the Greek nation."

Ambraciots should give back whatever territory or hostages [5] of the Amphilochians they might have, and should not afford any assistance to Anactorium, which was hostile to the Acarnanians." Agreeing on these conditions, they ended the war. After this the Corinthians sent a garrison of three hundred heavy-armed of their own city to Ambracia, and Xenoclides son of Euthycles, as governor, who arrived thither after making their way, with great difficulty, across the continent.

CXV. This same winter, the Athenians in Sicily made a descent from their fleet upon the territory of Himera, in concert with the Siculi [6], who made an invasion on the outskirts of its territory [7] from the upper country, and then sailed to the islands of Æolus.[8] Then retiring to Rhegium, they find Pythodorus son of Isolochus, an Athenian general, who was come as successor in the command of the fleet under Laches. For the allies [9] in Sicily had gone and persuaded the Athenians to assist them with a larger naval force [10]: for the Syracusans (they said) were masters of their *territory;* and being

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[5] *Hostages.*] Here I adopt the conjecture of Poppo (which had, indeed, long ago occurred to myself), ὁμήρους for ὁμόρους. The two words, it may be observed, were elsewhere confounded. Thus in Appian 1, 757, 62, ὁμόρους has been well restored by Schweighaus. for ὁμήρους.

[6] *Siculi.*] It is strange none of the commentators should have seen that the common reading Σικελιωτῶν is a false one, and that the true reading is Σικέλων. This, indeed, is not supported by any MS., but the words Σίκελοι and Σικελιῶται are continually confounded both in Thucydides and other writers; the reason of which is, that Σικελιωτῶν is written in MSS. by the abbreviation Σικῶν. I should not, however, have adopted my conjecture, had it not appeared certain; for the common reading cannot be tolerated: since who were *the* Siceliots? The Athenians had no other allies among those except the Leontines, and *they* inhabited the sea-coast; whereas the Siculi (or original inhabitants of the island, as distinguished from the Siceliots, or new settlers) inhabited the central parts of the island (see 6, 88.) (which will agree with what is just afterwards said of their making an invasion from the upper country), and generally made common cause with the Athenians.

[7] *Outskirts of its territory.*] Namely, that part which was most inland.

[8] *Islands of Æolus.*] Namely, the Lipari islands, on which see note supra, 3, 88.

[9] *The allies.*] These were the Leontines and Rhegians. See supra, c. 90.

[10] *A larger naval force.*] We find from what follows that Pythodorus brought with him a small addition to the fleet.

excluded by them from the *sea*[11] by only a few ships, they were preparing to collect together a navy, and no longer to put up with the injury. The Athenians, therefore, fitted out forty ships to send them shortly, partly as thinking that the war would thus be more speedily brought to an issue, and partly as wishing to afford a practice for the navy.[12] Accordingly they despatched one of the commanders, Pythodorus, with a few ships, which were shortly to be followed by the greater part, under the command of Sophocles[13], son of Sosastrides, and Eurymedon son of Thucles. But Pythodorus, after assuming the command of the fleet which had been under Laches, sailed at the close of winter against the fort of the Locri, which Laches had before taken[14], and being there defeated in battle by the Locrians, he returned back.

CXVI. About the spring there burst forth a stream of

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[11] *Being excluded by them, &c.*] Ἐξείργεσθαι τῆς θαλάσσης is a strong phrase which has occurred more than once before, as 2, 85. καὶ ὑπ' ὀλίγων νεῶν εἴργεσθαι τῆς θαλάσσης.

[12] *Practice for the navy.*] This was very necessary, as being a matter which required to be constantly followed up. Thus Pericles says, at 1, 142. sub. fin. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς, μελετῶντες αὐτὸ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν, ἐξείργασθέ πω. And a little further on, τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν τέχνης ἐστὶν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι, καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, ὅταν τύχῃ, ἐκ παρέργου μελετᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μηδὲν ἐκείνῳ πάρεργον ἄλλο γίγνεσθαι.

[13] *Sophocles.*] The celebrated poet. Goeller refers to Lessing's Vit. Soph. p. 24, 133, 165.

[14] *The fort of the Locri, &c.*] Not *a* fort, as Hobbes renders, nor *une* fortresse, as Gail; for we have here the *article*, referring, no doubt, to the guard-fort mentioned supra, c. 99., which Laches took, but, it seems, did not *retain*. Here I cannot but remark on the indirect and delicate way in which Thucydides, simply by relating this circumstance, points out the inferiority of Pythodorus to Laches.

Laches seems to have been sent for home, and superseded by Pythodorus, from some *crimination*; as I am enabled to show from Aristoph. Vesp. 240. who says of him ἀλλ' ἐγκονῶμεν, ἄνδρες, ὡς ἔσται Λάχητι νυνί, where must be supplied ἡ δίκη or τιμωρία, with the Schol., who subjoins: τοῦτο δέ φησιν ὡς τοῦ Κλέωνος εἰς δίκην ἐπαγαγόντος τὸν Λάχητα. στρατηγῆται δὲ αὐτόν φησι Δημήτριος πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν εἰς Σικελίαν πεμφθέντα μετὰ νεῶν Λεοντίνοις βοηθήσοντα. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φιλόχορον διαδέξεσθαι αὐτόν φασι Σοφοκλέα καὶ Πυθόδωρον οὓς καὶ φυγῇ ξημιωθῆναι. εἰκὸς γοῦν μετακληθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν, ἧς νῦν ὁ κωμικὸς μνημονεύει. Undoubtedly *Cleon* was the accuser. The crimination seems to have been that of *embezzlement*. Thus Aristophanes Vesp. 241. says of him: σίμβλον δέ φασι χρημάτων ἔχειν ἅπαντες αὐτόν. And he has another hit at him, Vesp. 968. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Λάβης καὶ τραχήλι' ἐσθίει, καὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας· (i. e. the heads and back-bones) κοὐδέποτ' ἐν ταυτῷ μένει. (i. e. he is wavering and inconsistent.)

fire[1] from Ætna, in the same manner as formerly; it also destroyed part of the lands of the Catanæans, who inhabit close under[2] the mountain, which is the greatest in Sicily.[3] It is said that this eruption was fifty years after the former one, and that, upon the whole, the same thing has happened thrice from the time that Sicily has been inhabited by the Greeks. Such were the events of this winter, and thus closed the sixth year of the war which Thucydides hath composed.

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[1] *Stream of fire.*] How applicable this is to the inundation of lava, is apparent from the accounts both of naturalists (see the Philosophical Transactions, London, referred to by Wasse) and travellers, especially Spallanzani and Brydone. Goeller refers to Cluver. Sic. antiqua, 1, 8. Dorvill. Sicula, p. 241. Uckert. Geogr. Gr. et Rom. vol. 1. p. 1. p. 337.

The ὁ, I suspect, has arisen from the ε preceding; for the article cannot well have place here. Thus it is not found in a similar passage of Lycurg. C. Leocr. 159, 38. λέγεται ἐκ τῆς Αιτνης ῥύακα πυρὸς γένεσθαι.

[2] *Close under.*] Bekker has, without reason, altered ὑπὸ to ἐπὶ. The old reading is confirmed by many passages of our author, and of Homer and Herodotus; as Herod. 7, 43, ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδῃ.

[3] *The greatest in Sicily.*] Nay, almost in Europe, being superior, in all but height (and in that it is now thought little inferior) to Mont Blanc.

Aug. 27. 1852.

BOOK IV.

YEAR VII.

I. THE following summer, when the corn began to be in the ear[1], ten ships of the Syracusans, and as many of the Locrians, seize Messene in Sicily, being called in by the citizens themselves; and thus Messene revolted from the Athenians. The *Syracusans* had been especially induced to do this, from seeing that the place commands the approach[2] to Sicily, and fearing lest the Athenians, making use of this as a sally-post, should come upon them with yet greater force; the *Locrians*, from enmity to the Rhegines as intending to[3] make war upon them on *both* sides (by land and by sea). In pursuance of this plan[4], they made an incursion in full force into the territory of the Rhegines, in order that they might not send aid to the Messenians[5]; and they had also

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[1] *When the corn began, &c.*] Περὶ σίτου ἐκβολήν. See note supra, 2, 19.

[2] *Commands the approach.*] i. e. is the key to, namely, as being the place to which vessels cruising from Greece to Sicily directed their course, on leaving the promontory of Japygia. This sense of προσβολή and προσβάλλω, is so far from being rare*, that it is surprising Portus, Hobbes, and Smith should have missed it.

[3] *As intending to, &c.*] The meaning (which is not very clear) seems to be, that they planned the seizure of Messene, in order that the fleet might then proceed to invade Rhegium by sea, and *they* were themselves preparing to do this by land.

[4] *In pursuance of this plan.*] Or *thus.* Such seems to be the sense suggested by καὶ.

[5] *Might not send aid to the Messenians.*] Namely, that party of them which favoured the Athenians. Thucydides seems to have used the term Μεσσην., because the people *generally* were in favour of the Athenians: and from the preceding words it is evident that the change at Messene was effected more by the management of the Syracusans, than at the desire of the people.

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* Occurring at 6, 48, 2. ἐν πόρῳ καὶ προσβολῇ τῆς Σικελίας. 7, 4. περὶ Ῥήγιον καὶ τὴν προσβολὴν τῆς Σικελίας ναυλοχεῖν. 4, 53, 3. ὁλκάδων προσβολή. Lucian 2, 571. ἐν προσβολῇ δέ ἐστι τοῖς ἀπὸ Σκυθίας προσπλέουσιν. Arrian E. A. ἵνα ἡ προσβολή ἐστι ταῖς ἀπὸ Χίου ὁλκάσιν.

been stimulated [6] to this by some Rheginian exiles who were with them: for Rhegium had for a long time been harassed by faction, and it was impossible at the present to resist the Locrians; which was the reason why they had now invaded them. Having ravaged the country, the Locrians retired with their land forces, but their ships still kept guard at Messene; and more were equipping, which were to take their station there, and carry on the war thence.

II. About the same time in the spring, and before the corn was at its full growth, the Peloponnesians and allies made an incursion into Attica, under the command of Agis son of Archidamus, king of the Lacedæmonians, and having taken post there, devastated the country. But the Athenians sent [1] the forty ships they had prepared to Sicily, with the remaining commanders Eurymedon and Sophocles: for Pythodorus, the third in the commission, had before gone thither. These they directed to pay some attention, as they passed by, to the affairs of the Corcyræans in the city [2], whose property was pillaged and devastated by the fugitives in the mount (to

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[6] *Also been stimulated.*] Literally, "urged on, egged on." ξυνεπάγω is a very rare word; but it occurs also in Dio Cass. 268 and 1215.

[1] *But the Athenians sent, &c.*] q. d. Notwithstanding this the Athenians sent, &c. "The Athenians (here remarks Mitford) were now so familiarized to the invasion and waste of Attica, and to the inconvenience of confinement within their fortifications, which experience would teach to alleviate, that the eloquence and authority of Pericles had ceased to be necessary for persuading to bear them. The want of his wisdom and his authority were, however, felt in the general conduct of affairs; an authority capable of controlling every part of the administration, and of preserving concert and consistency throughout. While Attica was, in the seventh year of the war, a fifth time the prey of the Peloponnesian forces, now commanded by Agis, king of Lacedæmon, the Athenians, contrary to the admonition of Pericles, were looking after foreign conquest. Instead of merely enabling their Sicilian allies to support themselves, and preventing naval assistance to Peloponnesus from their Sicilian enemies, the experience of their naval power led them to covet acquisition in that rich island, and to imagine that they might reduce the whole under subjection."

[2] *Corcyræans in the city.*] As opposed to those in the mount. With the then administration at Athens, it seems to have been a favourite plan to attach something as a πάρεργον to a business of importance; as we find by 2, 85. where the fleet sent to the relief of Phormio is ordered to take Crete in the way, and despatch some business *there*. The wisdom, however, of this may be doubted, especially as it was usually the πάρεργον that had to be done *first*, and thus take place of the ἔργον. The plan probably originated in a well-meant, but ill-timed, economy.

whose assistance sixty Peloponnesian ships had sailed), with the expectation that as there was an extreme famine in the city, they might easily become masters of the government. Moreover, to Demosthenes (who, after his return from Acarnania, had been out of office [3]), it was enjoined to employ those ships, at his discretion, about Peloponnesus.

III. As they were sailing over against the coast of Laconia[4], and word was brought that the Peloponnesian fleet was now at Corcyra, Eurymedon and Sophocles were for hastening [5] thither; but Demosthenes required them first to bring to at Pylus [6], and, having done what was requisite [7], *then* to

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[3] *Had been out of office.*] i. e, without any public character or military rank. "Under the Athenian government (observes Mitford), no military rank seems to have been held beyond the term for which the people specifically granted it. But Demosthenes was now become a favourite of the people; and irregularities of all kinds seem to have been growing familiar in the Athenian government. Without any public character, and without any military rank, he was authorised to embark in the fleet with Eurymedon and Sophocles, and during the circumnavigation of Peloponnesus, to employ its force, though those officers were present, as he should think proper."

[4] *Laconia.*] Strictly speaking, *Messene;* but it is called Laconia, as being subject thereto.

[5] *Were for hastening.*] Literally, "were hastening, or would have hastened."

[6] *Pylus.*] Then only a woody and stony promontory, so difficult of access as to be approachable by sea only in one spot, which was commanded by the fort erected by the Athenians on their occupying the place. This constituted one of the two horns which contributed to form one of the most spacious and excellent ports in Greece, now called Navarino (of late so well known from the battle between the Turkish and Anglo-Franco-Russian fleets), of which Pylus formed the northern, and Coryphasium the southern horn. The latter is now occupied by *New* Navarino. *Old* Navarino had the situation of Pylus; and there are there the remains of an antient castle occupied by the Venetians, called Zanchio. On the place in question, see an interesting extract from Castellano's Descript. of the Morea in Poppo's Proleg. 2, 192.

With respect to the name Pylus, it seems to be derived, not from the *hill*, but the narrow entrance to the *port*. And as *porta* formerly signified (as is plain from our *port* and the French *porte*) a narrow passage to any thing, so there is little doubt but that πύλος had the same import, and denoted the narrow entrance to a port. This, indeed, is placed beyond doubt by the Schol. on Aristoph. Eq. p. 291. C. where he speaks of Pylus thus: τόπος οὗτος τῆς Λακωνικῆς στενός.

[7] *Having done what was requisite.*] Mitford very well paraphrases: "and when that service for which he was commissioned, and which the interest of the commonwealth required, was performed there, it would be time enough to proceed for Corcyra."

proceed on their voyage.[8] But, as they were scrupling to comply with this request, it so happened that stormy weather coming on drove the ships to Pylus[9]; and Demosthenes counselled them immediately to fortify the place; alleging that that was the very purpose for which he had taken part in the voyage.[10] He pointed out, too, that there was a great abundance of wood and stone[11], and that it was naturally strong in situation, and desert, both the spot itself, and to a considerable distance about it[12]: and, indeed, Pylus is about four hundred stadia from Sparta, and is in the territory formerly called Messenia. The Lacedæmonians call it Coryphasium.[13] They, however, alleged that there were plenty of desert promontories[14]

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[8] *Proceed on their voyage.*] Literally, "make sail."

[9] *To Pylus.*] Literally, *the* Pylus, the place just mentioned; namely, Pylus. For the article has "the reference of renewed mention. See Middleton, c. 3. Sect. 1. § 1. As to the article just before at Πύλον, it can have no place, and should be cancelled, from the best MS. A.

[10] *Alleging that that was, &c.*] Namely, to have the place fortified. Such is the sense assigned by the Schol. and all translators, and, I conceive, upon just grounds. But if so, τοῦτο must be read from seven good MSS., and the Schol. If τούτῳ be retained, the sense will be, "for this was the condition on which he had taken part in the voyage; namely, to require them to stop when he pleased. This, however, is too harsh. It should seem that Demosthenes had attentively viewed the place on his way homeward from Acarnania, and had formed this very design when he applied to the Athenian ministers. His late frequent communication with the Messenians of Naupactus, and his experience of their bravery and fidelity seem to have suggested to him, even before he left Acarnania, that if they could be placed in some strong situation on the coast of their old country, they would prove a sore thorn in the sides of the Lacedæmonians, and their use of the Doric language might (as in the late occasion at Idomene) give them much advantage in predatory incursions upon the Lacedæmonian territories.

[11] *Wood and stone.*] Namely, wherewith to build a fort.

[12] *Desert, both the, &c.*] And therefore there would be the less reason to apprehend opposition from the inhabitants.

[13] *Call it Coryphasium.*] The commentators are not agreed whether by this be meant Pylus itself, or the promontory on which it is situated. Duker pronounces the point doubtful. Holstein supposes the *latter;* in which he is supported by Pausan. Messen. 36. Ptolemy, p. 89., Strabo, p. 348., and Steph. Byz. And of the same opinion is Casaubon, and, as it seems, Poppo and Goeller. Others, as Hudson, take it to refer to the immediately preceding γῆ; but surely that involves considerable harshness. It plainly must be referred to *Pylus.* Yet there seems little doubt but that it was originally the name of the *promontory;* as is clear from the *ratio appellationis.* And if the Lacedæmonians called Pylus by that name, it was because they had been accustomed so to call the place before there was any fort or town.

[14] *There were plenty of desert promontories.*] q. d. Why be so bent upon seizing *this* place, when, &c. A sort of double argument, in which it is also

in Peloponnesus, if he chose to expend the wealth[15] of the state in occupying them. He, however, urged[16] that this place was preferable to any other, since it had a port; and that the Messenians, being of old its inhabitants, and speaking the same language[17] with the Lacedæmonians, would exceedingly injure the Lacedæmonians, by sallying from it on incursions; and moreover, that they would be trusty guardians of the place.

IV. But when he could neither persuade the commanders nor the soldiers, nay, though he afterwards communicated with the taxiarchs[1] (or captains), he gave it over[2], until, as

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denied that occupying *any* promontory would do more than occasion heavy expense.

15 *Expend the wealth of, &c.*] Δαπανάω here signifies to *occasion* expense to; a sense peculiarly Thucydidean, on which see note on 6, 47. and 8, 45. Something similar, however, occurs in Aristid. 2, 32. πόλιν δαπάνη περιβάλλειν. Eurip. Troad. 900. τὴν Φρυγῶν πόλιν — ἡλπίσας κατακλύσειν δαπάναισιν. Joseph. 1123, 31.

16 *He, however, urged, &c.*] In this answer Demosthenes replies first to the foregoing objection as to the seizing *that* place. And then in the words following "and that the Messenians," &c. he encounters the objection couched under the next words as to taking *any* promontory. For the argument of Demosthenes does not apply solely to *Pylus*, but also to any *other* part of the Messenian coast.

17 *Speaking the same language.*] Perhaps this passage was in the mind of Plato de Legg. ap. Athen. 264. F. χαλεπὸν οὖν τὸ κτῆμα ἔργῳ πολλάκις ἐπιδέδεικται, περὶ τε τὰς Μεσσηνίων συχνὰς ἀποστάσεις, καὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν ἐκ μιᾶς φωνῆς πόλλοὺς οἰκέτας κτωμένων πόλεις, ὅσα κακὰ συμβαίνει.

1 *Taxiarchs.*] These were not *colonels* *, as Mitford renders, but *captains of a hundred;* the *centurions* of the Roman soldiery: a signification of frequent occurrence in Xenophon. See Lex. Xen. On these taxiarchs see Perozon. on Ælian V. H. 2, 44. Spanheim on Julian p. 236. and 237. also Boeckh. Staatsh. d. Ath. t. 1. p. 223. t. 2. p. 207. and Wyttenb. Ecl. Hist. p. 397. referred to by Goeller. To whose observations I would add, that these inferior officers seem to have been very gaily apparelled. So Aristoph. Pac. 1172. ταξιάρχον προσέλεπων, Τρεῖς λόφους ἔχοντα, καὶ φοινικίδ' ὀξεῖαν πάνυ. See also Thesm. 833. Av. 353. and Acharn. 569.

This communication of counsel by Demosthenes with the inferior officers Mitford characterises as "a very dangerous expedient, for which democracy gave license." And he observes, that "a regular system of military command under a democratical government, was hardly possible; and indeed due subordination appears to have been, in this age, nowhere established by

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* For though in Dionys. Hal., and the other Grecian historians of Rome, the word answers to the Roman *tribune*, yet such was not the meaning in earlier times; as is clear from numerous passages: ex. gr. Polyæn. p. 544. sub. fin. where it is said that all the officers were sworn, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατεύματος, καὶ λοχαγοὺς, καὶ ταξιάρχους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει πάντας.

the soldiers [3] were lying idle from the foulness of the weather and tired of inaction, a sort of tumultous impulse seized them to fortify [4] the place; and setting themselves to work, they wrought briskly, not, indeed, having iron tools for stone-cutting [5], but only taking the stones as they could pick them [6],

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law among the Greeks, excepting only the Lacedæmonians. But the military spirit of the Greek nation must have been great, when, with subordination so deficiently enforced, and in some cases so ill understood, a regularity of conduct so generally prevailed, that would do credit to troops under the severest discipline."

2 *Gave it over.*] Or let the matter drop.

3 *As the soldiers, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of the passage; for Poppo and Goeller have rightly pointed ἡσύχαζεν, ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας. Indeed, so the passage was long ago construed by Hobbes. Gail very well paraphrases, "La mer continuant cependant à n'être pas navigable, l'inaction fit fermenter les esprits; tout-à-coup la fureur de fortifier la place s'empare de l'armée."

For περὶ στάσιν, Heilman, Poppo, Bekker, and Goeller read περιστᾶσιν, in the sense "mutatâ sententiâ;" citing 4, 12. περιέστη ἡ τύχη: but that is a phrase of quite another kind. For the *reading*, indeed, there is very little authority; and, I think, none for the *signification*. The old text must be restored, and be taken for ὡς περὶ στάσιν, and that for the adjective στασιώδης. As to the new reading ἐσέπεσε, edited by Bekker and Goeller, it seems to me far inferior to the old one ἐπέπεσε, which is confirmed by an imitation in Appian p. 440, 52. Perhaps, however, Thucydides wrote ἐνέπεσε, which seems to have been read by Joseph. 1251. ὁρμὴ δέ τις ἐμπίπτει τοῖς στρατιώταις, κ. τ. λ. and Procop. 114, 37. ἔρις στρατιᾷ ἐνέπεσεν. and Ædif. 41, 38. λίθοις λογάδην ἐμβεβλημένοις ὁρμὴ τοσήδε ἐνέπιπτεν ὡς, κ. τ. λ. So our author, 6, 24. ἔρως ἐνέπεσε. and Dio Cass. 3, 28. 48 στάσις ἐνέπεσε. Eurip. Iph. A. 808. δεινὸς ἐμπίπτει ἔρως τῆς δὲ στρατείας Ἑλλάδι. Ælian V. H. 1, 24. In fact, ἐμπίπτω is generally used of what is *bad*; εἰσπίπτω, or ἐπιπίπτω, when it *does* occur, of what is *good*; as Dionys. Hal. 216, 21.

4 *Fortify.*] So all the translators render. But ἐκτειχίζειν almost always signifies to *complete* any building or fortification begun. See Lex. Xen. and Steph. Thes. One might, therefore, suspect ἐντειχ. to be the true reading, which word is often used in the sense *fortify* by Thucydides and the best writers. But perhaps ἐκτειχ. may have its regular sense, with allusion to the ruins of an old fortress which the Athenians found already on the spot. Indeed, from Pausan. Messen. 36, 1. it should seem that there was formerly a *town* upon the spot, probably ruined by the Lacedæmonians when they conquered the country, who, paying little attention to naval affairs, cared nothing about ports or commerce.

5 *Iron tools for stone-cutting.*] This passage seems to have been had in mind by Pollux 7, 125. ἐργαλεῖα δὲ αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς ξυλουργικοῖς, σιδήρια λιθουργά. where Wasse would read for ξυλουργικοῖς, λιθουργικοῖς, which may be right; but the very rare word ξυλουργ. is found in Deuteron. 19, 5. and 2 Kings 6, 5. With respect to the word σιδήριον, it is properly an adjective, but being much used with ἐργαλεῖα, came at length of itself to signify an *iron tool*. So in Herod. 7. 18. 2. θερμοῖσι σιδηρείοισι.

6 *As they could pick them.*] Λογάδην is explained by the Schol. and Hesych. ἐπιλέκτως. But they did not remark that it is put for the adjective λογάδας, which occurs in Pausan. l. 2, 34, 10. περίβολοι μεγάλων λίθων

and adjusting them as each happened to fit in; and the mortar[7], where it might be necessary to use any[8], they brought upon their backs, for want of baskets[9]; bending their bodies in such a way that it should best remain on, and clasping their hands behind, that it might not fall off. In every way they hastened forward the work[10], that they might anticipate the Lacedæmonians by accomplishing the assailable parts before they should come to attack the place[11]; for the greater part was of itself strong, and stood in no need of a wall.

V. The Lacedæmonians, however, happened to be keeping

λογάδων εἰσιν. and 2, 36, 3. An idiom imitated by Procop. de Ædif. 3, 26. λίθοις σύνθετοι λογάδην συνειλεγμένοι. and 41, 38. λίθοις λογάδην ἐμβεβλημένοις. Finally, *φέροντες* is for *προσφ.*, as in a kindred passage of Plato in Gorg. p. 123. *οἱ δημιουργὰ βλέποντες πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἔργον ἕκαστος, οὐκ εἰκῇ ἐκλεγόμενος προσφέρει ἃ προσφέρει πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τὸ αὑτοῦ.*

[7] *Mortar.*] Not *mud*, as Smith and Mitford take it. In the same sense *πηλὸς* is used at 1, 93. It may be observed, that those who brought the mortar, like our bricklayers' labourers, were called *πηλόφοροι*. And so *πηλοφορεῖν* in Aristoph. Conc. 1142.

[8] *Where it might be necessary to, &c.*] For when the stones could be procured large enough, they needed no cement. Thus it is said of the walls of Athens at 1, 93. med. that "there was neither rubble employed within, nor was mortar used in the construction." So I would now translate that passage). The earliest buildings of antiquity being formed mostly of huge stones (as in the case of the Egyptian pyramids), required no mortar, and seldom had any. The same may be said of the very antient American palaces and other buildings of the Incas in Peru.

[9] *Baskets.*] It does not appear that the antients had any thing corresponding to our *wheelbarrow*, but removed earth, clay, &c. from pits by large *baskets*, like our buck-baskets; as is done at the present day by the Irish.

The whole of this passage is had in view by Themist. p. 138. A. *ἐγὼ δὲ τέως ἐθαύμαζον τὸν Ἀλκίφρονος Δημοσθένην τοῦ προτειχίσματος τῆς Σφακτηρίας, ὅτι τοῖς στρατιώταις οὕτως ἐχρήσατο εὐηκόοις, ὥστε δι' ἀπορίαν σκευῶν, τὸν πηλὸν φέρειν ἐπὶ τῶν νώτων, ὀπίσω τὼ χεῖρε συμπλέκοντας, ἀνθρώπους οὐ πλεῖν ἢ χιλίους.* He is, however, wrong in ascribing the work to only one thousand men. Doubtless he was thinking of the five ships which were left by Demosthenes, at the departure of the rest of the fleet. * Yet had he attended to the words of our author, he would have seen that nearly the whole of the work was done by the *forty* triremes, while they stayed.

[10] *Hastened forward the work.*] "The fancy thus taken," observes Mitford, "grew into zeal."

[11] *Attack the place.*] Not "come to its succour," as Hobbes absurdly renders. The above sense also occurs at 1, 126. and elsewhere.

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* And this, by the way, may serve to show us what was the number of a trirème's crew; a point on which we are very imperfectly informed.

‡ Bloomfield, in his edition (1843) adopts this "absurd" Reading as the True one.

a certain festival [1]; and when they heard of the affair, they made light of it, fancying that whenever they should go forth, either the garrison would not sustain their attack, or else they should easily carry the place by assault [2]: they were also somewhat [3] held back by their army being yet in Attica. The Athenians, having walled [4] those parts of the place which were towards the continent, and such others as most needed it, in six days, leave Demosthenes behind there with a few ships to guard the place, and with the rest hastened on their voyage to Corcyra and Sicily.

VI. But the Peloponnesians who were in Attica, as soon as they heard the news of the seizure of Pylus, retired homeward with all haste, thinking, (the Lacedæmonians, at least, and King Agis) that the affair at Pylus was a private concern of their own [5]; and, withal, having made the invasion at

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[1] *Happened to be, &c.*] Hobbes incorrectly renders, "happened *that day* to be," &c. There is nothing corresponding to this in the original: and it is known that the festivals of the Lacedæmonians sometimes continued several days, and indeed, in the case of the Carnea, a *month*.

[2] *Fancying that whenever, &c.*] Our historian seems here delicately to point at that vanity and arrogance of the Lacedæmonians which ever puffed them up with the notion that no other people could withstand them. Very similar to the *old* prejudice of Englishmen, which had chiefly arisen from their being, in the words of the poet, "toto divisos orbe;" for such a fancy always arises in nations which are separated from others and stand apart. And the Lacedæmonians, though far from being thus situated with respect to the rest of Greece, yet, by the institutions of Lycurgus, were in nearly the same condition; being, in fact, very much like the *Jews* (from whom, indeed, they were said to have sprung), and the modern Chinese.

"They could not," says Mitford, "believe that the Athenians, through any management, could become formidable by land in Peloponnesus; and a fort raised in six days, they thought, could not cost the strength of Lacedæmon much time to take and destroy."

[3] *Somewhat.*] Such is the sense of the τι και, which is Attic and elegant.

[4] *Having walled, &c.*] The form of the fort appears to have been round, from Aristoph. Lys. 1162., who applies to it the epithet γκυκλον.

[5] *Thinking (the Lacedæmonians at least, &c.*] This the rest of their allies, the Eleans, Achæans, Arcadians, Corinthians, &c. could not account. Here, again, Thucydides seems to hint at that gross *selfishness*, which was another vice of the Lacedæmonians. But why, it may be asked, did the Lacedæmonians, in Attica, take so different a view of the affair from those at home? Their vanity would scarcely suffer them to apprehend much danger. It seems, however, that they seized upon it as a pretext for returning from an expedition which, for the reasons just afterwards given,

a very early period, and while the corn was yet green [6], the bulk of the army was in want of food; the weather, too, proving wintry and stormy far beyond the season of the year [7], much annoyed the army: so that for many reasons it happened that they retired sooner than they otherwise would, and hence this was the shortest invasion they ever made; for their whole stay in Attica was but fifteen days.

VII. About the same time Simonides, an Athenian general [8], collecting a few Athenians from the forts, and some of the allies thereabouts, took by treachery Eion [9], a town on the Strymon, a colony of the Mendæans, but in hostility with Athens. But on the Chalcideans and Bottiæans coming to the succour of the place, he was beaten out of it [10], with the loss of many of the soldiers.

VIII. On the retreat of the Peloponnesians from Attica, the Spartans themselves [1], and the nearest of the provincial

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had become very irksome to them. And this, indeed, seems pretty plainly *hinted* by our author in the next words.

[6] *While the corn was yet green.*] And it appears that they depended upon that as a resource, after the few provisions which they could bring with them had been consumed. It is surprising, however, that they should have found any corn at all, since the maxim of the Apostle, "He that ploweth should plow in hope," was lamentably reversed. It must be supposed, that, under such circumstances, the proprietor could receive no rent, either in money or produce; for the expense of labour and seed would scarcely balance the hazard.

[7] *The weather, too, proving, &c.*] The phraseology of the original is somewhat unusual, and, to a certain degree, peculiar to Thucydides. χειμὼν signifies cold, rainy, wintry weather. ἐπιγένεσθαι is often used of the coming on of what is evil, or at least unpleasant. μείζων may here signify *more violent;* and παρὰ have the sense *than,* as in the New Testament.

[8] *An Athenian general.*] Wherever this expression Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς occurs, it seems to designate one of the ten στρατηγοὶ, or prætors, appointed each year.

[9] *Eion.*] Situated at the mouth of the Strymon, and forming the port of Amphipolis, from which it was distant twenty-five stadia. See note on 1, 98., in addition to which it may be observed, that the place seems to have been so called with reference to its situation in respect of Amphipolis, q. d. *the shore,* i. e. seashore. Wasse mentions a coin in Harduin Num. Ant. p. 172., with an urn and pitcher, and the inscription HIONEΩN, referring, perhaps, to its situation, being a watering-place for coasting vessels. The name was afterwards transferred to Amphipolis. See Dr. Clarke's Travels, 4, 394. sqq.

[10] *Beaten out of it.*] As 4, 131. Dio Cass. 516, 52. Xen. Hist. 7, 4, 6.

[1] *The Spartans themselves.*] The word *Spartans* is here emphatical. It

Lacedæmonians, immediately set out to give succour to Pylus; but the other Lacedæmonians, who had but just come from the other expedition, proceeded thither more tardily. Orders, moreover, were despatched up and down Peloponnesus to bring up aid as speedily as possible to Pylus, and a message was sent to summon the sixty ships at Corcyra; which being conveyed[2] over the isthmus of Leucas[3], and having escaped the observation of the Athenian ships at Zacynthus[4], arrived at Pylus.

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means those of the first class, the noblest persons in the community, as is plain from the sequel. (Smith).

[2] *Which being conveyed, &c.*] This would imply that *all* were sent; and yet in c. 11. we find them stated at forty-three, a number, too, in some degree confirmed by Diod. Sic. 5, 12., who there says, that the Lacedæmonian fleet at Pylus consisted of forty-five triremes.

This difficulty, however, is not touched on by the commentators. Now the other seventeen *might* be left at *Cyllene*, as a guard for that part of Peloponnesus against the Athenians at Zacynthus. And yet, when they are at length surrendered to the Athenians, Thucydides says, *αἱ νῆες παρεδοθήσαν οὖσαι περὶ ἑξήκοντα* (and no more had joined them). There must, then, be an error somewhere. I am inclined to suspect that in c. 11. for *τεσσαράκοντα* the true reading is *ἑξήκοντα*, i. e. for Μ, Ξ, which two letters are sometimes confounded, especially in old MSS. But what are we to say to the authority of Diodorus, who reckons them at forty-five? I answer, that it is inconsistent with *Thucydides*, who not only says that they were *sent*, but that they came, *ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς τὸ Πύλον*. And the number of our author is confirmed by c. 16. I am persuaded, therefore, that the passage of Diodorus is not so much in itself corrupt, as founded upon a more inveterate and early corruption of the text of Thucyd. c. 11, 1. I have no doubt but that Diodorus, finding the number *τεσσαράκοντα*, in his copy of Thucydides, adopted it in his work without considering how utterly inconsistent it is with the other two passages. He seems, however, to have written *τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πέντε* (not *τρισὶ*.) And that, I believe, to be the right number; for, as here Thucydides says, that sixty triremes were given up by the Lacedæmonians, according to the treaty, he cannot mean to include the *five* which the Athenians had before taken (*πέντε δ' ἐλάβον*) in the sea-fight. These, then, will make the very *five* above sixty which are required, so that the Lacedæmonians should have sixty to give up. Those five, we may suppose, were in some Peloponnesian port, and joined the other sixty on their way to Pylus, or, as Thucydides says *about* sixty, *that* would not ill suit fifty-eight.

[3] *Isthmus of Leucas.*] This, or perhaps the *canal*, as we learn from Livy, l. 33, 17., was five hundred paces in length, and one hundred and twenty in breadth. See Dodwell's Greece, vol. 1. p. 44.

[4] *Having escaped the observation of, &c.*] It may be enquired *what* ships in Zacynthus were these? None have been before mentioned; and Zacynthus was not the usual station for the Athenian squadron in the western seas. Besides, we soon after (c. 13.) find mentioned, "the guard-ships at Naupactus." The ships here meant were, doubtless, the fleet of Eurymedon and Sophocles, which had passed from Pylus to Zacynthus, in its way to Sicily, and had there been staying to refit after the storm, and take in necessaries; and, perhaps, were then detained by contrary winds; for the

By this time, too, the land forces[5] had already come up. But while the Peloponnesians were descried approaching the place, Demosthenes timely sends two ships to carry a message to Eurymedon and the fleet at Zacynthus, "to come up, for the place is in danger." And, agreeably to his earnest request, the ships sailed with all speed. Meanwhile the Lacedæmonians made preparations for assaulting the place both by land and sea; expecting easily to take a work thus hastily erected and with so slender a garrison; expecting, too, that the Athenian ships would proceed to the relief of the place, they designed, in case they should not previously take it, to stop up the entrances of the port[6], that it might not be possible for the Athenians to come to moorings[7] at it: for the island called Sphacteria[8], which stretches across the port[9] and lies near, makes the haven safe, and the entrances narrow;

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same wind which had brought the Peloponnesians so speedily to Pylus, would be adverse to *them* for crossing the Ionian sea. Thucydides, indeed, has not afforded us the means of tracing the chronology of the events very minutely. But, as he speaks of the Peloponnesian fleet escaping the notice of the Athenian fleet at Zacynthus, we must suppose, that the Athenian fleet had got thither when the Peloponnesian fleet passed; keeping, no doubt, as close to the coast of Peloponnesus as possible. Indeed, the Athenian fleet, though it stopped six days at Pylus, must, with any tolerable weather, have reached Zacynthus nearly as soon as the message from the Lacedæmonians arrived at Corcyra.

[5] *By this time, too, the land forces, &c.*] Thucydides does not tell us the *number* of these. The information, therefore, of Diodorus (p. 127.) is acceptable: πεζοῖς δὲ ἐστράτευσαν μυρίοις καὶ δισχιλίοις. For which statement he, doubtless, had the authority of some of those historians whose loss we have to lament.

[6] *They designed, &c.*] This plan was surely the strongest admission of the superiority of the Athenians over them; for, otherwise, why not have prevented the Athenians from succouring the place by going forth and engaging them? Indeed, the summoning so mighty a force, by land and sea, to resist so paltry an attack, was another proof of the awe with which the Athenians inspired them.

[7] *Come to mooring*] Literally, take port. ἐφορμισθῆναι is for προσορμ.

[8] *Sphacteria.*] Or Sphagia, as Strabo calls it. The form of this island is well known, from the many representations of the battle of Navarino. It is about two miles long, and three quarters of a mile broad. The name properly denotes *the island of sacrifices.*

[9] *Stretches across the port.*] Strabo says of it, ἡ προσκειμένη πλησίον τοῦ Πύλου. where read, with Casaub., παρακειμένη, which is confirmed by our Scholiast and by Pausan. Messen. 4, 36, 4. τοῦ λιμένος δὲ ἡ Σφακτηρία νῆσος προβέβληται καθάπερ τοῦ ὅρμου τῶν Δηλίων Ῥήνεια. The syntax here (namely with the accusative) is rare. It occurs in Herod. 1, 203, 6. τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέρην φέροντα ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει. and Joseph. ap. Steph. Thes. παρατείνει δὲ τὴν Γεννησαρ ὁμώνυμος χώρα.

one of them, over-against the Athenian port and Pylus, affording a passage [9] for two ships to come in; the other, over-against the other part of the continent, admitting eight or nine. It was all of it woody and trackless, by reason of its desert state, and of the size of about fifteen stadia.[10] The Lacedæmonians, then, were about to close the entrances with ships moored close, with their prows outward [11]; and fearing lest the enemy should carry on hostilities from this island, they conveyed over some heavy-armed, and disposed others on the continent adjoining: for thus the Athenians would find the island hostile, and no means of disembarking on the continent: for the parts of Pylus itself outside of the entrance, to the seaward, being harbourless, would afford no place from whence they might proceed to the relief of their countrymen, while they themselves might, without any sea fight or danger, in all probability, reduce the place, there being no store of provisions, and it being occupied after but short preparation. Agreeably to this plan [12], they conveyed the heavy-armed over to the island, drafting them from all the lochoi [13] (or

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[9] *Passage.*] Διαπλοῦν. It should seem that the Scholiast read διεσπλουν. But that reading, however antient, seems to be a gloss.

[10] *Fifteen stadia.*] Very nearly the size assigned to it by our best modern maps and plans. By μεγέθεος the antients always mean *length.* Therefore the "*over*" of Hobbes is too indefinite; and the "*compass*" of Smith is incorrect; for that means *circuit.*

[11] *With their prows outward.*] Here I read, with Duker, Bekker, and Goeller, ἀντιπρώροις. To the passages cited by Duker in support of the reading, I add the following. Xen. Hist. 7, 5, 23. Thiem. τὸ στράτευμα ἀντίπρωρον, ὥσπερ τριήρη, προσῆγε. and Laced. 11, 10. λόχον ἕκαστον ὥσπερ τριήρη, ἀντίπρωρον τοῖς ἐναντίοις στρέφουσι. Polyb. 3, 30, 4. Herod. 8, 11. I would correct a similar error in Arrian E. A. 2, 20, 14. where for ἀντίπρωροις ἐμβάλλοντες read ἀντίπρωροι ἐμβ. an emendation which is confirmed by 1, 19, 5. ἐμβάλλειν ἀντιπρώρους κελεύει.

With the βύζην, *close,* may be compared Arrian E. A. 2, 20, 12. βύζην τὸν ἔσπλουν φραξάμενοι. Joseph. 1139, 22. κατειλοῦμενοι βύζην. all which passages are imitated from the present.

[12] *Agreeably to this plan.*] Literally, "as they had resolved (so they acted"). An elliptical phrase not unfrequent in the scriptural writers and Herodotus.

[13] *Lochoi.*] The army of the Lacedæmonians, excepting the Sciritæ, was divided into λόχοι, which, at the battle of Mantinea, were *seven,* (and in Xenophon form a part of the Moræ): each λόχος comprised four πεντηκοστύαι, each πεντηκοστὺς four ἐνωμοτίαι, and an ἐνωμοτία then consisted of about thirty-two soldiers (four in front, and eight deep). (See 5, 68.) In this, however, there was some change in the time of Xenophon, when the *names* of these lesser divisions were, indeed, preserved, but the number con-

brigades); and they passed over both others first, in succession [15], and the last, who were also taken [16] prisoners there, to the number of four hundred and twenty, together with the Helots who attended upon them, commanded by Epitadas son of Molobrus.

IX. But Demosthenes [1], seeing the Lacedæmonians about to make an assault with both sea and land forces, himself also made preparations for defence, and hauling up, on the beach under the fort, the triremes remaining out of those that were left him, he planted palisades before them [2], arming the sai-

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tained in them different. On which see Manso Disput. Spart. 1, 2. p. 225. (Poppo.) A somewhat different view is taken by Mueller *d. Dorer*, t. 2. p. 223. What the scholiast here remarks, that there were five lochoi of the Lacedæmonians, the Αἰδώλιος, Σίνης, Σαρίνας, Πλόας, Μεσοάτης, rests solely on his own authority, and is not confirmed by any thing in Thucydides. Mueller, p. 238., says he could only hear of the last mentioned; and he adverts to other points, which are inexplicable, concerning the Lacedæmonian lochoi. See more on 5, 68. (Goeller.) To me it appears that there is no reason to suspect the accuracy of the Scholiast's information, though it be not supported from any other quarter. It was, no doubt, derived from antient authority; and, as he elsewhere communicates to us so much of undoubted truth, of which we should otherwise have been ignorant, there is the less reason to call in question his information in the present instance. These *lochoi*, it may be observed, seem to come the nearest to our modern *brigades*.

[15] *In succession.*] i. e. by turns or reliefs. A method, it should seem, much in use with the Lacedæmonians.

[16] *Taken.*] Here I read, from several MSS., with Bekker and Goeller, ἐγκαταληφθέντες, as yielding the preferable sense; though the common reading might be defended.

[1] A manœuvre of this general, in the present undertaking, is recorded by that diligent collector Polyænus. 3, 1, 1. which is omitted by all the historians. It is as follows: Δημοσθένης Πύλου Λακωνικῆς φρουρὰν ἐχούσης, ἔπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄκραν· οἱ Λάκωνες τὴν Πύλον ἐκλιπόντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄκραν ἦεσαν, ὡς ἀποξησόμενον εὑρόντες ἂν ἤδη τῆς ὁδοῦ μακρὰν οὔσης· ἤδη μὲν ἐπέλαζον οἱ πολέμιοι τῇ Ἀκρᾳ. Δημοσθένης δ' ἐπιστρέψας ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσχε τὴν Πύλον ἀνδρῶν κενήν. where must undoubtedly be read, with Maasvic, for τῆς ὁδοῦ μακρὰν, τῆς ὁδοῦ οὐ μακράν. The οὐ was absorbed by the οὐ in ὁδοῦ. By the Ἄκρα there mentioned must be understood the other horn of the port, namely the Coryphasium.

[2] *Planted palisades before them.*] With this προσεσταύρωσε the translators and commentators have been not a little perplexed. Portus and Hobbes render, "placed them (i. e. the ships) athwart as a defence." But what defence they could be, it is not easy to perceive. Others, as Acacius, one of the Scholiasts, and Smith, take it to mean, "planted them upright." But that is not agreeable to the sense of the word; nor can I see why they should be thought better in that position. As to *making palisades of them*, as Smith renders, that is absurd. Nor is the sense assigned by Mitford, "formed a kind of outwork of them," much better. The Scholiast alone seems to

lors[3] therefrom with some sorry bucklers, most of them of wicker-work[4]; for better arms were not to be procured in a desert

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have discovered the true sense, by explaining it *ξύλοις ὀρθοῖς προσωχύρωσεν αὐτάς*. A mode of interpretation also adopted by Duker and Goeller, who aptly refer to a kindred passage at 7, 25 and 38. Yet there is thus something useless about *προς*, and *σταυρόω* cannot well signify *ὀχυρόω*. There would seem to be somewhat of *corruption*, which may, however, be easily removed by reading *προεσταύρωσε*, which, though a rather rare word, is yet of more frequent occurrence than *προσσταυρόω*. It is found infra. 6, 75, 2. *τὴν Θάλασσαν προεσταύρωσε*. and Appian 2, 631, 20. *πυλίδα ἀνέῳξαν, ᾗ προεσταύρωτο πυκνοτάτοις σταυροῖς*. and 755, 9. *καὶ τὰς τάφρους προεσταύρου*. where read, from Reg. A., *προεσταύρου*. In both those passages Appian (as often) has in view Thucydides, and doubtless he had *προεστ.* in his MS. This reading is also found in the Schol. August. and must have been read by Valla; and, I suspect, is in the editio princeps. Finally, there is a very similar passage (though without the use of this term) in Herod. 8, 97. *τὰς τε νῆας ἀνείρουσαν, καὶ περιεβάλοντο ἔρκος καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, δένδρεα ἐκκόψαντες ἥμερα, καὶ σκόλοπας περὶ τὸ ἔρκος κατέπηξαν*.

These palisades were, doubtless, exceedingly strong, and such as to form a good defence. Indeed these kind of *stockades* are much used by the *Birmans;* and in our late war with that people, proved very formidable to our troops.

[3] *Arming the sailors.*] i. e. making *hoplites* of them. So Herodotus not unfrequently, and Xenophon. Hist. 1, 1, 24. *ὁπλίσας τὰς ναύτας*. By the arms just after mentioned must be understood chiefly *armour;* for it was *that* which especially distinguished hoplites from psili.

[4] *Bucklers, most of them of wicker-work.*] On these Duker refers to Pollux 10, 176. (who cites the present passage, and Lucian), Dialog. mort. 293. *γέρρα οἰσύϊνα*, also Virg. Æn. 7, 632. flectuntque salignas Umbonum crates: where the commentators observe that they were covered with leather. It is strange, however, that they should have missed so many and more important passages of the classical writers, where mention is made of these *wicker shields;* ex. gr. Xenoph. Hist. 2, 4, 25. *ὅπλα ἐποιοῦντο — οἰσύϊνα, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο*. whence it appears that these shields were not usually covered with *leather*, but merely plastered over with whiting, probably like our pipe clay. Pausan. 1. 21, 8. *ἐπὶ τοῖς δόρασι αἰχμὰς οἰσυΐνας ἀντὶ σιδήρου φοροῦσι — καὶ οἰσυΐνας ἀκίδας ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄπισθεν*. Theocr. Idyll. 16, 79. *Ἀχθόμενοι σακέεσσι βραχίονας ἰτείνοισι*. See also Sallust, frag. p. 140. Hippocratio tells us that these bucklers were in use among the Persians, and were called *γέρρα*. So Eustath. on Homer Od. 10. 184. *γέρρον, ἄσπις Περσικὴ ἐκ λύγων*. They are yet in use in Persia, as also in Hindostan, and all the eastern countries, especially in China. It is probable that this was the earliest kind of shield used, the material in question being selected for its lightness. And, indeed, so Suidas says in voce *Ἰταῖαι: αἱ ἀσπίδες, διὰ τὸ πρώτας ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ὕλης κατασκευασθῆναι*. I suspect, too, that these primitive shields were, agreeably to what we find in Xenophon, *generally whitened over*. And *hence*, perhaps, white was the colour for shields adopted by those Grecians who preserved most of the primitive customs. So Eurip. Phœn. 1115. *λεύκασπιν εἰσορῶμεν Ἀργείων στρατόν*, and Soph. Antig. 106. *τὸν Λεύκασπιν ἐξ Ἀργόθεν Φῶτα βάντα πανσαγίᾳ*. Nay it appears from Eurip. Suppl. 655. and Troad. 1193. (where *ἰτέα* unquestionably signifies *shield*) that the *name* still remained, as a vestige arising from the antient material, when they were no longer made of it. For when Eurip. there speaks of Hector's *χαλκόνωτον ἰτέαν*, we are *not* (with the commentators

place; nay, even *these* they had taken from a thirty-oared Messenian privateer [5] and barge (or pinnace), which happened to have put in. There were also of these Messenians about forty heavy-armed, whom he ranged together with the rest. And now the greater part, both of those who had and those who had not armour, he disposed toward the continent (where he had taken care to make the place the strongest [6] and best fortified); bidding them manfully withstand the land forces if they should make an assault. He himself, selecting out of the whole body sixty heavy-armed and a few archers, sallied forth from the fort to the sea and that part where he especially expected the enemy would endeavour to effect a landing, on ground to the seaward difficult, indeed, of access, and rocky, but (as the fort was there the weakest) where he thought they would be induced to try their most zealous endeavours [7]: for *they*, not

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and lexicographers) to suppose a wicker shield covered with brass. More critical matter, especially on the word *οἰσύϊνος*, I must reserve for my edition, only referring for further information to Rittersh. on Oppian 3, 371. Spanheim on Julian Orat. 1, 193. and Ernesti on Callim. Hymn. Dian. 53.

[5] *Privateer.*] Not "piratical vessel," as Hobbes and Smith render; for the Messenians only cruised against their enemies the Lacedæmonians.

This vessel and the barge had been cruising about Peloponnesus, perhaps, before the seizure of Pylus; for the Messenians seem chiefly to have subsisted by petty war, either on sea or land.

[6] *Where he had taken care, &c.*] Hobbes and Smith (as also Gail and other translators) render, "placed them on the parts of the wall which were of most strength," or "the strongest parts of the fortress." But surely, by every rule of sound tactics, it would have been better to guard the *weak* places rather than the strong ones. The sense which I have assigned is not liable to this objection; and is, I think, the *true*, though not the *obvious*, one. The construction is *ἔταξε τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον, ἐπὶ τὰ τετειχ.* &c.; the latter words being exegetical of the preceding. He had been most careful to strengthen it on the land side, because on that alone it was assailable by a land force.

[7] *On ground to the seaward, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the true sense of this awkward passage *ἐς χωρία μὲν — προϑυμήσεσϑαι*, which has been much misconceived by the commentators. The earlier ones pass it by. Abresch considers the *προϑυμήσεσϑαι* as superfluous. And so did the Scholiast whose mode of taking the other words (followed by Hobbes and Smith) is so violent and anomalous, that it is truly said by Goeller "Sic si liceret, nihil non liceret." *He* would supply *αὐτὸν* (i. e. *τὸ ταύτῃ τεῖχος*) and assign to *ἐπισπάσασϑαι* the sense *possess*. But the word has, I believe, never such a sense; and certainly cannot have it *here*. If the sense were not (to use the words of the poet) "Sithoniâ nive frigidior," one might conjecture *ἐπιπάσασϑαι*. There is, however, a slight corruption of the text. For *ἐπισπάσασϑαι* read *ἐπισπάσεσϑαι*, which is for *ἐπισπαϑήσεσϑαι*, a frequent Atticism. And so in the next line we have *κρατήσεσϑαι* for *κρατηϑήσεσϑαι*, which is

expecting they should ever be overpowered by shipping, had there not built it so strong; and if the enemy should once force a landing, the place would be conquerable.[8] On this account, then, he went and ranged his troops at the very bank of the sea, to hinder, if possible, their landing, and addressed to them the following exhortation[9]:—

X. "Comrades, and associates of the same danger[1], let none of you, in this perilous crisis, think to show his ingenuity[2] by minutely computing the quantum of danger[3] which environs us, but rather choose to[4] be recklessly hopeful in closing

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indeed found in some MSS., but is a gloss, though injudiciously received into the text by Bekker, Dindorf, and Goeller. Also for προθυμήσεσθαι read προθυμήσασθαι. Before προθυμ. *may* be supplied εἰς or ὥστε as Kistem. directs. After προθυμ. there is (as will appear from my version) nothing wanting. If any thing, it might be ἀποβῆναι. So c. 12. προυθυμοῦν το μὲν ἀποβῆναι.

The above construction and sense it is very many years since I laid down, and this I have afterwards found supported by the opinion of Kistemacher.

[8] *Conquerable.*] So in a kindred passage of Herod. 3, 153. ἐδόκεε ἀλώσιμος ἡ βαβύλων. The word ἀλώσιμος also occurs in the tragedians and other good writers.

[9] *Addressed to them the following exhortation.*] Where soldiers are members of that assembly in which sovereign power legally resides, and where persuasion may with impunity be attempted to induce them to disobey their officers, encouraging speeches previous to action may be often necessary; and to such a little band as that with which Demosthenes had engaged in a very arduous undertaking, they would be easily addressed. (Mitford.)

[1] *Comrades and, &c.*] Smith renders, "My fellow-soldiers, here posted with me in this dangerous situation." But that would have been a most disheartening way of commencing, and might, by the superstition of his men, have been thought of *bad omen*, as in the case of Nicias's oration, 7, 77. But in fact, Demosthenes only adverts indirectly to the danger, by reminding them that he shared it with them.

At ξυναράμενοι κινδύνου subaud μέρος. The genitive often occurs after this verb in Dionys. Hal. Sometimes, however, the accusative is found, as supra, 2, 71. ξυν. τὸν κίνδυνον. and Dion. Hal. 317. The dative is here left to be supplied, which is *expressed* at Liban. Orat. Par. in Julian οἱ Μαγνεντίῳ συναραμένοι τοῦ κινδύνου.

This exordium is imitated by Procop. p. 228, 29.

[2] *Think to show his ingenuity.*] Literally, "choose to be thought ingenious at," &c. This sense of δοκεῖν has been noticed at 1, 79.

[3] *Minutely computing, &c.*] Literally, "reckoning up every item of," &c. A metaphor derived from *keeping accounts*, on which see Eurip. Suppl. 482. and the writers cited in Steph. Thes. Col. 5690. On the *sentiment* may be aptly adduced Eurip. Iph. Aul. 913. ἔστιν μενοῦν ἵν' ἡδὺ μὴ λίαν φρονεῖν. Ἔστιν δὲ χὤπου χρήσιμον γνώμην ἔχειν.

[4] *But rather choose to, &c.*] Here I have adopted, from almost all the MSS., with Hack, Bekker, and Goeller, δ' for ἤ, which seems to have

with the enemy, and suppose that he may even weather *this* danger![5] for affairs which are (like the present) brought to extremity[6], as they least admit of consideration, so they demand the speediest encounter[7] with the danger. For my part, however, I see more things *for* us than *against* us, if we will but stand our ground, and not, through terror at the *number* of our enemies, betray our advantages: for the difficulty of landing at the place, I hold to be much in our favour; and this, as long as we stand firm, will help us; but if once we retreat, the landing, though difficult, will become easy, no one hindering it.[8] Besides we shall thus find our enemies more desperate and formidable; since it will not be easy for them to retreat, if hard pressed by us: for at their ships they are the easiest to be resisted; but when once on shore, they are then on an equal footing with ourselves.[9] And as to their *number*, *that* we need not greatly fear; for though considerable, it will fight but by a few at a time[10], from want of room for an-

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arisen from the scribes, who were so much more used to μᾶλλον ἢ than μᾶλλον δὲ, though the latter is required by the construction.

5 *And suppose that, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of the words καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἂν περιγενόμενοι, though the Scholiast, Portus, Hobbes, and Smith assign the sense, "and thus think he may be saved." But that above adopted seems to be far more apt, and is supported by Heilman, Benedict, Hack, and Goeller; who might also have observed, that it is agreeable to the usage of Thucydides; as, for instance, 1, 141., where, in a very similar context, Pericles says, that each soldier is hopeful, τὸ πιστὸν ἔχοντες ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ ἂν περιγίγνεσθαι. and 2, 49. καὶ εἴ τις ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων περιγένοιτο. where the Scholiast rightly supplies κινδύνων. Mitford, however, adopts the common interpretation; and, with his usual ingenuity, makes out the following sense: "but rather let every one cheerfully resolve to exert himself to the utmost, as the one thing necessary to the safety of us all."

6 *Brought to extremity.*] Literally, "come to a pinch." The Scholiast well remarks, that this sentence is exegetical of the preceding.

7 *Speediest encounter.*] So the Scholiast well explains διακινδυνεύειν ἀόκνως καὶ ἀμελετήτως.

8 *No one hindering it.*] Or, "inasmuch as there will be no one to hinder it." Four of the best MSS. have ἅτε μηδενὸς κωλύοντος, which may be supported from Polyb. 5, 48, 10. διαβὰς τὸν πόταμον ἀσφαλῶς, ἅτε μηδενὸς κωλύοντος. Yet it is *here*, and, perhaps, *there*, *ex interpretatione*. Thus the ἅτε is not found in Polyb. 3, 42, 8. ἀσφαλῶς, μηδενὸς κωλύοντος. and Theophyl. Sim. 93. c.

9 *For at their ships, &c.*] Hobbes and Smith have greatly misrepresented the sense. The γὰρ, I must observe, does not refer to what immediately precedes (for the ὃ μενόντων, &c., is in some measure parenthetical), but to the remote words τοῦ τε γὰρ — νομίζω.

10 *Fight but by a few at a time.*] The sense of this phrase, κατ' ὀλίγον μάχεσθαι, will be illustrated at 6, 32.

chorage; and, remember, their army is not on *land*, where, being on equal terms, it would be too many for us, but must fight from *ships*, to which, when at sea, many casualties cannot but happen.[11] So that I consider their *difficulties* as an ample balance to our *paucity of numbers*[12]; and, withal, I entreat you (who are Athenians, and well know by experience, that as to a disembarkation from shipping, if men will but stand their ground, and not give way through fear of the dashing surge[13] and the threatening approaches of the vessels, they can never be forced), *you*, I say, now to stand firm, withstanding the enemy at the very surge of the beach[14], and thus save both yourselves, and the place committed to your defence."

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[11] *Many casualties, &c.*] So the words are taken by the Scholiast, Valla, Heilman, Hack, and Goeller, which last renders: "exercitus eorum non in continente est, ubi ceteris paribus major nostro futurus esset, sed in navibus collocatus, ubi quibus incommodis laborant, æstu, ventis, et similibus, iis nostra paucitas quodammodo compensatur, ita ut multitudo eorum non ex æquo major sit, quanto futura esset, si in continente pugnaturi essent." Most commentators, indeed, assign the sense, "many opportune occurrences are necessary to happen," namely, in order to make them effect a purpose. And such *may* be the sense, for τὰ καίρια is susceptible of either signification; but it is not so apposite as the former, and is harsh, as requiring so much so be supplied.

Μείζων signifies an *overmatch*. Goeller remarks that our author says ἀπὸ νεῶν, as having in mind the notion of persons fighting from ships.

[12] *Paucity of numbers.*] This is a remarkable sense of πλῆθος, and as such the commentators apply themselves to illustrate it, but unsuccessfully. The passages they adduce have πλῆθος *with* ὀλίγον, or something else *joined* to it (as I shall show in my edition), not standing alone, as in the present case. I am enabled, however, to adduce an apposite example from Herod. 1, 77. Κροῖσος μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα. for that the word there signifies *paucitas*, is apparent from what follows, ἦν γὰρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς πολλὸν ἐλάσσων ἢ ὁ Κύρου.

[13] *The dashing surge.*] Hobbes renders, "the sousing of a wave." But ῥοθίου signifies the noise or dashing of the waves, especially when raised by the motion of oars. To the references given by Duker, I add, that Procl. Schol. on Hesiod, explains it τὸ κτυποῦν κῦμα καὶ ῥεῦμα. The present passage is imitated by Dio Cass. 145, 93. τῷ τε ῥοθίῳ σφᾶς τοῦ πρόσπλου ἐξεφόβησε. Appian, 1, 466, 75. φοβερῷ ῥοθίῳ καταπλέουσι. and 2, 849, 5. συν τε βοῇ καὶ ῥόθιῳ νεῶν καὶ καταπλήξει.

[14] *Surge of the beach.*] Such is, I conceive, the true sense of ῥαχίαν. It appears from Suid. and Photius that the word had two uses, the Ionic, and the Attic; in the former of which it denoted a *range of breakers* (as we ourselves call them), in the latter that part of the ship whereon the sea breaks. And so, Photius remarks, Thucydides uses the word. On the former use see the very erudite notes of Valckn. and Wesseling on Herod. 8, 129. This signification is, however, occasionally found in the most Attic writers, as Lycoph. Cass. 379. ὅσων δὲ φλοίσβων ῥαχίας ἀνεκβάτου

XI. At this rousing address [1] of Demosthenes, the Athenians were not a little inspirited, and descending to the beach, ranged themselves at the very sea. The Lacedæmonians, on their part, weighing anchor and striking tents [2], made an attack on the fort, both with the land forces and with the ships (which were forty-three [3]), under the command of Thrasymelidas [4] son of Cratesicles, a Spartan, who made the attack precisely where Demosthenes expected. And now the Athenians withstood their attacks [5] at both points, to the seaward and the landward.[6] The Lacedæmonian fleet, distributed into small divisions (because it was not possible for more, at once, to effect a landing), took their rest, and made their attacks in turn [7], using all possible alacrity and courage, and mutually cheering each other onward [8], if by any means they might push past

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Δίναις παλιῤῥοίησιν ἐλκοντος σάλου (scil. ἀκούσετε); lines of inexpressible grandeur and beauty, something similar to which occurs in the noble couplet of Burns:

> "Had I a cave on some wild distant shore,
> Where the winds howl to the waves' dashing roar."

The *latter* use occurs in Æschyl. Prom. V. 738., where see Dr. Blomfield.

I have represented the sense by *beach*, because that word properly has the very same force, coming, I conceive, from the same origin (the Anglo-Saxon bece) as the northern word *beck*, a brook; there being the same general idea, namely, of *breaking*, in both words.

It is strange, that none of our travellers should have examined and described this spot, the scene of one of the bravest exploits of any nation or age.

1 *Rousing address.*] This Mitford well characterises as "simple oratory, adapted to excite, not the boiling spirit of enterprise, which, in the circumstances, might have been injurious, but the deliberate valour which defence requires."

2 *Weighing anchor and, &c.*] Αἴρω admits either of these senses (though it properly has the former), but I know no other instance of its having *both*.

3 *Forty-three.*] See note supra, c. 9.

4 *Thrasymelides.*] Diodorus calls him Thrasymades.

5 *Withstood their attacks.*] Not, "were assaulted," as Hobbes and Smith most unfaithfully render.

6 *Landward.*] This, however, seems to have been little more than a *diversion*, the principal attack being by sea.

7 *Made their attacks in turn.*] The ἐν μέρει belongs to both. Here may be compared Plutarch Themist. 15. κατὰ μέρος προσφερόμενος. The phrase ἐν μέρει occurs in the tragedians and Aristophanes, and is illustrated by Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Ag. 323. Diodorus has ἐκ διαδοχῆς.

8 *Using all possible, &c.*] This is imitated by Joseph. 100, 7. προθυμίᾳ τε καὶ διακελευσμῷ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους χρωμένων. and Arrian E. A. 2, 21, 14. σὺν βοῇ πολλῇ καὶ διακελευσμῷ.

and carry the fort.[9] Of all, however, Brasidas most eminently distinguished himself[10]; for being in command of a trireme, and seeing (as the place was difficult of access) the captains and shipmasters hesitating where it might seem possible to bring to, and to be chary of their vessels[11], lest they should stave them, he shouted that "it became them not to be sparing of their timbers[12], and leave unmolested enemies who had raised a fort in their territory, but to force a landing by even stranding their vessels; and that the allies ought not to scruple, in return for many benefits, at present to sacrifice their ships for the Lacedæmonians, but to rive, split, shatter, run them ashore, any how to effect a landing[13], and become masters of the place and garrison!"

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[9] *If by any means they, &c.*[For ὡσάμενοι some MSS. have παρώσασθαι; a gloss, indeed, but well representing the sense, of which I shall adduce many examples in my edition. Suffice it at present to advert to the excellent observation of Markland on Max. Tyr. Diss. 7, 9. "Verbum ὠθεῖσθαι notionem studii et προθυμίας continet."

[10] *Distinguished himself.*] The φανερώτατος does not import, as Mitford (deceived, it should seem, by the Latin version of Valla) supposes, that he was especially distinguished (i. e. distinctly seen) by the Athenians. That Diodorus took the expression in the sense which I have assigned, is plain from his words (p. 129.) μεγίστης δὲ ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχε Βρασίδας.

[11] *Chary of their vessels.*] Such seems to be the true way of rendering φυλασσομένους τῶν νεῶν, where the Scholiast wrongly supplies τινάς. Φυλάσσεσθαι here takes the genitive, as having the sense of φείδεσθαι, which always has the genitive, as in the words just afterwards added, exegeseos ergô, ξύλων φειδομένους.

[12] *Not to be sparing of their timbers.*] Diodorus expresses the ξύλων by *ships*. But though the word has elsewhere that sense, it is not necessary to recur to it *here*. The ξύλον seems to denote the timbers and hull of a vessel, as distinct from the rest of it. Thus Brasidas hints that it is only incurring a *loss of timber*, since the damages may be *repaired*. So Horat. Carm. 1, 1, 1. mox *reficit rates* quassas. Or ξύλων *may* mean *barks*, as in a very similar passage of Xen. Hist. 1, 1, 24. ἀθυμεῖν περὶ ξύλων. A sense which is very antient, occurring in Herod. 8, 100 and 116. οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ὁ ἀγών ἐστι. and Vit. Hom. ἐπὶ ξύλου πλεῖν. It is possible, indeed, that this was the earliest name for a ship (or rather boat), from ξύω, to *hew out* and *hollow* with an adze; the most ancient boats being, no doubt, formed as Indian canoes are. Thus the word δόρυ, *ship*, properly meant *trabes*, a beam, or trunk of a tree (from δέρω, to *strip off*, with reference to the branches and boughs, &c., which are smoothed off). And in this sense it occurs in Homer and the tragedians, as also *trabs* in Virgil Æn. 3, 191. "vastumque *cava trabe* currimus æquor."

[13] *But to rive, &c.*] There is infinite spirit in these words, truly characteristic of the speaker. On the sense of ὀκέλλω, see my note on Acts 27, 41.

XII. By such instigations did he urge on the rest, and himself compelling his own master to lay the vessel close to shore, and proceeding to the gang-board[1], endeavoured to land, but was beaten back by the Athenians, and receiving many wounds[2], fainted away[3], and as he was falling into the after-prow[4], his shield tumbled round into the sea, and being borne to the land, the Athenians took it up, and afterwards made use of it for a trophy, which they raised, on account of this attack. As to the rest, they most zealously exerted themselves[5] to effect a landing; but by reason of the difficulty of the spot (the Athenians, too, standing to their posts and never flinching), they could not accomplish the point. Such, too, was the strange reverse of fortune[6], that *Athenians* from the land, and that Laconian, encountered *Spartans*, and those attacking them at sea; on the other hand, Lacedæmonians were disembarking from ships against Athenians, and that upon their own land, become hostile to them. Indeed it redounded greatly to their glory at that time, to the *one* that they were chiefly landsmen, and most expert in land engage-

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1 *Proceeding to the gang-board.*] Namely, to lead on the landers. The ἀποβάθραν is usually rendered *ladder;* but I prefer, with Mitford, *gang-board;* because the instrument in question (on which see Pollux 1, 93.), it is probable, was only a heavy plank, such as is even now used for disembarking from vessels.

2 *Receiving many wounds.*] Probably from many missiles at once launched by the Athenians at him.

3 *Fainted away.*] On the word λειποψυχέω, I shall treat at large in my edition.

4 *Falling into the after-prow.*] Had he fallen into the sea, he would doubtless have been slain on the spot. With respect to the παρεξειρεσίαν, it is rendered by Hobbes "the ledges," and by Smith "the gunnel;" both versions equally erroneous. Perhaps we have no single word that corresponds to ἐξειρεσία. I have, therefore, ventured to coin one. The term signifies, indeed, that part of * *either* end of the vessel, which is παρὲξ τῶν εἰρεσία, or τῶν κωπῶν, the aft of the oar-way; but here, from the position in which the vessel lay, it must have the sense after-*prow*. The word is very rare; but it occurs in Dio Cass. 571, 91. Arrian ap. Suid. and Polyæn. 3, 2. 13.

5 *Zealously exerted themselves.*] This sense of προθύμεισθαι is also found in Herod. 4, 71, 8. ἁμιλλεώμενοι καὶ προθυμεόμενοι ὡς μέγιστον ποιῆσαι. See also Pausan. 4, 12, 1. and Athen. 415. A.

6 *Such, too, was, &c.*] Literally, "to this pass had fortune come round." The phrase is often used with τοὐνάντιον by Dionys. Hal., and here that is implied.

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* This is plain from Polyæn. 3, 11, 13. ὑπὸ τὴν παρεξειρεσίαν ἑκατέρου τοίχου.

ments; to the other, that they most excelled as seamen and in maritime affairs.[7]

XIII. Having, then, made their attacks for this day, and a part of the next, they gave them over, and on the third day despatched some of the[1] ships to Asine[2] for planks wherewith to construct machines; hoping that, though the wall opposite the port was, indeed, of a tolerable height, yet (as there was there especially a landing-place) they might take it by engines.[3]

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7 *Redounded greatly to, &c.*] The sense of this passage has been much misconceived by Hobbes, Smith, and others; and that, as Goeller truly remarks, by not *observing* what is the subject of ἐποίει, namely, εἶναι, and that ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς δόξης is equivalent to πόλλην or μεγάλην δόξαν. The same commentator offers the following paraphrase: "Nunc vero qui putabantur terra fortissimi, mari pugnabant, in propriam terram conantes escendere; qui autem plerumque mari versarentur, terra arcebant illos;" adding, "Tam incredibilem fortunæ et rerum humanarum vicissitudinem Thucydides miratus hæc verba adjecit." And he judiciously adduces, with a change of order, the version of Bauer: "multum gloriæ afferebat tunc temporis illis, Atheniensibus, quod essent navales et mari maxime omnium pollerent; his, Lacedæmoniis, quod essent continentis potentes, et terrestri certamine potiores." Referring to the note on the kindred phrase at 2, 8. I will only subjoin a passage imitated from this by Appian 1, 441, 7. καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δόξης ἐποίησεν. where, had the learned Schweighauser perceived the fundus loci, he would have seen that the true reading is αὐτῷ.

The above view of the passage is exceedingly confirmed by Diod. Sic. as cited by Wasse.

1 *Despatched some of the, &c.*] This phrase, which exactly corresponds to the English idiom, occurs in the best writers, as Xen. An. 4, 6, 2. Liban. Orat. 331. D. Pausan. 9, 12, 1. Polyæn. 4, 5, 1. Eurip. Hecub. 638. Herod, 3, 14, 5 and 12. Appian 1, 119, 2 and 142, 98. 2, 268, 82 and 84. et alibi. Hence at 1, 439, 27. ἐπὶ ὕλῃ ἐς μηχανὰς διέπλευσε read ὕλην. On this idiom see more in Valckn. on Herod. 7, 93.

2 *Asine.*] On the situation of this town there has been no little difference of opinion. Almost all geographers place it to the *west* of the promontory Acritas; but Boccage and Poppo assign it a place on the *east* of the above-mentioned promontory, referring to Strabo, p. 379. and Pausan. 4, 34, 7., from the latter of whom it appears to have been equidistant (namely, forty stadia) from Acritas and Colonides.* This view of its situation is also embraced by Cellarius, and seems to be well-founded.

As to the origin of the name, it were easy to speculate, but hopeless to determine any thing without information as to the circumstances of the situation, and those of the original founders.

3 *Hoping that, though the wall, &c.*] In the words of the original there is a certain obscurity which the commentators dissemble, or, at least, do

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* Poppo refers Colonides to the present *Coron*: but that is a gross error, since Coron answers to the Corone of Strabo and Ptolemy, about thirty or forty stadia further up the gulf of Messenia. Colonides was very near the present village of Saratza.

Meanwhile, however, forty[4] ships of the Athenians from Zacynthus came up; for some of the guard-ships from Naupactus had gone to their assistance, and four Chian vessels. But when they saw both the continent and the island thickly set with heavy-armed, and the ships in the port, and not sailed forth, being in some difficulty where they should find anchorage, they, for the present, made for the island of Prote (which is not far distant and desert[5]), and there encamped for the night; and on the morrow they weighed anchor, preparing for battle, if the enemy should choose to advance out into the wide sea to meet them, but if not, to enter in and themselves make the attack.[6] *They*, on their part, neither advanced to meet them, nor had they obstructed the entrances to the port, as they intended[7], but keeping quiet on the shore, they manned their

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not choose to clear up. It is difficult to conceive how the wall opposite the port should differ from that which fronted the former point of attack; for was not that opposite to the port? This, however, we cannot well pronounce without some plan of the country, and notion of the form of the fort. Certainly the *same* port as before cannot be meant; since at c. 9. the wall is said there to have been the weakest. It should seem, then, that the fort was so situated that the wall on the land side might, part of it at least, be said to be opposite to the port. Thus the sense is probably that which has always been assigned to the passage; though there is some difficulty in the mode of expression, which may be removed by taking ἐλπιζόντες twice, and by dilogia; first, in the sense of *expecting*; secondly, that of *hoping*. The words ἀποβασέως μάλιστα form a parenthetical clause, and suggest *another* reason why the attempt should be made; namely, that in that direction there was a practicable landing.

[4] *Forty.*] Here Portus and most of the best critics, as Bredov. and Goeller, read *fifty*; and with reason. "For," as says Goeller, at c. 23. "on the addition of twenty ships, there are said to have been seventy (nor is there any var. lect. in that passage). Forty had gone to Athens (ch. 2.), of which Demosthenes, indeed, retained five (ch. 5.), but two of these he had sent back (ch. 8.), so that there were now at Zacynthus thirty-seven. And on the addition of four Chian ones, and some from Naupactus, the whole must have amounted to more than forty."

Certainly it ought not to be rendered *the* forty, with Hobbes; for there is no article.

[5] *Which is not, &c.*] This is a parenthetical clause from the historian, comprehending an incidental topographical illustration; for the island's being desert could be no reason why they should go. We may compare a similar one in St. John, 6, 10. "Now there was much grass in the place." Prote is now called Prodo.

[6] *Make the attack.*] This is implied in ἐπί.

[7] *They, on their part, neither, &c.*] This was truly Lacedæmonian sluggishness, if not cowardice. There seems, too, to have been a great error of judgment in neglecting to timely obstruct the mouths of the ports.

ships, and made preparations for battle in the harbour [8] (which was not small [9]), should the enemy enter thither.

XIV. But the Athenians, perceiving their intention, rushed upon them [1] by both entrances, and falling upon the greater part of the ships, and such as were now in deep water, and ranged prow foremost, they put them to flight, and chasing them, damaged many (for the distance of pursuit was but small [2]), and took five, one of them with the crew in her, and made an attack on the rest at the shore, whither they had fled. Some, too, were battered [3] while yet being manned, and before they had sailed out; certain of which the Athenians hauled off with ropes empty, the crews having taken to flight. On seeing this, the Lacedæmonians [4], exceedingly mortified at the calamity, especially as their men were intercepted on the island, hastened to render assistance, and entering into the very sea, arms in hand, laid hold of the ships, and dragged them the contrary way [5]; and in this every one thought the business to be there obstructed where he himself was not present.[6] There was, too, a great tumult about the ships,

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8 *Battle in the harbour.*] "Here (Mitford observes) it was thought that the confined space, and the presence of the land army, might give them advantage."

9 *Not small.*] Nay, the most capacious in Greece, and almost Europe; as would, indeed, appear by its affording space for the immense number of ships, of various sorts, in the late engagement.

1 *Rushed upon them.*] Taking courage from the sluggishness and indisposition to fight manifested by the enemy; and, moreover, they made all haste, in order to attack the enemy before he should be quite ready for action.

2 *For the distance of, &c.*] Such seems to be the force of the ὡς διὰ βράχεος, which words are meant to suggest the reason *why* so many should be damaged and taken

3 *Battered.*] Κόπτεσθαι is used for the active, to denote charging with the beak.

4 *The Lacedæmonians.*] i. e. the land forces.

5 *Entering into the, &c.*] A very similar action is recorded, in nearly the same words, of the Messenians of Naupactus; except that the Messenians are said to have done *more* than barely pull the contrary way, even scaling the sides of the vessels, and engaging thence the enemy. This characterises the difference of the two nations. Indeed the courage of the Lacedæmonians was rather passive than active.

6 *And in this every one, &c.*] A reflection worthy of the philosophical historian, and which evinces great knowledge of the human heart. It occurs in nearly the same words at 2, 8. κεκώλυσθαι signifies *obstructed, hindered, to proceed ill.*

and such wherein the manner of each was interchanged [7]: for the Lacedæmonians, through their impetuosity and fury [8], did, in a manner [9], make a sea fight from land; and the Athenians, as conquering, and anxious to follow up their present good-fortune to the utmost [10], fought a land battle from their ships. After, however, occasioning much trouble and bloodshed to each other, they were separated, and the Lacedæmonians saved the empty ships, except those that were first taken. And when they were arrived at their respective camps, the one party erected a trophy, gave up the dead, and were masters of the wrecks, immediately sailing round the island to keep watch over it; considering the men as fairly prisoners. Meanwhile the Peloponnesians on the continent, and those who had now come from every quarter to give succour, remained stationary at Pylus.

XV. Intelligence of the transactions at Pylus being conveyed to Sparta, it seemed advisable, considering the greatness of the calamity, that the principal magistrates [11] (or leaders of the administration) should go down to the army, and, after actual inspection of the state of affairs, consult what was best to be done; and when they went and saw it was impossible to give assistance to the persons in question, and were unwilling that they should run the hazard either of perishing by famine, or, overpowered by numbers, being made prisoners, it was

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7 *And such wherein, &c.*] Or, such as were different from the manners of each.

8 *Fury.*] Such seems to be the sense, not *consternation*, as all the translators render. And so Polyb. 1, 81, 6. διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀφροδίσια ὁρμὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἔκπληξιν..

9 *Did in a manner, &c.*] Literally, "did nought but." For, at οὐδὲν ἄλλο, must be supplied ἐποιοῦν; on which ellipsis see Bos and Schæfer Ellip. 646. Blomfield on Æschyl. Pers. Gloss. 214. and Matth. Gr. Gr. § 612. p. 948.

10 *Follow up their, &c.*] This passage is imitated by Dio Cass. 66, 19. τῇ παρούσῃ οἱ ἐντυχίᾳ ἐπίπαν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἐπεθυμεῖ. and Zosim. 4, 31, 6. Thus Shakspeare says,

——— "There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

11 *Magistrates.*] The gender of the participle is, by the πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον, accommodated to the *sense*, though not the grammatical form of τέλη. Τέλη is a name of office. So the Schol. on 1, 58. says: οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἄρχοντας τέλη ἐκάλουν. This being the case, the word ought to be written Τέλη, like Ἔφοροι.

determined to make a truce, as far as respected Pylus, with the Athenian commanders, if they would consent, and send ambassadors to Athens respecting terms of peace, and endeavour to recover their men as quickly as possible.[12]

XVI. This proposal being accepted by the Athenian commanders[1], the conditions of the truce were as follows: —"That the Lacedæmonians should bring to Pylus, and deliver up in pledge to the Athenians, the ships which they had used in the late engagement, and all other vessels of war[2] in the Lacedæmonian territory. That they should not carry on any hostile operations[3] on the fort, either by land or by sea. That the Athenians should permit the Lacedæmonians on the continent to send over to the men in the island corn, in a certain specified quantity, and ground[4], namely, two Attic chœnixes (or

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12 *Endeavour to recover their men, &c.*] It may seem strange to us that they should have been so anxious as to the recovery of only about four hundred men, and, in order thereto, have been ready to make such sacrifices; but the reason for this is excellently accounted for by Mitford. He regards this as a remarkable proof of the importance of a very few citizens, to the most powerful of the little republics of Greece. "These republics," continues he, "were all so constituted that they could bear neither diminution, nor any considerable increase of their citizens, without inconvenience. It was not the loss of inhabitants to the country that would be felt, though of a small republic, when four hundred men were killed or taken; but it was the loss of those intimately connected with the ruling powers by ties of blood, by religious prejudices, by political prejudices, and, most of all, if by party prejudices. Those who formed the strength of every Grecian state, for every other purpose, the slaves, could not be trusted with arms. Losses in war, therefore, could be recruited only by time, which would bring boys to manhood, and by fresh births, unless the invidious and hazardous resource were admitted, of associating foreigners, or of raising slaves to be citizens. Of the small proportion, then, of the inhabitants who filled the military function, four hundred lost would affect a great number of families; and hence private passion had such influence on public measures."

1 *Conditions.*] The following statement is extremely curious and important, as being, perhaps, the most antient document of the kind of any length, though comparatively brief. Of such, at far greater length, we have many examples in Polyb. and Livy.

2 *Vessels of war.*] Literally, "long ships," as being such in comparison to the round form of the ὁλκάδες, or merchant ships.

3 *Carry on any hostile operations,*] Literally, "bear arms." The same phrase occurs further, as also in other passages of Thucydides, and was, it seems, a locutio solennis.

4 *And ground.*] For, it seems, they had no mills with them, nor women to grind their corn, and had no time to do it themselves. On the women,

pints) of meal [5], and two cotylæ (or pints) of wine, as also a piece of flesh[6], and to each attendant half that quantity. That these articles should be sent over in the presence of the Athenians, and that no vessel should sail thither by stealth. That the Athenians should continue their naval guard over the island just the same, so far as not to land upon it[7], and should carry on no hostilities against the Lacedæmonians either by land or sea. That if any of these conditions should be violated by either party, then the treaty should be null and void, though it was concluded so as to hold good until the Lacedæmonian ambassadors should return from Athens. That the Athenians should send them thither, and fetch them back thence, in a trireme. That on their return the truce should be at an end, and the Athenians should deliver up the

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σιτοποιοὶ, I have treated at 2, 7, 9. The thing is thus alluded to by Aristophanes Eq. 54. ἐμοῦ Μάζαν μεμαχότος ἐν Ἡύλῳ Λακωνικήν. The different processes of bread-making are thus summed up by Aristoph., in his *Centaur*, cited by Pollux, 7, 24. πτίσσω, βράττω, μάττω, δεύω, πέττω, καταλῶ. The term μάζα μεμιγμένη occurs in Archiloch. frag. 56., where see Liebel.

[5] *Pints of meal, &c.*] Portus thinks that the Lacedæmonians conditioned, purposely, for twice the quantity thought necessary for subsistence, in order that, should the two powers not agree on the terms of peace, some surplus might remain, which should prevent the men from starving. "For," says Duker, "one chœnix was thought sufficient for sustenance of a man per diem." And he refers to Ælian V. H. 1, 26. Goeller also refers to Boeck Staatsh. 1, 99. on this proportion. But it is not likely that the Athenians would agree to double the quantity known to be sufficient. It should rather seem, that though one chœnix of each might suffice for necessary sustenance, it was not so much as a man required, and usually consumed. And there was no reason why unfortunate soldiers, whose honour was unimpeached, should be put upon such short commons. Let any one try to live a day on the bread made of a pint of meal, and he will see that it is far too little to be comfortable subsistence. And, as one pint of meal would be too little to "strengthen man's heart," so a pint of the then thin wine of Laconia (as little celebrated as its broth) would be too little to "make glad the heart of man."

[6] *Piece of flesh*] No particular quantity is mentioned; but we may suppose *that* was understood to bear a just proportion to the *meal;* or, as it is probable, there was a regulated and well understood portion of flesh; for Xenophon, Cyr. 2, 2, 1. has: Κυαξάρης ἔπεμψεν ἱερεῖα καὶ ἐγένετο ἑκάστῳ ἡμῶν τρία κρέα (so of Joseph respecting his brother, Genes. 43, 34, ἦραν δὲ μερίδας παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἑαυτούς). Thus, too, may be understood the κρέα τρία in Athen. l. 3. c. 24. and l. 4. cited by Steph. Thes. τέτταρα λήψῃ κρέα.

[7] *So far as, &c.*] Such is the sense of ὅσα μὴ, as elsewhere in Thucydides, and Xen. Œc. 21, 4. Soph. Trach. 1221. ὅσον γ' ἂν αὐτὸς μὴ πότε ψαύω χεροῖν. See also Hoogev. de Part. p. 609.

ships in the same number and condition [8] as they had received them.

Such were the terms of the truce, agreeably to which the ships were delivered up to the Athenians, to the number of about sixty [9], and the ambassadors were despatched, who [10], on their arrival at Athens, spoke to the following effect: —

XVII. "Athenians, we are sent hither [1] by the Lacedæmonians to negotiate with you on behalf of the men in the island, and to endeavour to induce you to such a course as may be at once [2] advantageous to *you*, and to *us* may (considering present circumstances) [3] be honourable [4], in respect of the

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[8] *In the same number and condition.*] The latter, as well as the former, seems implied in ὅμοιας, which word signifies both *equal* and *like*.

[9] *The ships were, &c. to the number of about sixty.*] So Philochorus ap. Schol. on Aristoph. Vesp. 672. Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ διαλύσεων ἐπέμψαντο πρέσβεις πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πύλῳ. καὶ τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶν παραδόντες οὔσας ξ'. Κλέωνος δὲ ἀντειπόντος τοῖς διαλύσεσι, στασιάσαι λέγεται τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. ἐρωτῆσαι δὲ συνέβη τὴν ἐπιστάτην ἐνίκησαν δὲ οἱ πολεμεῖν βουλόμενοι.

[10] *The ambassadors were, &c.*] The name of the chief ambassador, as we learn from Aristoph., referred to by Palmer, was Archeptolemus. See also the Schol. on Aristoph. p. 336. F. and G. Mitford remarks on the difficulty of the business which these ambassadors had to manage; since by speaking before the people they could not enter into any minute explanation of the sacrifices they were inclined to make. In this public address, then, they do no more than simply propose peace and alliance on the foundation of what is now called the *uti possidetis;* and in return for the restoration of the Spartans at Sphacteria, they simply offer the glory which would redound to Athens, from a peace solicited by those who were heretofore in a situation rather to grant conditions, together with gratitude for a generous deed, whence might arise that mutual good-will between the two republics, which alone could make a peace lasting."

[1] *We are sent hither, &c.*] The Scholiast remarks "that the oration commences prudently, and comes to the point at once." So far, therefore, it is truly Lacedæmonian. "It deals much (he adds) in the profitable; though somewhat of the possible is mixed up therewith."

There are orations commenced in this very same manner in Herod. 7, 136 and 157. 8, 100 and 142. Xen. Anab. 5, 50. Appian 2, 884. On the whole of the present oration it will be worth while to consult Aristid. 2, 535.

[2] *At once.*] Τὸ αὐτὸ, which is for ὅμου, like the Latin *idem*, signifies no more than *at once* or *both*.

[3] *Considering present circumstances.*] i. e. considering existing circumstances. Goeller renders, "as well as can turn out in the present state of affairs." The phrase occurs often elsewhere in Thucydides, and occasionally in the best writers. Sometimes, though very rarely, the παρόντων is left to be supplied, as Soph. Aj. τί δή τ' ἂν, ὡς ἐκ τῶνδ', ἂν ὠφελοίμι σε; where Herman explains, "ex locorum statu;" i. e. quum hæc ita sint.

[4] *Be honourable.*] Κόσμον οἴσειν, may bring us honour or credit. The Schol. well explains it by εὐπρεπές.

present misfortune. As to our discourse, it shall not be longer than is agreeable to our usage; it being the custom of our country, where few words will suffice, then not to employ many [5]; but where an occasion offers for us to render service to our country by pointing out in *words* any thing of importance in *action*, there to use more.[6] Receive them, however, not in an inimical spirit [7], nor as if considered ignorant and schooled by us, but esteeming them as *admonitory hints* for counselling aright, addressed to the well-informed.[8] Know, then, that it is in your power to turn your present good fortune to excellent account [9], keeping what you hold, and, moreover, acquiring honour and glory. You have only to avoid [10] falling into the error [11] of those persons who receive any thing good to

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[5] *It being the custom of our country.*] So Pausan. 4, 7, 4. πρὸς μὲν δὴ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους βραχεῖαν, κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον, τὴν παράκλησιν ἐποιεῖτο ὁ Θεόπομπος. So also Menelaus says in Eurip. Orest. 630. ἔστι δ' οὗ σιγὴ λόγου κρείσσων γένοιτ' ἄν, ἔστι δ' οὗ σιγῆς λόγος. And a Lacedæmonian ambassador in Aristoph. Lys. 1076. says: τί δεῖ πότ' ὑμμε πολλὰ μυσίδδειν ἔπη. So also Eurip. Inus frag. 14, 2. ἐπίσταμαι σιγᾷν ὅπου δεῖ, καὶ λέγειν, ἵν' ἀσφαλές. which is similar to Pind. Nem. 5, 30–4.

[6] *But where an occasion offers, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of this somewhat difficult clause, which has been, to a certain degree, misunderstood. The above rendering is required by the true construction; and I am not aware that any thing more need be said *here*, except to justify the sense assigned to προὔργου; which was also adopted by Portus and Hobbes; but has been missed by the recent translators and commentators. I readily acknowledge that προὔργου often signifies what is *important* (literally, worth the trouble): so Aristoph. Plut. ποιεῖν τι τῶν προὔργου. and Conc. 784. σὺ γ' ἔμ' ἐα προὔργου τι δρᾶν. But here, as it is antithetical to λόγοις, the above sense seems intended.

[7] *Receive them, &c.*] So the Schol. δυσμενῶς, διαθέσει πολεμικῇ. Here may be compared Gelat. 4, 16. ὥστε ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν γένοναι ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν;

[8] *Nor as if considered, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense, which may be paraphrased thus: "and do not receive what we say as if supposing you to be ignorant, we meant to teach you; but be assured that we address it in the shape of a *suggestion* of what is expedient, to the knowing and judicious."

[9] *Know then, &c.*] Such is the sense of the γὰρ, which the translators omit. It has what Hoogev. calls the inchoative force, *videlicet.*

[10] *You have only to avoid, &c.*] This gentle admonition is most delicately phrased in the original, by the verb not occurring in the imperative, or even indicative; but in the infinitive, dependent on the preceding ἐξεστι, q. d. It is in your *power* to avoid, &c. Gail has, therefore, done wrong in rendering, "ne ressemblez pas," &c.

[11] *Error.*] Παθεῖν does not here denote what *befalls* (as Portus, Hobbes, and Smith suppose), but is used, as elsewhere in Thucydides and the best writers, to denote the *affections*, *habits*, and *dispositions*; as 1, 7, 71. and

which they have been unaccustomed: for they, because their present good fortune came unexpectedly, always, elate with hope, grasp at more.[12] Whereas those who have experienced very many changes of fortune both ways[13], ought to be most distrustful of prosperity and success; a disposition which, from experience, ought to pertain to your city, and in ours, especially, may with reason be expected.[14]

XVIII. "This, too, you may well know, by contemplating our present disasters, who, though sustaining the highest dignity among the Grecians, now address ourselves to you[1] though we before thought ourselves more competent[2] to *give*

7, 69. ὅπερ πάσχουσιν ἐν μεγάλοις κινδύνοις. and especially a kindred passage of 7, 62. οὐδὲ πάσχειν ὅπερ οἱ ἀπειρότατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἵ, &c. Aristid. 2, 126. C. ὁ δὲ κοινὼν ἅπασιν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐστιν ἁμάρτημα, τουτ' οὐ πεπόνθασιν. also Soph. Œd. Col. 1539. Eurip. Antiop. frag. Æschyl. Suppl. 1021., and not unfrequently in Xenophon and Polybius. See Lex. Xen. and Lex. Polyb. In the same sense is used the Latin *admittere*, which implies something faulty.

[12] *For they, &c., grasp at more.*] The Schol. and Goeller take ἐλπίδι as put for ἐλπίζοντες αὐτοῦ τεύξεσθαι. But the method I have adopted (after Portus and others) seems more simple and true. In fact ἐλπίδι stands for δι' ἐλπίδα, and the word, perhaps, answers to our colloquial or vulgar *cock-a-whoop*.

Goeller thinks that this passage was had in view by Liv. 30, 42. "Raro simul hominibus bonam fortunam bonamque mentem dari; populum Romanum eo invictum esse, quod in secundis rebus sapere et consulere meminissent;" and Demosthenes: ὀλίγοι γάρ εἰσιν, οἷς μετὰ τοῦ εὐτυχεῖν παραγίγνεται τὸ φρονεῖν· οἱ πλεῖστοι δὲ φρενῶν δέονται ἐπεισάκτων. To which I add the following apposite passage of Eurip. Suppl. 741. ὅδ' αὖ, τοτ' εὐτυχὴς, λαβὼν, πενὴς ὡς, ἀρτί-πλουτα χρήματα, ὑφριζ. where the πένης ὡς may be illustrated by our common proverb. Hence may be understood Joseph. 1162, 44. εἶναι δὲ ὥσπερ ἀπειροκάλων τὸ λίαν ἐπαίρεσθαι ταῖς εὐπραγίαις. where ἀπειροκάλων is absurdly rendered by Hudson *ineptorum esse*.

By this grasping at more, it is hinted they lose what they have.

[13] *Changes of fortune both ways.*] This passage has been imitated by Plutarch Æmil. Paul. 34. ἄριστα δοκοῦσι πράττειν οἷς αἱ τύχαι τροπὴν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τῶν πραγμάτων ἔχουσιν: and Anton. 68. καθάπερ οὐ πολλάκις ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τῇ τύχῃ κεχρημένος. Joseph. 822. ἐξεπιστάμενοι — τῆς τυχῆς τὸ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα φιλεῖν τοῖς πράγμασι περατυγχάνειν.

[14] *A disposition which, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of this difficult passage, which has been but imperfectly comprehended by the translators, and neglected by the commentators. There is no reason to read, with Bauer and the Schol., ἡμετέρα. The common reading is sufficiently apt, and is confirmed and illustrated by 6, 36. where the Athenians are said to be ἄνθρωποι — πολλῶν ἔμπειροι.

[1] *Address ourselves to you.*] Namely, to ask a favour; for that is *implied* in the phrase.

[2] *More competent.*] i. e. to have more in our power. The phrase

what we now are come to *ask*. And yet this hath not befallen us by any lack of power, nor been occasioned by any insolence under accessions of good fortune [3], but as being frustrated in our views and plans by the course of events [4], wherein the same may equally happen to all [5]: so that you are not warranted in supposing that, because of the present power of your state and its appendages, you may expect fortune to be always with you. Truly prudent, indeed, are those who securely administer prosperous events, with a view to their uncertainty, (acquitting themselves wisely in respect of adversity,) and account that war does not consist in any one's vigorously prosecuting whatever plan he engages in, but that the event is according as their fortunes may direct [6]: and such persons least of all miscarry, because, not being too confident of success, they are not puffed up with prosperity, they bring affairs to the happiest conclusion.[7] Now this, Athenians, there

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κύριός εἰμι has usually the genitive, rarely the accusative, still more so the infinitive, as here and in Eurip. Iph. Aul. 318.

[3] *Insolence under, &c.*] So Eurip. Suppl. 730. μισεῖ δ' ὑβριστὴν λαὸν, ὅς πράσσων καλῶς, Εἰς ἄκρα βῆναι κλιμάκων ἐνήλατα Ζητῶν ἀπώλησ' ὀλέθρον ᾧ χρῆσθαι παρῆν.

[4] *By the course of events.*] Literally, "by the series of existing occurrences." Such seems to be the sense of τὰ ἀεὶ ὑπαρχόντων, where all the translators are at fault, and the commentators are silent: ὑπαρχόντα signifies things which exist or occur. And the sense of ἀεὶ by which it denotes *series*, is common; nay, such is its primary one.

[5] *Wherein the same may, &c.*] Similar is the saying of Solomon (Eccl. 6, 11.) that time and chance happeneth unto all.

[6] *Truly prudent, indeed, are, &c.*] There is no little difficulty connected with this sentence, chiefly arising out of the peculiarity of the grammatical construction, and the excessive brevity of the phraseology. The best commentators are, with reason, agreed that there is a mixture of two constructions, σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν ἐστι θέσθαι, and σώφρονες ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἵτινες ἔθεντο &c. (as at 2, 44), and that the words καὶ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς — προσφέροιντο are, as it were, parenthetical. They do not, however, touch on the phraseology in detail. The most difficult phrase is ἐς ἀμφίβολον, to which, in this construction, it would not be easy to find any parallel. At τὸν πόλεμον, &c. must be supplied εἶναι, by which is meant "does not consist in" or "depend upon;" προσφέρεσθαι signifies *to acquit or conduct oneself*; μεταχειρίζειν signifies to *take in hand, manage*; ξυνεῖναι, to *engage oneself closely, stick to*. Goeller takes αὐτῶν as a *genitivus pendens objecti*, to denote *respecting them*. But the use of the plural, and the presence of the article are adverse to that interpretation. The more minute discussion of the words must be reserved for my edition.

[7] *They bring affairs to, &c.*] This view of the sense (which is confirmed by the Scholiast) seems the true one. Hobbes and Smith have undoubtedly missed the sense.

is a favourable opportunity for you to do in respect of us, and thereby not afterwards, if, rejecting our offer, you should fall into adversity (and frequent are such reverses), be thought to have obtained your present advantages by fortune only; whereas it is in your power to leave behind you, secure from all danger, a reputation both for power and wisdom.[8]

XIX. "The Lacedæmonians now invite to treaty and a settlement of differences; offering you, on the one hand, peace and alliance, and every kind of amity and mutual intercourse of connection; and on the other, requiring in return the men out of the island. This they offer, as thinking it better for both parties not to try the fortune of war to the uttermost; whether, by some opportunity of safety presenting itself, they should escape by dint of arms, or whether rather[1], being reduced by siege and starvation, they be brought under your power. We think, indeed, that *great* enmities are most effectually done away[2], not when he who[3] has obtained the

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[8] *Wisdom.*] Or *prudence*, namely in giving over while yet fortunate.

[1] *Rather.*] The μᾶλλον must not be taken with χειρωθεῖεν, as is done by Hobbes. There is, it may be observed, much significancy in the word, the Lacedæmonians meaning thereby to admit that it was more probable that they would be taken.

[2] *Great enmities are, &c.*] A most ingenious way of considering the subject. The passage is imitated by Liban. Orat. 716. C. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς μεγάλας ἔχθρας ἡγοῦμαι βίᾳ μὲν ὑποχωρούσας ἐπισφαλεῖς εἶναι, καὶ χρόνον βράχυν ἠρεμεῖν· καὶ μῖσος ὕπουλον ἔχειν, καὶ μικρᾶς παραπεσούσης ἐριδος, ἀναφύεσθαι, τοὺς ἑκουσίους δὲ πεπαυμένους ἐρυθριᾷν αὖθις ὀφθῆναι.* Appian 1, 48, 48. ἐνέστω ἐχθρὰς φάρμακον, εὐεργεσίας ἡ κολασέως ὑπερβολή. αἱ μὲν οὖν κολάσεις καταπλήσσουσιν, αἱ δὲ εὐεργεσίαι προσάγονται.

[3] *Not when he who, &c.*] There is no little difficulty connected with this sentence, both as to the reading and interpretation, which has not been removed by the editors. The sense seems unquestionably to be what I have assigned, but it is impossible to fully extract this from the words as they now stand. Postponing the full discussion of the phraseology to my edition, I shall only treat on what appears to me the seat of the corruption. For αὐτὸς, or rather αὐτὸ (found in most of the MSS.), which all the commentators are unable to explain, I would read αὐτὸν, scil. τὸν ἔχθρον, from the preceding; the ν, it should seem, having been absorbed by the ν following. The *construction* will appear from the version; and the *sense* is not only confirmed by the words following, but fully established and illustrated

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* Here it is surprising Morell should not have seen that ὀφθῆναι cannot be tolerated. If I am not mistaken, Libanius wrote ἀφθῆναι. This emendation, indeed, is placed beyond doubt by the words following, μᾶλλον ἐξαπτομένους, *incensed.*

superiority in war shall repay vengeance on his enemy, and, binding him with compulsory oaths, grant him peace on unequal conditions; but when having it in his power to do this, he (thus conquering him even by *kindness*) shall give him peace on terms mild and moderate beyond his expectation [4]: for now his enemy being bound, not to seek return of vengeance upon him as if having suffered compulsion, but to pay back a return of kindness, is, for shame, more disposed to adhere to the conditions stipulated: and men do this the rather towards those who are greatly their enemies, than towards those with whom they have been at moderate differences [5]; and they are mutually disposed gladly to make reciprocal concessions, in return to those that have voluntarily given way to them; but against the haughty and unrelenting, to run all hazards, even beyond their original purpose.

XX. "To us, too, there is now, if ever, a favourable opportunity for reconciliation, before any irreparable event interposing should befall us, by which it might be imperative on us to bear you a *private*, besides *public* hostility [1], and whereby you must be deprived of the advantages to which we now invite you. Besides, while the superiority is yet undecided, while you have the accession of glory and our friend-

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by several passages of the classical writers, which I shall subjoin. Dionys. Hal. 676, 30. νικᾷ γὰρ ἡμᾶς χρηστὸς ὤν. Appian 2, 223, 15. καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ χειρουμένος. Eurip. Herc. Fur. 339. Ἀρετῇ σε νικῶ, θνητὸς ὤν, θεὸν μέγαν. Joseph. 664, 26. νενικημένη ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις. Xen. Cyr. 5, 7, 29. δός μοι τοὺς ἀμὲ τιμῶντας νικῆσαι εὖ ποιοῦντα. Justin 11, 12. "cum etiam beneficiis ab hoste superaretur." Dionys. Hal. Ant. 1, 356, 6. πολλῷ κρείττονα καὶ βεβαιοτέραν ἀποφαίνων ἀρχὴν, ἥτις εὐεργεσίαις ἀλλὰ μὴ τιμωρίαις κρατεῖν βούλεται τῶν ὑπεκόων. Val. Max. "Speciosius multo beneficiis vincuntur injuriæ quam mutuo odio pertinaciâ pensantur." Phocyl. 13, 75. Isocr. ad Demon. p. 8. Finally, we may compare the words of the Apostle to the Rom. 12, 21.

[4] *Beyond his expectation.*] Παρὰ γνώμην is susceptible of more than one meaning, but the sense above adopted (from the Schol.) seems the most suitable, and is confirmed by 1, 70. παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνεύειν. So also Eurip. Med. 577. κεἰ παρὰ γνώμην ἐρῶ.

[5] *Been at moderate differences.*] With πρὸς τὰ μέτρια διανεχθέντας. I would compare Eurip. Suppl. 555. χρεὼν — ἀδικουμένους τε μέτρια, μὴ θυμῷ φέρειν. See also Jacobs on Anthol. 6, 390.

[1] *Irreparable event, &c.*] This alludes to the death of the men on the island, by which all their families would take up a private hostility to the Athenians. An artful argument.

ship, and to us has befallen a calamity of moderate infliction[2], let us now seek reconciliation, both ourselves choosing peace instead of war, and granting a breathing from evils to the Greeks, who will therefore regard *you* as the chief authors of it: for they carry on the war in uncertainty which side began the hostilities; but if there be peace (which is now rather in your power[3] to bring about), they will ascribe the favour to *you*. Should you thus decide, it is in your power to make the Lacedæmonians your firm friends; they inviting you to pacification, and you granting rather than forcing it upon them. And herein consider how many advantages are likely to be contained: for if we and you be but reunited[4], the rest of Greece (you well know) being inferior to us in power, must pay us the utmost deference and honour."[5]

XXI. The Lacedæmonians held this language, as thinking that the Athenians, who had aforetime been desirous of peace, but had been hindered of it[6] by *their* opposition, would now, when peace was offered, joyfully accept it, and give back the men. But *they*, thinking that as long as they had the men in the island, the Lacedæmonians would always be ready to make peace when they pleased to grant it, aimed at greater

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2 *Of moderate infliction.*] Or moderately inflicted. Such seems to be the sense of κατατυχεμένης, which answers to our "*disposed* by providence."

3 *Rather in your power.*] So Dio Cass. 317, 3. καὶ πολέμων καὶ εἰρήνης κύριον. Livy, l. 23, 12. Hoc tempus est quo magis dare quam accipere possumus videri pacem. See also Wetstein on Acts 10, 36.

4 *If we and you be but reunited.*] So Aristoph. Pac. 1082. πότεροι κλαυσοῦμεθα μείζω, Ἐξὸν σπεισαμένοις κοινῇ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχειν;

5 *The rest of Greece, &c.*] So Livy, 36, 30. "Agimus ii quorum et maxime interest pacem esse, et qui quodcunque egerimus, ratum civitates nostræ habituræ sint." "This," Hobbes remarks, "conveyed to the understanding of the wiser sort of the hearers, the consideration of tyrannizing over the rest of Greece; for by the highest honour he means tyranny; but avoiding the envy of the word; because if he had said it plainly, the confederates would see that they who termed themselves the deliverers of Greece, would now, out of private interest, be content to join with the Athenians." The allusion is plain, though τὰ μέγιστα τιμήσει is a sort of euphemism. This Gail renders, "ne recevra-t-il pas les loix que nous aurons dictées?" But that destroys the delicacy just adverted to.

6 *Hindered of it.*] Κωλύεσθαι is, indeed, only applicable to the *thing*, but here it is used improprie of the *person*. Νομίζοντες, too, is here employed in the place of *two* words.

But to turn from words to things, this passage is exceedingly illustrated by Aristoph. Pac. 211—219., where Mercury thus addresses Trygæus

things.[7] To these ambitious views they were especially incited by Cleon son of Cleænetus, a demagogue [8] who at that time had much influence with the people, and who persuaded them to this answer: "That it was necessary for the men to deliver themselves up, and be brought to Athens, and that on their arrival thither the Lacedæmonians should restore Nisæa, Pegæ, Trœzene, and Achæa, places which they had not taken in the war, but received by the former treaty, when the Athenians, being through calamity then in greater need of peace, had made concessions; then they might fetch away the men, and make a peace for as long a term as should seem good to both parties."

XXII. To this answer the ambassadors made no objection, but requested [1] that commissioners might be appointed to sit with them [2], who, by reciprocal and leisurely discussion on each point, might agree on such terms as should be mutually approved by either party. But here Cleon bitterly inveighed[3] against them, saying that he knew *before* that they had no

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concerning the Athenians: Ὅτι πολεμεῖν ᾐρεῖσθ', ἐκείνων πολλάκις Σπονδὰς ποιούντων· κεἰ μὲν οἱ Λακωνικοὶ Ὑπερβάλοιντο μικρὸν, ἔλεγον ἂν ταδί. Ναὶ τὼ σιὼ, νῦν Ἀττικίων δὼσει δίκην. — Εἰ δ' αὖ τι πραξαιντ' ἀγαθὸν Ἀττικωνικοὶ, Κἄλθοιεν οἱ Λάκωνες εἰρήνης περὶ, Ἐλέγετ' ἂν ὑμεῖς εὐθύς. Ἐξαπατώμεθα, Νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν· νὴ Δί', οὐχὶ πειστέον. Ἤξουσι καὖθις, ἢν ἔχωμεν τὴν Πύλον.

7 *Greater things.*] i. e. some more considerable advantage than that of merely having peace.

8 *Demagogue.*] The word is here used in a *bad* sense; but it is also susceptible of a *good* one, and is so used of Pericles by Isocrates p. 295. Aristophanes, however, did not think the term strong enough to characterise Cleon, and therefore in his Equit. 1099. he says: Καὶ μὴν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιτρέπω σοι τυτονὶ Γερονταγωγεῖν, κἀναπαιδεύειν πάλιν.

1 *Made no objection, but requested, &c.*] It does not appear from Thucydides, nor, indeed, does it seem probable, under existing circumstances, that the ambassadors made any such proposal as is mentioned by Diodorus, namely, of exchanging the men at Pylus for an equal number of Athenian prisoners; who adds, that on the proposal being rejected, they said that this was *granting* the Lacedæmonians to be superior to them. If any such proposal were made, it was probably to Nicias, and others of the aristocratical party in private. See the Schol. on Aristoph. 672. B.

2 *Commissioners appointed, &c.*] Both these senses seem included in ξυνέδρους.

3 *Bitterly inveighed.*] This sense of ἐγκεῖσθαι occurs in Herod. 7, 158, 1. Γέλων πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο. and Herodian 6, 2, 13. ἐνεκεῖτο., and often in Dio Cass. See Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Theb. 6. So the Latin *multus instabat.*

just or fair intentions; but now it was clear, inasmuch as they wished not to address themselves to the *people*, but to be closeted up [4] with a *few persons*: but if they had any thing just and upright [5] to propose, he bid them say it to all. The Lacedæmonians, however, though they were disposed, under the present disaster, to make concessions, yet it was impossible for them to discuss such matters before the multitude [6]; lest by making offers which might not be accepted, they should incur censure [7] with their allies, and seeing too that the Athenians had no mind to accept their offer of peace on moderate terms, they withdrew, and left Athens without accomplishing the purpose of their mission.

XXIII. On their arrival at Pylus [1], the treaty was immediately at an end, and the Lacedæmonians demanded the ships, as had been stipulated. But the Athenians having to lay to their charge an attack [2] on the fort, contrary to the truce, and some other matters of complaint (which, however, seem to have been of no great moment), refused to give them them up; justifying the non-delivery on the ground of its

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[4] *Closeted up.*] This sense seems implied in ξύνεδροι, a term not unfrequently used by Polybius.

[5] *Any just and upright thing.*] εἴ τι ὑγιὲς διανοοῦνται. So L. 3. οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς διανουμένων. and Ælian V. H. 2,13. Πολὺ γὰρ ἦν τὸ τοῦ Σωκράτου ὄνομα, διά τε τὰ ἄλλα, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς σοφιστὰς ἤλεγχειν οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ὄντας, οὐδέ τι σπουδαῖον, ἢ εἰδότας ἢ λέγοντας.

[6] *It was impossible for them to, &c.*] To debate before a whole people respecting propositions affecting to such a degree the interests of the allies of Lacedæmon, the Lacedæmonian ambassadors judged utterly imprudent. They were highly desirous of an accommodation upon any moderate terms; yet seeing the Athenian people impracticable through the sway which Cleon held among them, and considering the probable ill-consequences of publicly proposing conditions disagreeable to their allies, which might, after all, be rejected, immediately took their leave. (Mitford.)

[7] *Incur censure.*] Namely, for buying peace at the cost of the confederates' subjection; for the thing they durst not propound before the people was this, that by the amity of these two great states, the rest of Greece would be forced to serve them; which they touched also, but obscurely, in the last words of their oration. (Hobbes.)

[1] *Arrival at Pylus.*] Namely, about the twentieth day after their departure.

[2] *Attack.*] This term, ἐπιδρομή, would properly import that it was a sudden and violent attack. But as that would involve a more serious charge than Thucydides seems to have considered it, we may suppose that it was some act of hostility committed on the garrison. Hesych. explains ἐπιδρομὴ by ἡ ἁρπαγή.

having been conditioned that if any article of the treaty should be violated, the whole should be null and void.[3] The Lacedæmonians, however, denied the charges, and, accusing them of injustice[4] in the affair of the ships, they departed and prepared themselves for war. And the military operations at Pylus were on both sides prosecuted most vigorously; the Athenians by day continually sailing round the island, with two triremes, proceeding in opposite directions[5]; by night all took up their anchorage[6] around it, except on the part to the seaward, where the wind blew hard[7]; they also received an accession from Athens of twenty other ships, to assist in the guard of the island; so that the whole number was now seventy. The Peloponnesians were encamped on the continent, and made assaults upon the fort; watching also an opportunity, if any should occur, of accomplishing the preservation of their men.

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[3] *Justifying the nondelivery, &c.*] Though Thucydides, with his usual caution, gives no direct opinion as to this conduct of the Athenians, yet he seems by no means to have approved of it. It was, indeed, contrary to the *spirit*, and scarcely warranted by the *letter*, of the convention. The delivery of the ships was, indeed, throwing too great a temptation in the way of the Athenians, and to this the Lacedæmonians would, doubtless, never have agreed, had they not, from their ignorance of the state of things at Athens, thought it next to certain that the Athenians would eagerly embrace the offer of peace.

"Whether Demosthenes, or Eurymedon, was the principal actor in this business," Mitford observes, "we are not informed; but in favour of either (he thinks) it may be urged, that to exercise any discretionary power was extremely hazardous, when responsibility was immediate to that despotic and wayward sovereign the Athenian people, under the influence of Cleon. If Cleon, or any other turbulent orator, could persuade the people that their generals ought not to give up, of their own authority, any advantage that the letter of the treaty warranted, their utter ruin, even capital condemnation, might have been the consequence of a contrary conduct."

[4] *Accusing them of injustice.*] i. e., as we say, protesting against.

[5] *Sailing round the, &c.*] Portus has here strangely misconceived the sense, though it is sufficiently plain. The phrase is exactly similar to that of 1, 93. of the building of the wall of Athens, where it is said that two wains brought the stones pursuing opposite courses. Thus here at ἐναντίαν we must supply ἀλλήλαιν.

[6] *Took up their anchorage.*] Or moorings. See Pollux 1, 122. So Dio Cass. 921, 25. αὐτοὶ γε ἐπὶ τῆς γεφύρας, ὥσπερ ἐν νήσῳ τινὶ, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἐν ἑτέροις πλοίοις περιορμοῦντες.

[7] *Wind blew hard.*] For *then*, it seems, the surf was so great that no boat could land.

XXIV. Meanwhile in Sicily the Syracusans and their allies, in addition to the ships on guard at Messene, brought up another naval force which they had been preparing, and carried on war from that city. To this they had been especially incited by the Locrians, out of their hatred to the Rhegines, into whose territory they themselves had made an irruption with their whole forces; and it was their wish to try the fate of a sea fight, seeing that the Athenians had few ships present, but, as they had heard, were engaged with a greater fleet, and such as was soon to come thither, at the siege of the island. Their hope was, that if they should gain a naval victory, by blockading Rhegium both by land and sea, they should easily subdue it, and then they trusted their affairs would be put into a more prosperous train: for as the promontory of Rhegium in Italy, and of Messene in Sicily, are mutually adjacent to each other [1], it would not be in the power of the Athenians to take up an anchorage, and be masters of the strait [as they had been]. Now the strait is that space of sea between Rhegium and Messene, where Sicily is at the shortest distance [2] from the continent, and this is what is called Charybdis [3], where Ulysses is said to have

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[1] *Mutually adjacent to each other.*] Such appears to be the full sense of ξυνεγγὺς, which differs from ἐγγὺς by expressing *reciprocity*.

[2] *At the shortest distance.*] This is not, strictly speaking, true; for *Scylla* is at the shortest point from Sicily. But the difference is very small.

The name *Rhegium* (which, no doubt, was bestowed on this promontory before the existence of the *city* so called), is with reason supposed to have been derived from ῥήγνυμι; which Mr. Hobbes argues, "makes it probable that Italy was once a part of Sicily." The utmost, I conceive, it proves is, the opinion of those who bestowed the name. And perhaps not even that, since it might have the appellation in question only with a view to the ragged and fractured state of the rock, without any reference to Sicily. Thus *Scarborough* in Yorkshire derived its name from the *scard* or *sceard burg* or *hill*, at the foot of which it is situated. I mean not, however, to question the existence of an antient belief to that effect, preserved by tradition, and partly founded in truth, from the remembrance handed down by tradition of those awful convulsions of nature, which must have prevailed at a very early period, and far beyond the records of history, and which still continue to the present day.

[3] *Charybdis.*] Hobbes is wrong in saying that Charybdis here stands for the whole strait. Our historian was too well informed to intend that, he only means that in this strait is the Charybdis.

From his manner of adverting to the story of Ulysses, it is clear that he considered it only as a popular fiction.

sailed through; and, indeed, by reason of its narrowness and the flood rushing in a strong current [4] from two great seas, the Tyrrhene and the Sicilian, it is no wonder that it should have been thought a dangerous passage.[5]

XXV. In the midway of this strait, the Syracusans and their allies, with somewhat more than thirty ships, were compelled [1], late in the day, to engage with sixteen Athenian ships

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[4] *Strong current.*] So Aristot. ap. Steph. Thes. Θάλασσα ῥοωδης. Appian Ind. 22, 6. τῇ θαλασσῃ ῥοωδει. Diod. Sic. 2, 166. Θάλασσα ῥοώδης. Joseph. 91, 1. ἐπιχεῖται πάλιν ἡ θάλασσα ῥοώδης. The word ῥοώδης is also frequent in Dio Cass.

The ἐς αὐτὸ refers to τοῦτο before, and that stands for οὗτος, neuter for masculine, as often. Or, with the Schol., may be supplied μέρος τῆς θαλάσσης.

[5] *Should have been thought a dangerous passage.*] From the manner in which it is mentioned we may infer that it was not thought so dangerous in the historian's time; and at the *present* day it is very far from being so though subject to violent agitation in stormy weather. So Dorville's Sicula, c. 1. p. 9. "Charybdin hanc aliquando per totos dies tranquillissam esse vidimus, et sic mare sæpe in utroque hujus freti introitu non magis solito effervescere accepimus. Nempe æstum maris proventis modo rapidiorem, modo lentiorem esse satis constat, et pro copia aquæ in has fauces irruentis jam longius durare, jam citius deficere, consentaneum veritati videtur." I would not, however, be so sceptical as Mr. Hobbes, who seems to doubt whether it was ever subject to any extraordinary agitation. Great changes of nature may be supposed, and indeed are known, to have taken place in the course of nearly three thousand years, amply sufficient to account for the difference; and such is the opinion of a learned naturalist (Dr. Daubeney) in a late interesting work on volcanoes. Thucydides evidently does not doubt the truth of the antient relations; though in attributing them to the *narrowness* of the strait, he seems not to go far enough. There are almost equally narrow straits in the world, where two seas meet, and yet where no such phenomena as those observed at Charybdis occur, as the straits of Dover and Calais, straits of Gibraltar, of Babelmandeb, &c. The reason seems to be that for the production of the same phenomena, it is requisite not only that the strait should be *narrow*, and the current set in from two seas, but also that it should be *crooked*, as is the case with the one in question. Wherever *that* is found, the same phenomena may be expected to occur. Such *is* the case in the straits of Magellan, and for that reason.

[1] *Compelled.*] So I have here rendered, in deference to the opinion of all the interpreters. *Thus* the words might be paraphrased, "the Athenians brought them to action, on occasion of," &c. But I suspect that ἠναγκάσθησαν may have a signification which, though little known or adverted to by critics, is found in the best writers, as Xenophon. So Sturz, in his Lex. Xen. "c. ἀναγκάζεσθαι dicuntur, qui abripiuntur cupiditatibus;" where he then adduces numerous examples. Such a signification is also found in the New Testament; and I have more than once treated on it in my Recensio Synoptica. Thus the sense will be, "they were impelled and strongly *excited*."

and eight of the Rhegine [2], from a dispute begun about a vessel which was sailing through; and being defeated by the Athenians, with the loss of one ship, both parties hastily retired to their respective encampments at Messene and Rhegium; for the night closing put an end to the engagement.[3] After this, the Locrians departed from [4] the territory of the Rhegines [5]; but the Athenians and Rhegines sailing towards them, and seeing the ships empty [6], made an attack, and by an iron hand (or harpago) thrown out at them, they, too [7], lost one ship, the crew saving themselves by swimming; and the fleet of the Syracusans and their confederates came toge-

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[2] *Rhegine.*] I adopt this orthography, as being required by analogy, as in the examples of Mamertium, Metapontium, &c. See Steph. Byz. in Μαμέρτιον. As to *Rhegians* or *Rheginians*, adopted by English writers, both those ways of spelling the name are equally indefensible.

[3] *And being defeated, &c.*] Such is clearly the sense of the original, which is one of the most ill-written sentences in our author. I have here adopted, from the conjecture of Poppo, τὸ τε for τότε. The ἀπέπλευσαν does not refer to νικηθέντες, which is a nominativus pendens, but to ἕκαστοι. And ἀπολέσαντες does not refer to ἕκαστος, but to the same subject as νικηθέντες. In my version I have, with Poppo, transposed the clause; though the words might have been left in their place, and a new sentence formed out of them thus: "The defeated party lost but one ship, for night," &c.

[4] *Departed from, &c.*] No doubt, because the plans of the Syracusans and themselves for the subjection of Rhegium were now frustrated by the energy of the Athenians.

With respect to the situation of the city Locri (a colony from the Locri Ozolæ), Swinburne places it at Gerace, fifteen miles north of Bruzzano (antiently the Promontory Epizaphyrium). But as it is not probable that the place should have been called from a promontory *fifteen miles distant*, Poppo thinks it was at Bianco veteri. An opinion which seems to be well-founded. *Bruzzano*, it may be observed, seems to mean *the dusky promontory*, no doubt from its heavy black appearance from the sea.

[5] On *Rhegium* and its present or recent state, see Dorville's Sicula, Swinburne, and Bartoli's Calabria, cited by Poppo.

[6] *Empty.*] Scil. ἀνδρῶν, unmanned.

[7] *They too.*] Or themselves, in their turn. Alluding to the loss of one ship just before mentioned as sustained by the Syracusans. Here I read, from several MSS., the Schol., and Valla, αὐτοί, which the context requires, as has been proved by Poppo, Hack, and Goeller. What confirms this view of the sense is, that these *iron hands*, or *grappling hooks*, seem to have been invented by the Syracusans, and certainly were afterwards used by them to the great detriment of the Athenians. Besides, why should the Athenians employ a χεὶρ σιδ. when they could destroy the Syracusan ships so much better by the ἐμβολή. The *Syracusans*, on the contrary, would find it advantageous to *them*; for the Athenians being obliged to come in close on shore with their vessels, it was politic for the land forces to endeavour, by grappling-irons, to hold fast any Athenian vessel, in order that they might board and take it.

ther to an anchor at Peloris in Messene, and had their land forces by them. After this, the Syracusans, embarking on board their ships, as they were coasting along hauled by ropes [8] to Messene, the Athenians again attacking them, lose *another* ship, the enemy retiring backwards [9], and then darting forth upon them. Having, then, in the coasting along, and in the sea fight (which was in the foregoing manner), had the better, the Syracusans reached their post at Messene; and the Athenians having been told that Camarina was to be delivered up to the Syracusans by Archias and his partizans, sailed thither. Meanwhile the Messenians went on an expedition with all their forces by sea and land against Naxos, which was bordering on them, and of Chalcidean origin; and on the first day having compelled the Naxians to retire within their walls [10], they devastated the territory, and on the day after they sailed round with their fleet, and ravaged the country about the river Acesines [11], and with their land forces made an

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[8] *Hauled by ropes.*] See the Schol. So Appian 1, 757, 59. ἀπὸ κάλῳ διαπλέων. Hence in 2, 680, 22. τὰ πλοῖα συναγόντων ἀπὸ κάλων, read ἀπὸ κάλω, from Codd. Aug. and Reg. B.

[9] *Retiring backwards.*] The Scholiast well explains ἀποσιμωσάντων of retiring back, in order to be able to rush forward with greater impetus; as is commonly done by *animals*. In which sense the word occurs in Xen. Hist. 5, 4, 50. So also Appian 2, 622, 64. αἱ δὲ ἐμβολαὶ καὶ ἀποσιμώσεις, ἀναστροφαί. The Schol., too, subjoins μετεωρισάντων τὰς ναῦς. And so all the commentators. But this seems inconsistent with the plan of the Syracusans, of keeping close in shore, doubtless to have the assistance of their land forces. They might retire backward without running to sea.

Προεμβαλόντων is a military term, occurring in Polyb. 16, 13, 2. 3, 8, 8. Arrian 1, 14, 9. The προ is not, I think, well rendered *first*. It seems merely to signify *forward*.

[10] *Compelled the Naxians to, &c.*] Τειχηρεῖς ποιήσασθαι is a not uncommon formula in the historians: ex. gr. Herod. 1, 162. Diod. Sic. 6, 129. Polyb. 21, 8, 6. It occurs also in Philostr. 835. and Polyæn. 666.

[11] *Acesines.*] Not *Acesine*, as Hobbes and Smith spell it. Cluver. and Poppo are of opinion that the true reading is *Asines*, which is found in Pliny H. N. 3, 8. But that seems a very uncritical, and, as there were other rivers of the name Acesines (see Duker), a very unfounded notion. It was likely that the κε should, in process of time, be lost; and coalesce with the following syllable. We can surely better account for the loss of the syllable thus, than for its addition in *all* the MSS. "Letters (as Horne Tooke has well observed) are, like soldiers, apt to drop off on a long march."

The Acesines was a small river running into the sea about six miles below the Onobala, at the mouth of which Naxus was situated. These two rivers are now respectively called the Alcantara and the Camarallo. The river in question seems to have derived its name from some medicinal

attack on the city. Meanwhile the Siculi descended from the mountains [12] in great numbers to their assistance against the Messenians. On seeing this, the Naxians took courage, and animating one another [13] with the idea that the Leontines and their other Grecian allies were coming to their assistance, they suddenly sallied forth from the city, and made a charge upon the Messenians, and putting them to flight, slew above a thousand; the rest with difficulty making their retreat homeward; for the Barbarians, falling upon them by the way, put to death most of them. Then the ships, after touching at Messene, separated each to their several cities. Hereupon the Leontines and their allies, together with the Athenians, went immediately on an expedition against Messene, as now reduced to a low ebb, and made an attack upon it; the Athenians with the fleet assaulting it by the *port*, and the land forces on the side of the *city*.[14] But the Messenians and some Locrians, with Demosthenes (who after the disaster had been left in garrison there), making a sally and falling suddenly upon the besiegers, put to the rout most of the army of the Leontines and slew many: on seeing which, the Athenians

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property in the water, which was beneficial to some, and injurious to others.

[12] *The mountains.*] Namely, the Heræi montes, the Petorias, and Taurus mons, as also Ætna, all which, as well as the other inland and mountainous parts, were occupied by the Siculi.

[13] *Animating one another.*] Or encouraging, &c. Even this, however, does not fully represent the sense of the remarkable phrase παρακελευόμενοι ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, where Goeller and Coray (on Heliod. p. 7.) are agreed that ἐν stands for ἀλλήλοις. And the former refers to Meinecke on Menand. p. 276. So also a learned writer in the Mus. Crit. Cantab. 1, 198. But to this opinion I can scarcely accede; still less that of Coray, that ἐν is to be cancelled. The truth is, there seems to be a confusion of two different phrases, παραικ. ἑαυτοῖς, and παραικ. ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, which is for παρακελεύσεις ποιούμενοι ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. Now in the former case ἐν would stand for ἀλλήλοις, but in the latter, perhaps, not so. It would have the same force as in the kindred passages at 5, 69. and 8, 76. παρακελεύσεις ἐποιοῦντο ἐν σφίσιν and ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν παρακέλευσιν ἐποιοῦντο; which, perhaps (as Goeller remarks), defend the ἐν in the present passage. It should seem that by this commixture of the two phrases, Thucydides meant *both* senses to be included. There is something similar in the phrase of the Apostle to the Hebrews 10, 25. ἀλλὰ παρακελεύοντες, scil. ἑαυτούς.

[14] *On the side of the city.*] Hobbes renders, "at the wall to the field." But that is only a paraphrase. It should seem that the port and the city formed two almost distinct towns, though enclosed by one wall, like Athens and Piræus. The *port* seems to have been (where the present commercial

disembarking from their ships, went to their assistance, and coming upon the Messenians, now in disorder; they chased them back into the city, and having erected a trophy, they retired to Rhegium.[15] After this, the Greeks in Sicily undertook land expeditions against each other, in which the Athenians bore no part.

XXVI. At Pylus the Athenians were yet besieging the Lacedæmonians in the island, and the army of the Peloponnesians on the continent remained stationary. The blockade, however, was very laborious to the Athenians, by reason of the scarcity both of provisions and of water; for there was not a spring there, except one in the very port itself of Pylus, and that of no great size: so that most of them drank the water, such as it was[1], which they could get by digging pits in [2] the pebbly and gravelly soil [3] on the sea shore. They were greatly straitened, too, for room, being encamped in so small a space, so that, the ships not having sufficient mooring, some took their food on shore by turns [4], while others anchored off in the deep water. The length of time, too, to which the blockade

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part of Messene is) at the isthmus of the hooked peninsula which forms the harbour; and the *city*, further back up the country.

[15] *Retired to Rhegium.*] Probably thinking it impracticable with allies so beaten and disheartened, to make any impression on Messene; and perhaps induced now to leave the Greeks to battle it out by themselves.

[1] *Such as it was.*] i. e. such as it was likely to be, namely *brackish*. For the water so procured is only sea water filtered, and somewhat cleared of its saline particles in its way through the sand.

[2] *Digging pits in, &c.*] διαμωμένοι. The word comes from ἄμη, a *spade*, and is well explained by Hesych. διιστάντες, where see Hemsterrhus., to whose examples I add Appian 1, 350, 93. διαμ. τὸν ψάμμον. Philostr. Icon. 11, 8. Hence is illustrated Eurip. Bacch. 708. διαμῶσαι χθόνα. as also Plutarch de Is. and Osir. § 60. And hence may be emended Dio. Chrys. 682. οὐδὲ γάλα — δύνασθε ἔχειν, ἄκροις δακτύλοις διασμῶντες χθόνα. where for διασμῶντες read, from the Venetian MS., διαμῶντες. and Themist. Or 250. τῶν νημάτων τὰ διαφανῆ — ἀνιχνεύοντες καὶ διασμώμενοι. where is the same error.

[3] *Pebbly or gravelly soil.*] Κάμαξ is a rare word, occurring also in Procop. 333, 41. It is derived from καμάζειν, on which see Monk on Eurip. Hip. 1205. and Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Theb. 110. as also the Schol. on Theocr. 6, 12.

[4] *Took their food, &c.*] The triremes, far from capable of carrying supplies for any length of time, had not convenient room even for their crews to sleep or to eat aboard; insomuch that Thucydides mentions it among their hardships upon this occasion, that they went ashore by reliefs for their meals, living otherwise aboard their triremes at anchor. (Mitford.)

was unexpectedly protracted[5], occasioned much dejection of mind; whereas they thought to have reduced them in a few days, as being on a desert island, and with nothing to drink but brackish[6] water. The cause of this protracted defence was the Lacedæmonians publicly giving it out that whoever would might carry over to the island ground corn, wine, cheese, or any other food which might be useful for a siege; fixing a high price on the commodities, and promising freedom to any Helot thus introducing provisions. And persons did run the hazard of thus bringing over victuals, and especially the Helots, setting sail from whatever part of Peloponnesus it might chance, and making the shore by night, on the side of the island which looks towards the sea. They also watched their opportunity so as to be brought to shore by the wind: for they easily frustrated the watch of the triremes when the wind was from the sea, since it was then difficult to anchor round, and these persons made for the shore at all hazards[7]; for they dashed their barks on the beach, valued at their cost in money; and the heavy-armed were always on guard[8] at the parts of the island where there was any possibility of landing.[9] Such as ventured by day were sure to be taken. Some, too, there were who, being divers under water[10], swam over by the way

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[5] *Protracted.*] ἐπιγενόμενος is not well rendered *accidebat.* It rather signifies *dilatabatur.*

[6] *Brackish.*] Not *salt,* as Hobbes and Smith render; for the Lacedæmonians could procure at least as good as the Athenians. In the above sense ἁλμυρὸς occurs in Plutarch Anton 48. ἁλμυρὸν καὶ φαρμακῶδες ὕδωρ. Strattis ap. Pollux. 10, 169. ἁλμυρὸν δ' ὕδωρ. and Schol. ap. Aristoph. 617, 6. F.

[7] *At all hazards.*] ἀφειδὴς is properly applicable to *persons,* but is here used of *things,* as also in Æschyl. Agam. 188.

[8] *Were always on guard.*] Namely, to prevent the enemy from landing; though, at the same time, they were ready to facilitate any attempt of those who were bringing provisions.

[9] *Parts of the island where, &c.*] Such is the true sense of κάταρσις, which did not denote a regular port. The word is rare, though I have noticed it (besides Plutarch ap. Steph. Thes.) in Dio Cass. 217, 83. 327, 76, 611 and 949. Ælian V. Hist. and Pollux.

[10] *Divers under water.*] So Dio Cass. 313, 97. τοὺς τε γὰρ λίθους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σκάφεσι συγκειμένους κολυμβηταῖς ὑφύδροις διασκεδάσας. Arrian E. A. 2, 21, 8. ὕφαλοι κολυμβηταὶ τὰς σχοίνους αὐτοῖς ὑπέτεμνον. Now ὑφυδρος is a somewhat rare word, and therefore liable to corruption. Thus in Philostr. V. A. 1, 25. ἔφυδρον read ὕφυδρον. As also in Suidas ἔφυδρος. The two passages he cites are from Dio Cas. 313. and 697. which escaped the editors.

of the port, drawing after them by a cord skins [11] filled with poppy seed mixed with honey [12], and bruised linseed. These at first escaped observation, but afterwards they were watched. Thus every contrivance was resorted to by either party; the one to introduce provisions, the other to take care that they should not pass undiscovered.

XXVII. The people at Athens, hearing of the distressed state of the army, and that provision was introduced [1] for the supply of those on the island, were perplexed how to act, and in great alarm lest some storm [2] should overtake the guard

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In Pollux 1, 97. (on diving) κολυμβητὴς, ὑφαλὸς, ὕφυδρος. read κολυμβητὴς ὕφαλος, ὕφυδρος. Also at 7, 137. ὑδροκολυμβηταὶ, ὑφυδροι, κολυμβηταὶ, δυομένοι. read ὑδροκολυμβηταὶ, κολυμβηταὶ ὕφυδροι, κ. δ. an emendation which is confirmed by Cod. A. On the contrary, in Hippocr. Proth. 2. p. 83. C. for ὑφυδρ. read, with the MSS., ἐφυδ.

On the various devices of divers see the commentators on Quint. Curt. 4, 3, 10.

[11] *Skins.*] Or bags; perhaps bladders.

[12] *Poppy seed mixed with honey.*] The Scholiast conjectures that this and the linseed were meant for medicine rather than food; the former, he says, being good to remove hunger, and the latter thirst. Both, indeed, have medicinal properties; but it is not unlikely that the former was also taken, as *opium* now is, from its cheering nature; and both that and the linseed might be meant to counteract the bad effects of the brackish water. Yet the Scholiast and the commentators have overlooked the very *nutritive* quality of linseed. Nay, it is not improbable that the ingredients in question were meant to be mixed with flour: for I find from Athen. 110. F, and 111. A., that the antients used mixed bread of that kind. His words are these: Μακωνίδων δ' ἄρτων μνημονεύει Ἀλκμάν. on which passage Casaubon annotates thus, Col. 214. 18. "Μακωνίδες panes, papavere sparsos fuisse ipsum nomen arguit ideo Virgilius dixit *Cereale papaver*, quia, inquit Servius, panis aspergatur inter condimentarias herbas papaver et sesamum non postremum locum tenebant. Multa de vario usu papaveris Galenus lib. 7. De facult. simpl. medic. Ideo cum aliquid studiosè politum significare vellent, σησαμόειδες et *papavere ac sesamo sparsum* dicebant. Petronius, *audiunt mellitos verborum globulos, et omnia dicta factaque quasi papavere et sesamo sparsa.* Maconidibus Alcmanis non erant dissimiles quæ alii Græci ἐνθαλάμια vocabant, et ipsa papavere ac sesamo condita. Hesychius, ἐνθαλάμια, πλάσματα ἐκ μήκωνος καὶ σησάμης." Athenæus also subjoins: χρυσοκόλλα ἐστὶ βρωμάτιον διὰ μέλιτος καὶ λίνου. where I conjecture βρῶμα τι ὄν. which is confirmed by Hesych. χρυσοκόλλα. βρῶμα τι ἐκ λινοσπέρμου καὶ μέλιτος. καὶ χρῶμα τι χλωρόν. where I read μέλιτος, καὶ χρώματι χλωρόν Casaubon, too, quotes a passage of Galen where he says: "lini semen inter illa habet, quæ et alimenti et pharmaci usum præstent." Also at l. 7. he tells us that the seed was prepared for the table "*frictum* et non *frictum*;" where the *frictum* answers to the κεκομμένον of Thucydides.

[1] *Introduced.*] Ἐσπλεῖ. Neuter for passive.

[2] *Storm.*] Not *winter*, as the translators render; for that sense would require the article.

ships; finding that the conveyance of[3] provisions round Peloponnesus to a desert place[4] would be impracticable, for even in summer they were scarcely able to transmit a sufficiency, as also that there would not be any anchorage[5] at places which supplied no port or shelter; and foreseeing that either, if they gave over the blockade, the men would carry their point, or else, watching some tempestuous season, would contrive to effect their escape by means of the barks which brought them provisions; but most of all they feared lest it was from the consciousness of strength[6] that the Lacedæ-

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[3] *Conveyance of, &c.*] Hence it should seem that all the provisions for the whole armament were conveyed from Athens; and considering that the fleet amounted to sixty ships of war, the total number of fighting men (independent of servants) would amount, together with the land force, to something not far short of twenty thousand. A very great number to be supported at so great a distance, and by such a small country as Athens.

[4] *Desert place.*] Truly such; for they had not a foot of land save that occupied by the fort.

[5] *Anchorage.*] i. e. in winter, when if the wind blew hard, the anchors, it seems, would not hold.

[6] *Consciousness of strength.*] Literally, "something strong, some sure dependence." Here, however, the translators and commentators are by no means agreed; and it must be confessed that the sense is somewhat doubtful. One thing is certain, that the versions of Hobbes and Smith are not permitted by the norma loquendi. I was formerly of opinion that the words might signify "præsidium argumenti ex quo justam querelæ causam adstruerent;" namely with reference to the bad faith of the Athenians in not restoring the ships; and this mode of interpretation has been since supported by Hack. It now, however, seems to me to be too far-fetched, and to imply more attention to rectitude and conscience in the *other* party than we are warranted in supposing of them. I confess I see no interpretation so probable as the one above adopted, and which unites that of the Scholiast and Portus, and even Hobbes. The Lacedæmonians, it was thought, felt confident in their national strength, and the reliance which they placed in recovering the men. Or, it was thought that they had some strong reason for not sending, namely, &c., which comes to the same thing. Many classical proofs and illustrations either way might be adduced, which I must reserve for my edition.

Mitford ably paraphrases the whole passage ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις — δεξάμενοι thus: "The uneasiness hence arising in the fleet and army was, ere long, communicated to Athens, and reasonable apprehension arose that approaching winter would increase the difficulties; that it would become impossible to supply the armament with provisions by the navigation round the capes of Peloponnesus, which, in summer, they found could not be done in the requisite extent; and that, even if supplies could be obtained the fleet could not remain, during the stormy season, on a coast where they possessed no port. It was then further considered, that, if the Lacedæmonians should recover their people from Sphacteria, not only an opportunity for making an advantageous peace was lost, but future opportunities were precluded: at least, the first proposal must hereafter come

monians no longer made proposals for accommodation, and they repented that they had not accepted the offers of peace. But Cleon, aware of the suspicion and ill-will [7] they entertained against him as hindering the treaty, affirmed that the reporters had not spoken the truth [8]: upon which, those who had come from the army desired that if *they* were thought unworthy of credit, persons might be sent to examine the state of things; and agreeably thereto, he and Theogenes [9] were appointed by the Athenians commissioners of enquiry. Knowing, however [10], that either he should be obliged to confirm the accounts of those whom he had slandered, or that if he contradicted them, he should be convicted of falsity (seeing the Athenians even more bent on sending an expedition thither [11]), he represented to them that it was proper not to send commissioners, nor lose the opportunity by delay; but that if the account proved true, they should at once put to sea, and go after [12] the men in question. Then, glancing [13] at

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from themselves, for the Lacedæmonians would scarcely risk the disgrace of a second refusal."

7 *The suspicion and ill-will, &c.*] Both these senses, and especially the latter, seem included in ὑποψίαν, as in some other passages which I shall adduce in my edition. Mitford well paraphrases thus: "Public indignation was rising fast against Cleon, as the evil counsellor of the commonwealth, and author of the evils felt or apprehended."

8 *Had not spoken the truth.*] i. e. that the circumstances of the armament were not so unfavourable as they were represented.

9 *Theogenes.*] Such is the reading of by far the greater number of MSS. The rest have Theagenes, which is more usual in the Greek writers. To the authorities adduced by Duker, it may be added, that Theagenes often occurs in Athenæus. See also the note of Reitz on Lucian, t. 2, 47.

10 *Knowing, however, &c.*] Mitford remarks that, "pressed by this proposal, which he was aware would not answer his end, and anxious any how to throw the weight of the business upon others, he seems, in the moment, to have lost his guard." It should rather seem, however, that he was *not* thrown off his guard, but that he dexterously contrived to back out (as we say), and resorted to another measure equally calculated to answer his purpose.

11 *Sending an expedition thither.*] i. e. by way of reinforcement to the preceding.

12 *Go after.*] Or *fetch.* For that seems implied in ἐπί, and not *invade*, as the translators render; which is frigid and formal.

13 *Glancing.*] i. e. pointing or hinting at. Ἀποσημαίνω, indeed, rather signifies *plane significare*. That, however, is not the sense here required, but rather *innuo, obscure significo*. I should, therefore, conjecture ὑπεσήμαινεν, which seems also to be the true reading in the passage of Dio Cass., adduced by Steph. Thes. and Plutarch Apoph. 177, B., both which

Nicias son of Niceratus, who was then one of the generals [14], towards whom he bore enmity and constantly carped at [15], — "that if the generals were but *men* [16], it would be easy for them to go and take the persons on the island; and he, for his part, had he the command, would soon do it."

XXVIII. But Nicias, on the Athenians somewhat clamouring against Cleon, and asking, "Why, if it appeared so easy to him, he did not even now go and do it?" and he, withal, seeing that Cleon was sneering at *him*, bid him, as far as he and his colleagues were concerned [1], to take what force

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passages seem imitated from our author. And in this very sense Dio Cass. uses ὑποσημαίνειν in another place, p. 880., where, speaking of the "adulatio aulicorum erga Sejanum," he says: "τὴν τε οὖν τύχην αὐτοῦ ὤμνυσαν, καὶ συνάρχοντα τοῦ Τιβερίου, οὐκ ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ κράτος ὑποσημαίνοντες, ἐδηλοῦν. Thus, too, in Appian, 1, 715, 52. οὐδὲν ἐς τιμὴν ἐπεσήμηνε τοῦ Φιμβρίου. ought to be restored ὑπεσ., the reading of the editions before Schweigh., who changed it to ἐπεσ., on the authority of one MS., but in his notes would have the old reading restored.

[14] *Generals.*] i. e. one of the ten annually appointed by the state, to whom was committed the levying and mustering of the soldiers. This I should scarcely have thought it worth while to notice, had not Mitford fallen into error from not attending to this distinction, which even the absence of the article requires. Thus, just after, we have οἱ στρατηγοί, as applied to all *those* generals. It true that, in one sense, Nicias was generalissimo, by being probably at the head of those generals.

[15] *Carped at.*] Literally, "being his constant censurer, or ἐπιτιμήτης," to use a Sophoclean term. It is somewhat rare to find this verb without a case; but so it occurs infra, c. 28. Aristot. Eth. 3, 5. Demosth. Olynth. 1. See Hemsterhus. on Pollux, 9, 138.

[16] *Men.*] i. e. κατ' ἐξοχήν brave men. This idiom (which coincides with our English one) is found in the best writers, from Homer downwards; though it has been often forgotten by editors and critics. The only examples I shall at present adduce are from Herod. 7, 211., where it is said of the Persians ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνθρωποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες. and Justin, 11, 14.

[1] *As far as he and his colleagues were concerned.*] There has been some doubt as to the sense of τὸ ἐπὶ σφὰς εἶναι. As to reading σφίσι, with Antyllus ap. Schol., Portus, Duker, and Hack, that it is unnecessary; for rare as the syntax has been supposed, I shall be enabled, in my edition, to adduce numerous examples. In the meantime it may suffice, to refer the student to Porson on Eurip. 1338.

But, to turn from words to things, Mitford censures Nicias for thus, in order to avoid crimination, miserably betraying the dignity of his high office. Perhaps, however, the censure is not quite merited. It was, probably, not to avoid crimination, but because he was thrown off his guard by the sneers of his adversary. And, as to a "sacrifice of dignity," that was rather the fault of the *people*, who, by calling upon Cleon to undertake the command, willed it to be so. And the people, it must be remembered, were his absolute sovereign.

he pleased, and make the attempt. He at first thought that Nicias was ready to yield up the command only so far as *words* were concerned; but when he found that he was really ready to give it up to him, he would have retreated [2] from the business, and said that not *he*, but Nicias, was general; being now afraid, and yet imagining that he would never venture to yield it to him. Nicias, however, again bade him do as he said, and formally waved his right to the command of Pylus, taking the people as his witnesses. Then they (as is usual with the multitude), in proportion as Cleon endeavoured to avoid going and to recede from what he had said, so did they the more desire Nicias to yield the command, and clamorously shouted out to Cleon to "be gone on the voyage." So that not having any expedient whereby he could any longer extricate himself from his engagements, he undertook the voyage, and coming forward [3], declared that he feared not the Lacedæmonians, and said that he would sail without taking a single man from the city [4], but only with some Lemnians and Imbrian auxiliaries then present, as also some targetteers that

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[2] *Retreated.*] Or, as we say, backed out. One cannot but admire the ubertas verborum of our author, who, in the course of a few lines, has ὑποχωρῆσαι, ὑπέφευγε, ἐξενεχώρει, ἐξαπαλλαγῇ.

[3] *Coming forward.*] Mitford thinks that, from the circumstances, and from the tenour of the narrative, it should seem to have been on *another assembly*, held on this business, that Cleon uttered what follows. This, however, seems to be a very groundless notion. There is nothing in our author to warrant it; nay, the words πάντα διαπραξάμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ refute it; and there are many reasons why it is probable. Surely, had there been time for consideration, the good sense of the Athenians would have seen how dishonourable to them it was to thrust so important a charge upon a man wholly unfit for it, and who would fain have declined it, purely as a joke. It is truly observed by Smith, that the dignity of the state had never been well supported, on these public debates, since the death of Pericles. There is, however, little doubt but that it was the *mob* who devised this joke, who, as usual, were pertinacious in carrying it into effect.

[4] *Without taking a single man from the city.*] This apparent moderation, designed to gratify the Athenians by sparing *their* services, was, as Mitford observes, "adopted by Cleon, because he had reason to think that the business was not so desperate as was imagined, having learned that Demosthenes had already formed the plan, and was preparing for the attempt with the forces on the spot." Nay, even his vainglorious bravado, ridiculous as it seemed, did not, perhaps, so much partake of inconsiderate rashness, but was made in reliance on the judicious plans formed by Demosthenes.

were come from Ænus [5], and bowmen from other quarters. With these troops only, in addition to those at Pylus, he said he would, within twenty days, either bring the Lacedæmonians thither alive, or put them to the sword on the spot. Upon this, the Athenians were seized with somewhat even of laughter [6] at his bravado, which, however, was not unacceptable to the prudent among them, as reckoning that they would not miss of *one* of two advantages: either to be fairly rid of Cleon (which they rather hoped), or, if deceived in their expectation, to get those Lacedæmonians into their hands.

XXIX. Having despatched all the necessary arrangements in the assembly, and the Athenians having decreed that he should proceed on the voyage, after having chosen an associate in the command, one of the generals at Pylus (namely Demosthenes [1]), he took his departure without delay. He took Demosthenes as colleague, because he had heard that he was of himself meditating a disembarkation on the island: for the soldiers suffering grievously from the incommodiousness of

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[5] *Ænus.*] There were, it may be observed, three places of this name. The one here meant was, doubtless, that in Thrace, at the mouth of the Hebrus, and which was also called Apsynthus. On this city an important and interesting passage (though omitted by the geographers, as well as the commentators on Strabo and Steph. Byz.) may be found in Athen. 351. C. Now the Thracians (who were noted for their avarice) were accustomed to engage themselves to any who would pay them for their services. Yet the term βεβοηθηκότες would seem to imply (though that is not certain) that the Ænians were allies of Athens. It is plain that Cleon here concealed his fear under the semblance of undaunted courage.

[6] *Somewhat even of laughter.*] The guarded language of Thucydides does not authorise to suppose, with Mitford, that there was a *general laugh* in the assembly. It is not probable that the graver and more discreet (just afterwards mentioned) participated in such a breach of decorum.

[1] *Having chosen an associate, &c.*] Smith renders, "Demosthenes, at Cleon's own request, was joined in the commission of commanders at Pylus;" which version Mitford follows. But the words can scarcely have any other sense than that above assigned, and, it may be observed, show that in such cases the commander, when appointed, had the right of choosing his colleagues. I grant, however, that the thing is not certain. And, indeed, the difference is here scarcely more than a verbal one.

He would choose *Demosthenes*, since, for the reasons above suggested, he could not dispense with his services. This is alluded to by Aristoph. Equit. 392. ἀνὴρ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, τἀλλότριον ἀμῶν θέρος. Νῦν δὲ τοὺς στάχυς ἐκείνους, οὓς ἐκεῖθεν ἤγαγεν, Ἐν ξύλῳ δήσας ἀφαύει, κἀποδόσθαι βούλεται, where see the Schol.

the place, and being the besieged rather than the besiegers [2], were passionately bent on carrying through the affair, at all hazards. And now the island being cleared by conflagration, afforded him an additional advantage [3]: for before, it being for the most part woody and pathless [4] (from having been perpetually a desert place), he had been deterred from making any attack; thinking that this was rather for the advantage of the *enemy*, since they could, by attacking from some unseen point a much larger force when disembarked, not a little annoy them: for the disposition of their troops, and any errors therein committed, would not, from the wood, be so perceptible; whereas all the blunders of their own army would be manifest to the enemy, so that they might fall upon them unexpectedly whenever they pleased, since attack would be in *their* power. If, moreover, he should force his way into the thicket, and there engage with them, he thought the smaller number, but acquainted with the place, would be too hard for the greater one without such knowledge. Their own army, too, great as it was, might be imperceptibly destroyed; there being no point of view [5] whence it might be seen where any needful assistance should be given.

XXX. These reflections were suggested to him, in a great measure, by his disaster in Ætolia [1], which had, to a certain degree, been occasioned by the woodiness of the country. The conflagration of the forest had arisen from the circumstance that the soldiers having been compelled by the want of

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2 *Being the besieged rather than the besiegers.*] This has been imitated by many historians.

3 *Afforded him an additional advantage.*] Such seems to be the sense, which has been missed by Hobbes, Smith, and Gail.

4 *It being for the most part woody and pathless.*] This passage is imitated by Arrian E. A. 5, 11, 1. νῆσος ὑλώδης τε καὶ ἀστιβὴς ὑπ' ἐρημίας. Upon the whole it appears that Sphacteria was a place of much natural strength.

5 *Point of view.*] Such is the sense of πρόσοψις, a rare word, of which the following are examples: — Soph. Aj. 70. σὴν πρόσοψιν εἰσιδεῖν. Athen. l. 2. Schol. on Soph. Œd. Col. 16. ὡς ἔστιν ἐκ προσοψέως τεκμήρασθαι. Eurip. Orest. 1018. σ' ἰδοῦσ' ἐν ὄμμασι πανυστάτην πρόσοψιν.

1 *Were suggested to him, &c.*] This shows that Demosthenes was not merely endued with great courage and spirit of enterprise, but also possessed a quality of which such characters are often destitute, the being

room to land on the outskirts of the island and take their dinner [2], with a piquet guard placed, and some one having unintentionally set fire to a small part of the wood, and a brisk wind happening to spring up, the greater part of the forest was gradually burnt. Then, indeed, perceiving that the Lacedæmonians were rather *more* than fewer in number than he had expected (for he had before entertained a suspicion that the provisions had been sent for *fewer* than the real number [3]); also that the Athenians were zealous for the enterprise, as a matter of importance; and finally, that the island was now more easy of access, he was making preparations for the attempt, by sending for troops from the nearest allies, and making such dispositions as were necessary, when Cleon, having sent a messenger to announce his approach, arrives at Pylus with the army which he had required. And having held a conference, they first send a herald to the army on the continent, desiring to know whether they were willing to avoid danger, by ordering the men in the island to surrender their arms and persons, on condition that they should be kept

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sensible to any errors he might commit, and taking care to avoid them for the future.

[2] *Take their dinner.*] Ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι must here denote both dress and eat; for as each soldier was his own cook, the dressing of the meat might be said to form a part of the thing. From προσίσχοντας it is plain that this must be understood of the *Athenian* soldiers, not those of the *Lacedæmonians*, as Mitford narrates.* Even, indeed, without that word the thing were sufficiently plain; for the *Lacedæmonians* were not straitened for room to take their meals in, nor would *they* take them on the *outskirts*, in the presence of the enemy under the protection of a piquet-guard, but in the interior and sheltered part of the island. Hence it appears that by ἐν τῇ γῇ (on the shore) at c. 26. init. is meant the shore of the island, as well as the little strip below the port.

[3] *For he had before entertained a suspicion, &c.*] He had suspected that, by a *ruse de guerre*, the Lacedæmonians had claimed rations for fewer than they really were. Which was not improbable, since it might have been done, either more easily to induce the Athenians to consent to their liberation, or to put them off their guard on the event of an attack.

For αὐτοῦ, which is somewhat awkward, Poppo and Goeller would read, from the conjecture of Bauer, αὐτοῦς. If any change were necessary, I should prefer αὐτοῖς, scil. Lacedæmoniis.

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* It is strange that he should have fallen into this error; for it had been avoided by Portus, Hobbes, and Smith, and the Scholiast long ago remarked, that the *Athenians* must here be understood.

prisoners in moderate durance[4], until some treaty should be concluded on for the adjustment of the main points of difference.

XXXI. The proposal not being accepted, they deferred operations for one day; on the following they weighed anchor, while it was yet night, embarking the whole of the heavy-armed on board a few of the ships; and a little before day-break they effected a landing on either side of the island, both towards the sea, and opposite the port[5], to the number of about eight hundred heavy-armed, and advanced at a run upon the first guard of the island[6]; for the garrison was thus disposed. At this first guard were posted about thirty heavy-armed; the middle and levellest part of the island, and where their water was procured[7], was occupied by the main body of the garrison and Epitadas the commandant. The remaining portion of them (not very considerable), defended the very farthest part of the island, which was to the seaward, rocky and steep, and to the landward the least assailable[8]; for there was there, too, an old fortification[9] built of unwrought stones, each fitted

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4 *Moderate durance.*] With this φυλακῇ τῇ μετρίᾳ we may compare the φυλακὴ ἄδεσμος: but whether it imported no more, is not clear. It rather denoted a mildness of treatment in every other respect but bonds.

5 *Opposite the port.*] Here I would read πρὸς, which the recent editors ought, from some of the best MSS., to have received. To the examples adduced by Duker of this sense of πρὸς, I add Arrian 2, 20, 13. τὸν λίμενα τὸν πρὸς Σιδῶνος.

6 *The first guard of the island.*] From what follows it appears that the attack was made from the southern end of the island. It may be observed that the latest surveys of the island make it longer than it had been estimated to be, but somewhat narrower.

7 *Where their water was procured.*] Smith absurdly renders, "about the ground that was level and watery." Mitford, "the only spring the island afforded." But ὕδωρ will scarcely bear that sense; and it is negatived by what was said at c. 26. where the men in the island are described as ὕδατι ἁλμυρῷ χρωμένους.

8 *Least assailable.*] Not "altogether impregnable," as Smith renders; for then how came it that the Lacedæmonians could not maintain the post. The truth seems to be that no part of the island was remarkably strong in situation except the north point.

The word ἐπίμαχος is used by Herodotus and Xenophon, and should be restored to Arrian E. A. 4, 25, 3. ἥπερ ἐπιμαχιμώτατον τοῦ λόφου ἐφαίνετο. where read, from the best MSS., ἐπιμαχώτατον. The present passage is cited by Pollux 1, 171.

9 *Fortification.*] i. e. a fortified work. It certainly was not a regular fort, otherwise it would have been thought of greater consequence than

to its place[10], which they thought would be useful to them if they should be compelled to a hasty and precipitate retreat.[11]

XXXII. Those first guards, then, whom the Athenians ran upon, they immediately put to the sword, while yet in their couches[1], seizing their arms; so secretly had they made their approaches, the guard supposing that the ships were only sailing, as usual, to their anchorage for the night. With the dawn of day the rest of the forces disembarked from the ships (which were somewhat more than seventy[2] in number), all except the thalamii[3] (or lowest branch of rowers), each

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the words lead us to suppose. It should seem, indeed, from the subsequent part of the narrative to have been little more than a sort of *knoll* occupying the very farthest point of the island, and defended by a rude wall towards the land and partly towards the sea, on which side it was almost inaccessible. From Gell's Morea, p. 5., it appears that some remains of a well are still to be seen.

[10] *Unwrought stones, &c.*] The versions of Hobbes and Smith do not adequately represent the sense, which will be best comprehended by inspecting those representations of antient walls of the kind to be found in Dr. Clarke's (vol. 4.) and Mr. Dodwell's Travels (vol. 1.).

[11] *If they should be compelled, &c.*] Literally, "if a forced retreat should befall them." Here, with most of the MSS., I read *βιαιοτέρα*. In my edition I shall confirm, by examples, the remark of Duker that *καταλαμβάνω* is generally used of *evils*, and also adduce other instances of the confusion of *βίαιος* and *βέβαιος*.

[1] *In their couches.*] Not *beds*, as Hobbes and Smith render. These we may suppose, were merely bundles of straw, into which each crept. It may, indeed, seem strange to us that piquets should be allowed couches, or permitted to slumber; but, perhaps, only part were required to be actually watching, and the rest were allowed to doze on bundles of straw.

Bekker and Goeller would join the *ἔτι* with *ἀναλαμβάνοντας*; the preceding editors, including Kistemacher and Hack, with *ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς*, which seems preferable, as being supported not only by a kindred passage at 3, 112.; but by others in Arrian E. A. 1, 6, 22. and 25, 10. 3, 17, 1. Xen. Hist. 2, 4, 6. The *καὶ* before *λαβόντες* is merely apodotic to the *τε* before, and neither particle can be expressed in a version.

[2] *Somewhat more than seventy.*] The number, it seems, had again been increased when Cleon was sent.

[3] *Except the thalamii.*] Or those who occupied the lowest row of oars, corresponding to the lowest tier of our three-deckers, Those who occupied the middle place were called the *Zeugitæ*; and those who had the highest, the *Thranitæ*. See Æschyl. Agam. 1607. seqq. and Dr. Blomfield on that passage. See also Palmer, Schæffer, Meiton ap. Duker, and Boechk Staatsh. t. i. p. 302. referred to by Goeller.*

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* Others, indeed, as the Schol. on Aristoph. Ran. 1106., tell us that the *Thranitæ* were those who sat at the stern of the ship; the *Zeugitæ*, those at the

accoutred according to his class [4]; of archers eight hundred, and peltastæ (or middle-armed) as many, some Messenians [5] who had come to their aid, and all others who were on duty at Pylus, excepting only the necessary garrison of the fort. These, according to the disposition of Demosthenes, formed themselves in separate bodies of about two hundred (sometimes more, sometimes less), occupying the eminences, that the enemy might be reduced to the greatest difficulty, as being encompassed on every side, and might be at a loss what part to make head against, but be exposed to shots on all sides [6] from the troops at large; being, if they should attack those in *front*, exposed to missiles from behind; and if those on *either flank*, to those stationed on either hand. And whatever course they should take, they would have perpetually at their rear the enemy's light-armed, who were the hardest [7] to deal with,

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Now these thalamii were thorough seamen, and seldom or never employed for land service; and were in the present instance alone left behind, to take care of the vessels.

[4] *Accoutred according to his class.*] i. e. whether heavy-armed, middle-armed (peltastæ), or light-armed. Upon the whole, it seems to have been a motley sort of force, though amply competent for the purpose.

[5] *Messenians.*] Those who had originally come to the aid of the Athenians at Pylus, and perhaps others who had since joined them. See supra, c. 9.

[6] *Exposed to shots on all sides.*] This sense of ἀμφίβολος has been before treated of supra, 2, 76. Here may be added Procop. 23, 9. ἀμφίβολοι ἐγίνοντο πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. Dio Cass. 367, 79. Plutarch in Camill. c. 34. ἀμφίβολοι γεγονότες. Æschyl. S. C. Theb. 285. And so *anceps* is used by Livy, as 30, 33. s. f. and 26, 46.

[7] *Who were the hardest, &c.*] There are few passages that have more perplexed the commentators than this. The difficulty hinges on the sense of οἱ ἀπορώτατοι, on which not even the antients were agreed. Of the two interpretations proposed by the Schol., Duker approves of neither, and confesses that he cannot discern the sense. Goeller, too, leaves it undecided. Some of the antients (as also most moderns, and recently Kistemacher, Hack, and Bekker) explain it of those who were either unarmed, or the worst provided with arms. And they refer to the ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐσκευασμένοι preceding, observing that it cannot be supposed there were arms for all. But those words are not decisive; and no good reason can be given why all should not have arms, since on leaving Athens, all would be provided with arms of some sort or other. Besides, it seems very irregular to take ἀπορώτατοι in so unexampled a sense. I entirely agree with the Scholiast, who interprets: οἱ εἰς ἀπορίαν καθιστάντες τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους τοῖς τοξεύ-

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middle; and the *Thalamii*, those at the prow; and I must confess that this is much confirmed by Polyæn. l. 5, 43, 530. ἐμβαλεῖν μὴ δύνηται, τῷ τὴν ἐμβολὴν εἶναι κατὰ τὰς πρώτας θρανίτιδας.

as having their means of offence and defence available at a distance, by means of darts, stones, and slings; whom even to reach was impracticable, for they overcame flying[8]; and when the enemy retired, pressed upon them. Such was the plan which Demosthenes devised at his landing, and on which he formed his troops in the engagement.

XXXIII. The body with Epitadas, which comprehended the greater number of those on the island, when they saw the first guard cut off, and an armed force advancing towards them, ranged themselves in order of battle, and made towards the heavy-armed of the Athenians, intending to come to action with them: for they were posted opposite to them, and the light-armed on the flanks and the rear. They were, however, unable to engage with them, or to display their skill[9];

μασιν. and refers to Hom. Il. 7, 479. This mode of interpretation, too, is adopted by Heilman and Bauer, who, however, adduce no examples of this *active* sense of ἄπορος, for want of which, perhaps, the subsequent editors have paid no attention to the interpretation. The following, I trust, will suffice. Soph. Œd. Col. 513. ἔραμαι πυθέσθαι — τὰς δειλαίας ἀπόρου φανείσας Ἀλγήδονος, scil. περί. Eurip. Orest. 70. ἄπορον χρῆμα δυστυχῶν δόμος. to omit numerous other passages which I shall adduce in my edition.

[8] *Overcame flying.*] Exactly in the manner of the Parthians, so well described by Horat. Od. 1, 19, 11. Et versis animosum equis Parthum. and Virg. Georg. 3, 31. Fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis. So also Dionys. Hal. Ant. 1, 413, 45. κυκλῷ δὲ περιστάντες ἀθρόοι, καὶ ἕΕλλον ὑποχωροῦντες, and Eurip. Iph. Taur. 325. ἀλλ' εἰ φύγοι τις, ἄτεροι προσκείμενοι Ἕλλον αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ τούσδ' ὡσαίατο, Αὖθις τὸ νῦν ὑπεῖκον ἥρασσον πέτροις.

[9] *Display their skill.*] Hobbes remarks that "the skill of fighting a standing fight was thought a peculiar virtue of the Lacedæmonians, as the sea fight was thought of the Athenians." Mitford considers the subject more at large, and has the following observations. "The Lacedæmonians, and indeed all the Peloponnesians, seem to have been absurdly attached, through a point of honour, to the exclusive use of weapons for close fight. Among the early Greeks, the first purpose of arms, after self-defence, was to defend their cattle: the second, when civilisation advanced, to protect their harvest and cultivated fruits: the third, and not least important, to hold a secure superiority over their numerous slaves. Hence, as well as because of the more determined courage requisite for the use of them, and of their greater efficacy in the hands of brave and able men wherever they can be used, arms for stationary fight in plains were deemed more honourable than missile weapons. But, as under many circumstances, especially in mountainous countries, like the greatest part of Peloponnesus and of all Greece, it was easy to evade the force of the heavy-armed, and yet to give them annoyance, we find the Lacedæmonians often suffering for want of light troops and missile weapons. Epitadas chose with his little band, to meet an enemy who so out-numbered him, in the levellest part of the island;

for the light-armed on either side checked their advance by vollies of missiles, and at the same time their enemies opposite[10] advanced not upon them[11], but kept quiet. As to the light-armed, wherever they were most pressing, they charged at and put them to flight, but they would turn about and defend themselves (as being men lightly equipped), and easily got the better of them in flight, by the difficulty of the places (rough, from the former desert state of the island), where it was impossible for the Lacedæmonians or their army to follow.

XXXIV. Thus for some time they skirmished against each other; but the Lacedæmonians being no longer able to alertly run out upon them where they attacked, the light-armed, perceiving them to be now tardier in beating off their attacks, and themselves being considerably emboldened[1] at the sight of their own greatly superior numbers; and having now become more used[2] to them, so that they no longer appeared so formidable as before[3], because they had not immediately suffered any thing like what their expectations had figured to them, when on first landing they had been dejected in mind[4],

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not only because the fountain there was necessary to him, but because there the weapons and the discipline of his people would be most efficacious."

[10] *Opposite.*] Ἐξ ἐναντίας To which are opposed ἐκ πλαγίου and κατὰ νώτου, So Xen. Cyr. 7, 1, 15. οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἐναντίας. as opposed to ἐκ πλαγίου. and 4, 5, 15. οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου. as opposed to ἄλλοι ἐκ πλαγίου παραξέοντες. And Onosander p. 69. has ἐκ πλαγίων.

[11] *Advanced not upon them.*] In this sense ἀντέπειμι occurs not unfrequently in Arrian, Appian, Dio Cass., and Onosander.

[1] *Considerably emboldened.*] Literally, "taking most of their courage from." These words (which have been misconceived) seem intended to show that the light-armed had stood in no little awe of the Lacedæmonian heavy infantry.

With the ἐν ὄψει Goeller aptly compares 6, 31 and 49.

[2] *Used.*] Namely, since the beginning of the battle; as appears from what follows. These men were of the allies, chiefly from the Greek islands, and probably had never faced Lacedæmonian heavy infantry before.

[3] *So that they no longer, &c.*] The δεινοὺς αὐτοὺς φαίνεσθαι depends upon ὥστε understood.

[4] *Dejected in mind.*] The expression of the original δεδουλώμενοι (which, the commentators remark, is also used by Plato and Arrian) is a very strong one and may be rendered *daunted, overawed*, as it were with servile apprehension: such kind of fear as that which certain insurgent slaves of antient times felt when their masters met them, not with arms, but whips; and such as thieves instinctively feel for catchpoles. The strength of the expression is both justified and illustrated by the remark of Mitford. "Such was the character of the Lacedæmonian heavy infantry at this time in

as proceeding against Lacedæmonians; therefore now feeling *contempt*, they set up a halloo, and rushed all at once upon them, launching such missiles, stones, or darts, as each had at hand. At this shout accompanying the charge, consternation [5] seized the minds of men unaccustomed to such sort of combats, and the dust and ashes from the wood lately burned rose in clouds, so that it was difficult to see before them for the lances and stones hurled from so many men together with the dust. And now the battle, on the part of the Lacedæmonians, began to be sustained under peculiar difficulties: for their cuirasses [6] could not turn the lances, and

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Greece, that with all the advantage of numbers on their side, the light-armed of the Athenian army had not approached them without awe." The very same feeling, and as speedy a change of it into the opposite one, was felt by the raw levies of France at the beginning of the war of the Revolution, when they first encountered the redoubted Prussian infantry formed in the school of Frederick the Great.

[5] *Consternation.*] Ἔκπληξις is not well rendered by Portus *pavor;* for such a feeling would be only suitable to cowards, which these men certainly were not. Mitford takes it to denote *astonishment.* The truth is, it seems to denote a combined feeling of astonishment and consternation.

[6] *Cuirasses.*] Or *caps*, as Bauer, Hack, and others understand. And in this sense the word πῖλος occurs in Hesiod Opp. 2, 164, and other authors cited by Steph. Thes. But why *caps* should have been particularly mentioned, is by no means clear. I therefore prefer *cuirasses*, with one of the Scholiasts, and other commentators, especially Levêque and Goeller. It is rightly remarked by Levêque, that the primary sense of the word is *villum, feutre.* See Pollux Onon. 7, 11. These consisted of very thick and closely woven or quilted woollen stuff, and were used for the head, breast, and feet, and may not unaptly be compared with the stout *leather buff* of former times, from which *jerkins* were made to wear under armour, and which, when the body was not covered with mail, formed the sole defence. Such, too, is the sense which Goeller elicits from the Scholiast.

Hence we shall be enabled to determine the true mode of taking the words following δοράτιά τε ἐναποκέκλαστο βαλλομένων. where δοράτια has been understood by Bauer, Bredov., and Goeller of the Lacedæmonian missiles broken in the helmets or breastplates of the Athenians. But it may be observed that these men did not use missiles, but were heavy-armed; nor had the enemy helmets or breastplates, as being light-armed. Besides, there is something frigid in the sense, and not agreeable to what follows. Duker, Levêque, Smith, and Hack take the sense to be, "the lances were broken by the stones in the act of being launched forth." But to assign such a signification to ἐν, is at variance with every principle of sound interpretation. Hobbes alone seems to have discerned the true sense of ἐναποκέκλαστο (though it had occurred to myself, before I inspected his version) which I have expressed in the version. The δοράτια and βαλλομένων must be understood of the *Athenians*, and in a deponent sense; and the ἐν has reference to the πῖλοι (cuirasses or jerkins) before mentioned, as if it were written ἐν τοῖς πίλοις ἀποκέκλαστο. This interpretation is placed beyond all doubt by the two following passages, of which the writers pro-

the darts with which they were assailed broke off short in them, so that they had not the power of using their limbs; excluded, too, from seeing before them, and, from the overpowering shouts of the enemy, not hearing any orders[7] among themselves, and danger encircling them on every side, and no hope remaining by any defensive exertions whatever of being saved.

XXXV. At last, after many had been wounded, from being all along confined to the same spot[1], they closed their ranks[2], and marched to the fortified work at the farthest part of the island[3], which was not far distant, and retreated on their own garrison there. But as soon as they gave way,

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bably had in view the present. Pausan. 1, 21, 8. ἐναποκλῶνται γάρ σφισι καὶ λεόντων ὀδόντες. Plutarch. Crass. 25. ἀνίστασαν ἐκ βυθοῦ θῖνας ἄμμου, κονιορτὸν ἐπαγούσας ἄπλετον. ὡς μήτε διορᾶν ῥᾳδίως, μήτε φθέγγεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἱλουμένους δ' ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ συμπίπτοντας ἀλλήλοις, βάλλεσθαι καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν οὐ ῥᾴδιον, οὐδ' ὀξὺν θάνατον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σπασμοῦ καὶ ὀδύνης δυσανασχετοῦντας, καὶ κυλινδουμένους περὶ τοῖς ὀϊστοῖς, ἐναποθνήσκειν τοῖς τραύμασι. where read ἐναποθραύειν τοῖς τραύμασι (scil. τοὺς ὀϊστούς), and cancel the comma after τραύμασι.

Thus we shall be enabled to see the force of the words following (to which a very vague sense had hitherto been assigned); for, with the ends of the darts stuck in their cuirasses, they would be so hampered in their motions as to be incapacitated from using their limbs for either assault or defence. On the phrase, αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι, see Steph. Thes. 3, 1592. A.

[7] *Not hearing any orders.*] Something very similar occurs at 2, 8.

[1] *Confined to the same spot.*] With the ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἀναστρέφεσθαι we may compare 7, 44. ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ ἀναστρέφεσθαι. Indeed the ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, of the present passage, implies that the men were straitened, and, in a manner, nailed to the spot. Why they should be more wounded in such a situation, may be understood by considering that, when persons exposed to missiles, have room to move about, they may often contrive to avoid the missiles, or even catch them in their hands, if spears or darts. That the soldiers of the antients had this faculty there is no doubt, since we find it possessed, to a most extraordinary degree, by several barbarous nations at the present day.

[2] *Closed to their ranks.*] The word συγκλείω is here used in an uncommon sense, neither illustrated by Steph. Thes., nor, as far as I am aware, any Greek editor. It may be explained, with the Schol., συνασπίσαντες, πυκνώσαντες, συναχθέντες (though, from the Cod. Aug. ought to be read πυκνωθέντες, which I am surprised Gottleber should think *vitiose scriptum*). There is an ellipsis, not of ἑαυτοὺς, as Portus supposes, but of ἀσπίδας, which is *supplied* in Xenoph. Anab. 7, 1, 26. συγκλείσαντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐχώρουν.

[3] *The fortified work at, &c.*] Not "the last guard (or fort) of the island," as Hobbes renders; for there was but one. Here we have a sort of hypallage not unfrequent in the best writers, both classical and scriptural.

then the light-armed, encouraged thereat, set upon them with a louder shout [4] than ever, and such of the Lacedæmonians as, not effecting their retreat, were intercepted, perished on the spot; but the greater part, having escaped to the fortification, ranged themselves there with the garrison at every part where it was assailable, in order to defend the post.[5] The Athenians following them, could not hem in or surround them, by reason of the strength of the situation; but making advances in front[6], they endeavoured to push past and carry the place by assault [7]: and for a long time, nay even most of the day, both parties, though suffering under the accumulated pressure of battle, thirst, and heat [8], yet held out in their exertions, the one to drive the enemy from the eminence, the other not to give ground. The Lacedæmonians, however, defended themselves more easily than before, because they could not be taken in flank.

XXXVI. When, however, there seemed no prospect of termination to the combat [1], the leader of the Messenians [2] went to Cleon and Demosthenes, and told them that they were labouring in vain [3], but that if they pleased to give him a detachment of the archers and light-armed, he would go round and take them in the rear, by a road which he could find, and by which they thought he could force an entrance. Having received the forces he desired, he pursued such a

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4 *Louder shout.*] Here I read, with most of the MSS., and Bekker and Goeller, πλεόνι.

5 *The post.*] From what follows, indeed, it seems scarcely to have been a *building.*

6 *In front.*] Ἐξ ἐναντίας is used as before, c. 33.

7 *Push past and, &c.*] All this sense seems included in ὥσασθαι πειρῶντο.

8 *Heat.*] Ἡλίου. A sense of the word which also occurs at 7, 87. and Herod. 6, 12.

1 *No prospect of termination, &c.*] It should seem that ἐπειδὴ ἀπάραντον ἦν (at which must be supplied ἔργον) was a phrase used of a business which could not soon be brought to a conclusion.

2 *Leader of the Messenians.*] His name was Como, as appears from Pausan. 4, 26, 2. ἡγεμὼν δέ σφισιν ἦν Κόμων.

3 *Labouring in vain.*] He did not mean by this that the place was impregnable, but that they might spare their labour, since the place could be taken *without* it.

direction that the enemy should not see him [4], and proceeding along [5] by the continuous inclination of the rocky shore of the island, contrived, with difficulty and by degrees, to come unperceivedly round at a place where the Lacedæmonians, relying upon the strength of the situation, had placed no guard, and suddenly making his appearance upon the heights at their rear, he struck consternation into one party, by a sight which

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[4] *In such a direction, &c.*] Literally, "by a way unseen to the enemy." At ἐκ τοῦ ἀφάνους must be supplied μέρους. The passage is imitated by Polyæn. 1, 15. ἐκ τοῦ ἀφάνους περιελθὼν τὴν ἄστυ ἔρημον εἶλε. Joseph. 631, 20. Dio Cass. 987, 42. Arrian E. A. 4, 6, 1. Sometimes the article is omitted in the phrase, as in Aristoph. Ran. 1333. Joseph. 32, 39. Lucian de Calumnia. See note at 1, 50.

[5] *Proceeding along, &c.*] There are few parts of our author that have more puzzled translators and commentators than this long and perplexed sentence, in which variety of reading has contributed, with uncommonness of phraseology, to produce difficulty. *Here*, however, it is not my purpose minutely to balance the former, or fully discuss the latter. A few general remarks, serving to justify or illustrate the version above adopted, must suffice. About half the MSS. have the common reading παρῆκον, which is defended by Duker, Bredow, and others. The rest, with the Schol., have παρεῖκον, which is espoused by Hack, Bekker, and Goeller, and almost all recent critics, who understand by the expression that he struggled up the cliffs, just as the inclination of the rocks gave him access. Now this reading I am enabled to confirm from a kindred passage in Zosim. p. 31. τῆς πέζης δυναμέως αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν ἠϊόνων κατὰ τὸ παρεῖκον συμαραθεούσης — ἔδησαν. and both the reading and interpretation, from a close imitation, in Joseph. 1315, 35. βαθεῖαι φάραγγες — κρημνώδεις καὶ ἀπρόσιτοι, πλὴν ὅσον κατὰ δύο τόπους, τῆς πέτρας εἰς ἄνοδον παρεικούσης. The sense, too, is much countenanced by προσβαίνων, which may very well signify *ascending*, on which see an excellent note of Schweighauser on Polyb. 2, 67, 6. But whether it be the *true* one may be considered doubtful. Such would seem an extraordinary way of reaching the summit, and that unperceived; for, at that rate, the whole of this rocky tract must have been unguarded. I am, therefore, induced to prefer the sense assigned in my version, and which is, I believe, new. Τὸ παρεῖκον may be taken to denote the part where the cliff gave way, and inclined inwards, so as to allow a passage along the shore unperceived by those on the margin of the steep; which is partly the case with Dover cliff, Scarborough cliff, and others. If, indeed, παρῆκον were the true reading, the sense would be, "under the cliff:" but that would require τοῦ κρημνώδους.

It is strange that all the recent editors should have so eagerly caught at the reading προβαίνων (though it is, I find, confirmed by an imitation in Dio Chrys. t. 2. 305. μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς προβαίνων). If *such* were the true one, it would destroy the interpretation of the passage which they advocate. But it is probably only a gloss; for προσβαίνω often means no more than *proceed;* as Eurip. H. Fur. 1418. Cycl. 704. Elect. 490. Herc. Fur. 958. Soph. Œd. Col. 181. and Plutarch 42. Indeed it may very well have this sense, as there standing for πρόσω βαίνω. So, in describing the posture of an archer, in the act of bending his bow for a shot, Diod. Siculus, 2, 192. says τοξεύουσι μὲν τῷ ποδὶ προσβαίνοντες.

they expected not; and into the other, by their seeing what they earnestly looked for, infused additional courage. And now the Lacedæmonians, being assailed on both sides, were (to compare small things with great[6]) in the very same predicament as that of Thermopylæ: for those there were destroyed by the Persians having come round them by the path[7]; and these, being now exposed to shots both ways, were no longer able to stand their ground, but fighting few against many, and with bodies weakened by want of food, were obliged to retreat. And now the Athenians became masters of the avenues.

XXXVII. Here Cleon and Demosthenes, knowing that if they should give back ever so little[1] farther, they would be cut to pieces[2] by their troops, suspended the combat, and

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Ascent is *implied* in περιελθών. They ascended, no doubt, when they had proceeded so far as to be directly in the rear of the Lacedæmonians; and this may be compared, ὡς μικρὸν μεγάλῳ εἰκάσαι (to use the words of our author just after), with those glorious exploits whereby the cliffs of Gibraltar were scaled by British seamen, and those of Quebec by British soldiers under the immortal Wolfe.

[6] *To compare small things with great.*] So Herod. 2, 10. ὡς εἶναι σμικρὰ ταῦτα μεγήλοισι συμβαλεῖν. Dio Cass. 628, 99. ὡς μικρὰ μεγάλοις ὁμοιῶσαι. Herod. 4, 10. ὥστε εἶναι σμικρὰ ταῦτα μεγάλοισι συμβαλέειν. Ovid. Trist. Grandia si parvis assimilare licet. Virg. Sic parvis componere magna solebam.

[7] *Come round them by the path.*] It is strange that Portus, Hobbes, and Smith should all represent the sense to be, "were slain, shut up on both sides in a narrow path;" which is equally at variance with the words themselves, and the truth of the fact as recorded by Herod. 7, 213. seqq. Nay, had the fact been that the Lacedæmonians were overpowered *solely* by superior numbers at Thermopylæ, there would not have been any resemblance between the two cases; for the Lacedæmonians *here* were *not* slain. The Lacedæmonians at Thermopylæ were destroyed at the straits, but *not in a pathway.* The ἄτραπος here alluded to is that over the mountains, which, Herodotus says, was communicated to the Persians by a Greek traitor; and the direction of it is so minutely described at c. 216. of the same author, that it might even now be identified on the spot. The historian concludes by saying, κατὰ ταύτην δὴ ἄτραπον, κ. τ. λ., which corresponds to the τῇ ἀτράπῳ of the present passage. The article is here used κατ' ἐξοχήν (see Middlet. p. 47.), indicating that the path was one well known, doubtless from the history of Herodotus.

[1] *Ever so little.*] The sense of this passage is much mistaken by Portus, Hobbes, Smith, and Gail, from their not being aware of the force of καὶ ὁπωσονοῦν, as in two examples of Steph. Thes. 7856. Other examples I shall subjoin in my edition.

[2] *Would be cut to pieces.*] Because it would be impossible then to arrest the impetuosity of the troops, or stay the slaughter.

checked their men; being desirous to bring them alive and prisoners to Athens [3], if by any means [4] they should be so bowed in mind and subdued by the present peril as to hearken to any offers, and deliver up their arms. They therefore proclaimed that quarter should be given to them [5], if they would deliver up their arms and themselves to the Athenians, to be disposed of as to them should seem good.[6]

XXXVIII. On hearing this, most of them grounded their shields, and waved aloft their hands [1], signifying that they accepted the proposal. Wherefore a truce being made, there was a conference held between Cleon and Demosthenes, on the side of the Athenians; and, on the other, of the former commanders, Stypho son of Pharax: for the principal officer, Epitadas, being dead, and Hippagretes [2], who had been law-

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[3] *Being desirous to, &c.*] This was, no doubt, the desire of *Cleon*, since he would thus most manifestly redeem his pledge; and, perhaps, that of Demosthenes, though for a different reason, and from more enlightened views, thinking that thus the Athenians would hold a pledge in their hands, to redeem which the Lacedæmonians might be induced to sue for peace. On the very same policy Archidamus at 1, 82. med. counsels the Lacedæmonians not to desolate the territory of Attica, saying, "they may rather choose to give way, while they preserve their territory undevastated, and may yet consult about valuable property still in being and uninjured. For think not that we hold their territory otherwise than as a *pledge*, which it is our policy to spare as long as possible, and not, by throwing them into despair, thus render them the harder to subdue." This, then, was *sound policy*, with which, indeed (whether Demosthenes was aware of it or not), humanity is closely connected; so that we might almost apply, mutatis mutandis, the words of the poet, "self-love and social are the same." This might be illustrated by numerous examples in the history of Greece, as well as that of all other nations.

[4] *If by any means.*] Or, perchance, *forte*. See Hoogev. de Part., Matth., Buttman, and Schleus. Lex. At any rate it implies that there was some doubt, even in this hopeless condition, whether the Lacedæmonians would submit to yield themselves as prisoners.

[5] *Quarter should be given to them.*] This is not expressed in the original, but is left to be supplied; though not a regular ellipsis, but only a suppression of what is too well known to need expressing.

[6] *To be disposed of, &c.*] The whole is a common formula equivalent to our *surrender at discretion.*

[1] *Waved aloft their hands.*] On this waving aloft the hand, as a signal of submission, Goeller refers to the commentators on Tacit. Ann. 1, 54. and he might also have referred to Pollux 1, 168. Such, indeed, has been the custom of all nations and all ages.

[2] *Hippagretes.*] Cragius, referred to by Duker and Goeller, thinks that such was not the proper name of his *person*, but his name of *office*. And on these Hippagretæ Duker refers to Crag. de Repub. Laced. 2, 14.; and

fully appointed second in command, lying in a dying state[3] amongst the slain, he himself had been appointed to take the command, in the event of their death.[4] Stypho and his officers[5] expressed a wish to send a message to the Lacedæmonians on the continent, to know what they should do. The Athenians, however, would not permit any to pass, but called over some heralds from the continent, and after interrogatories had passed twice or thrice, the last herald went with this message from those on the continent: — "The Lacedæmonians direct you to consult for yourselves, doing nothing dishonourable."[6] They, then, after consulting one with another, delivered up their arms[7] and themselves; and that day and the succeeding night, the Athenians held them under guard. On the following, the Athenians having set up a trophy in the island, made all other dispositions for sailing, and distributed the men among the captains of triremes for custody; and the Lacedæmonians, sending a herald, fetched away their dead. The number of those who died on the island, and who were carried away alive, was as follows: — There passed over into the island of heavy-armed four hundred

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Goeller to Manso's Sparta, 1, 1. p. 153. and Mueller d. Dor. P. 2. p. 241. The account, too, of Sturz in his Lex. in v. may be consulted. After all, however, it may be doubted whether this be not a groundless fancy of Cragius. In all nations names of office become, in the end, common appellatives; as might, were it necessary, be illustrated by numerous examples.

[3] *In a dying state.*] Literally, "only just alive. The ἔτι ζῶντος is used like the ἔτι ἔμπνουν at 1, 134.

[4] *In the event of their death.*] Hobbes assigns the sense, "in case the others should *miscarry*;" Smith, "*drop*." It literally signifies, "in case any evil should befall them;" a euphemism to denote *death*, and perhaps also dangerous sickness.

[5] *His officers.*] So also, I find, Gail renders; though the other translators, not so properly, I think, understand it of the common soldiers.

[6] *Doing nothing dishonourable.*] The Scholiast takes this to mean that it was better for them to perish than submit to be taken prisoners. But it should seem that the answer was (with Lacedæmonian craftiness) worded with studied ambiguity, that no blame or responsibility might rest with *them*, whatsoever course the men might adopt. The former part, however, of the answer seems to favour the step which they eventually took; and perhaps the latter, since it presents a *condition*, "so that ye do nothing dishonourable," which condition implies that they were not obliged to sacrifice themselves.

[7] *Delivered up their arms.*] These, as appears from Aristoph. Eq. 846., were preserved at Athens.

and twenty in all, of whom three hundred, save eight, were taken prisoners; the rest died; and of the prisoners about one hundred and twenty were Spartans. Of the Athenians not many were slain, because no *pitched* battle [8] had been fought.

XXXIX. The whole time that the men were besieged in the island, reckoning from the sea fight to the battle on the island, was seventy-two days. About twenty of these, namely those during which the ambassadors had gone to negotiate the treaty, they were regularly provisioned; during the rest they were supported by clandestine supplies; nay, corn and other provisions were found on the island when it was taken: for Epitadas, the governor, had dealt out the food more sparingly than was necessary.[1] Then the Athenians and the Peloponnesians with their forces set out from Pylus for their respective homes; and thus Cleon's engagement, senseless [2] as it seemed, was made good; for within twenty days he brought the men, as he had undertaken to do.[3]

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[8] *Pitched battle.*] i. e. one in which the combatants are *pitted* one against the other in regular lines, fighting hand to hand. The phrase *μάχη σταδία*, or *σταδιαία* (as Pollux 1, 165. Lucian 2, 864.), is not unfrequently used by the historians and other writers, and is derived from the Homeric *ἐν σταδίῃ ὑσμίνῃ*. The passage most illustrative of its force is in Strabo l. 10. *ἀγαθὸν ὑπῆρξαν πρὸς μάχην τὴν σταδίαν, ἡ καὶ συστάδην λέγεται, καὶ ἐκ χειρός*. So the Latin *pugna stataria.*

[1] *Than was necessary.*] Literally, "than he might have done, according to his means."

[2] *Senseless.*] Or *foolish.* Such is plainly the sense of *μανιώδης*, of which there is another example in the Schol. on Pind. Olymp. 2, 173. *ὑπὸ γὰρ μανιώδων τινῶν καὶ ἀνοήτων ἐφθονήθη*. Procop. ap. Suid. in *παράλογον*: *ἔδοξε μανιώδης εἶναι αὐτοῦ ἡ ἔννοια*. Plutarch Lucull. 26. *Θράσος οὐ — μανιώδες οὐδ' ἄλογον*. Aristoph. Vesp. 1233. *Ὦ 'νθρωφ', οὗτος ὁ μαίνομενος, — Ἀνατρέψεις ἔτι τὰν πόλιν; Ἀ δ' ἔχεται ῥοπάς*. And so often in Appian and Polybius.

[3] *Within twenty days, &c.*] "And thus (observes Smith) was a very able and gallant officer robbed for the present of the praise he merited on this occasion. The whole affair at Pylus was planned, carried into execution, and brought to a successful and glorious issue, by the conduct and bravery of Demosthenes." It may, however, be doubted whether he was really robbed of the praise. Few could fail to perceive that the whole credit was due to Demosthenes. He might, indeed, justly complain of the *attempt* to rob him of the praise; and that he probably did. In Aristoph. Equit. 54, 6. he is represented as loudly proclaiming his vexation. Yet that writer, it may be observed, by making a low comic character of him, commits as

XL. Of all the events, however, of the war, nothing happened so contrary to the general expectation of the Greeks as this: for they supposed that the Lacedæmonians would never, either by famine or the pressure of any other the direst necessity, have been induced to deliver up their arms, but would have died with their arms in their hands, and fighting to the utmost of their power.[1] Nor could they be brought to believe that those who yielded up their arms were like unto[2] those who died on the spot; and on a certain person of the Athenian auxiliaries afterwards asking one of the prisoners brought from the island, by way of taunt[3], whether those of them who[4] were slain were not noble fellows?[5] he replied that the spindle[6]

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gross an impropriety and injustice as in the case of Socrates. See on this subject Julian Orat. 1. p. 25. D. and the note of Spanheim.

As illustrative of the boastful disposition of this officer, may be noticed a circumstance concerning him in Lucian 1, 727., who tells us that Cleon was the first who used the *χαίρειν* at the top of an epistle, prefixing it to his despatch announcing the victory.

[1] *To the utmost of their power.*] Or, as the Scholiast and Gottleb. explain, as long as they were able.

[2] *Like unto.*] i. e. thought them, as it were, of another race. So Gottleb. and others explain, *equal to, of equal merit.* The former is the preferable interpretation, and includes the latter. Thus Mitford has expressed both senses.

[3] *By way of taunt.*] Or, in order to teaze him. Such seems to be the true of *δι' ἀχθηδόνα*, of which neither of the Scholiast's interpretations can be admitted, and which has been imperfectly comprehended by the commentators. It is, too, confirmed by a close imitation in Philostr. Vit. Ap. 4, 31. *ἐρομένου δὲ Κορινθίου τινὸς κατὰ ἀχθηδόνα.* where Olearius totally mistakes the sense. So also Vit. Apoll. l. 8, 16. *ἐπιδόντες τῇ ἀχθηδόνι*, giving way to taunting. There is a somewhat similar expression in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 574, 24. *ἀχθηδόνα σὺν αἰσχύνῃ Ῥωμαίοις πάρεσχεν.* The word is also used by Æschylus Prom. 16. where see Dr. Blomfield. It is truly observed by Goeller that *δι' ἀχθηδόνα* is for *ἐπ' ἀχθηδόνι* or *πρὸς ἀχθηδόνα*, the former of which I can confirm from a similar expression in Herod. 6, 67. *ἐπὶ γέλωτι καὶ λάσθῃ εἱρωτᾷ.* where the Gloss. Herod. rightly explains *αἰσχύνῃ*, "in order to put him to shame."

[4] *Whether those of them who, &c.*] The *εἰ* has the sense of *annon?* on which see Steph. Thes. and Schleus. Lex.

[5] *Noble fellows.*] Such seems to be the sense of the *καλοὶ κἀγαθοί*, which Mitford has mistaken by rendering "persons of rank and merit."

[6] *Spindle.*] Bredov. thinks, that "the Spartan designedly used the term *ἄτρακτον*, to throw contempt on the use of missiles, since the combat was not hand to hand, but the wounds were given from a distance and fortuitously." And, indeed, the use of arms for stationary fight had, from the time of Homer, been considered more honourable than that of bows or slings, which was even thought to imply cowardice; many examples of which the Iliad supplies. But, after all, this notion of Bredov. seems magis arguta quam vera. It should rather appear that the Spartan used the word as being a *Spartan*

(i. e. arrow) would be precious indeed if it could distinguish the brave! signifying thereby that the slain were such as the stones and arrows chanced to light on.

XLI. On the arrival of the men, the Athenians resolved that they should be kept in bonds[1], until some accommodation should be made: but if before that time the Peloponnesians should make an irruption into the country, then they should be taken and put to death.[2] They, moreover, made arrangements for the keeping of Pylus; and the Messenians of Naupactus sending thither, as unto their country (for Pylus was situated in what was once Messenia), fitting persons of their number for this purpose, infested the Laconian territory with devastation, and did them much injury, as speaking the same language.[3] And now the Lacedæmonians, who had been aforetime[4] unacquainted with devastation and such sort of

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term for *arrow*. That it was a very antient word, we may suppose from its being found to denote such in the Ionic Greek of Hippocrates. See Foesii Œcon. Hip. It primarily designated a *shaft* or *stiel;* and in this sense (strange to say) it occurs in Philostr. Vit. Ap. 2, 11. ἄτρακτον βέλους, ἢ τοξεύματος. Secondly, by an ellipsis of βέλους, it denoted a *dart.** In this sense it occurs, not only (as I before observed) in Hippocrates, but also in Soph. Trach. 706. Philostr. 29. Eurip. Rhes., as also Menander, Procopius, Agathias, and the Greek epigrammatists; which brings the use down very low. Thirdly, by a similar ellipsis, it meant a shaft (of a spinning wheel), or a spindle; in which sense it is used by the best authors from Herodotus to the Septuagint translators. Fourthly, it designated the spindle of a mast, namely the part at the top of it. This last sense is, as far as I know, only found in Pollux.

[1] *Kept in bonds.*] That δεσμ. may be metaphorically used to denote *safe custody*, is clear from Aristoph. Equit. 394. οὓς ἐκεῖθεν ἤγαγεν, Ἐν ξύλῳ δήσας ἀφαύει, κἀποδόσθαι βούλεται.

[2] *Should be taken and put to death.*] Most unjustifiable indeed to make them *hostages* as well as prisoners. But neither party was very scrupulous. "Such," Mitford observes, "were at that time the maxims of warfare among those who boasted to be the most civilised and indeed the only civilised people upon earth; and such the motives for preferring death in the field to the condition, so mild in modern Europe, except in France since the revolution, of a prisoner of war."

[3] *As speaking the same language.*] And thus enabled to come upon them unawares, and surprise them. Of which we had an example at 3, 112.

[4] *Aforetime.*] i. e. from the time that the Helots were subdued at

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* And it is probably the original of that word, which has long perplexed our etymologists: as a proof of which the term ἄδρακτος is found for *arrow*, in the Greek of the middle ages (See Dufresn. Gloss. in v.); and ἄδρακτι is found in the same sense in the modern Greek.

war, and finding the Helots desert to the enemy; fearing withal lest these unusual occurrences in their country should come to something more serious, felt ill at ease [5]; insomuch that, although not willing to betray their alarm to the Athenians [6], they yet sent an embassy to them, and endeavoured by negotiation to recover Pylus and their people. But the Athenians aspired at greater matters, and, although they often came to negotiate, sent them away without having attained their purpose.[7] Such was the issue of the affair at Pylus.

XLII. The same summer, immediately after the above event, the Athenians undertook an expedition against the Corinthian territory [1], with eighty ships and two thousand heavy-infantry of their own city, and two hundred cavalry in

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Ithome, and the remnant exiled from the country. "They were," says Mitford, "in a state of distress totally new to them. From the first establishment of their ancestors in Peloponnesus, it was not known by tradition that such a number of their citizens had fallen into the hands of an enemy; and it was as little remembered that an enemy had ever possessed a post within their country."

[5] *Felt ill at ease.*] Or, bore it ill, were impatient under it, *οὐ ῥαδίως ἔφερον*, an idiom and euphemism; as 3, 11. *χαλεπώτερον φέρειν*. Indeed *φέρω* is much used with adverbs.

[6] *Although not willing to, &c.*] The sense of the words *ὥσπερ οὐ βουλόμενοι ἔνδηλοι εἶναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις* is totally mistaken by Hobbes, Smith, and Mitford. It can be no other than that above assigned, which is, indeed, placed beyond doubt by a kindred (but more unfolded) passage at 2, 64. sub. fin. *καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοις μήτε ἐπικηρευκεύεσθε, μήτε ἐνδηλοί ἐστε τοῖς παροῦσι πόνοις βαρυνόμενοι*. The difficulty in the present passage is occasioned by those words *τοῖς παροῦσι πόνοις βαρυνόμενοι* being left to be understood. Besides, the *ἐπρεσβεύοντο* excludes the idea of *secrecy*. Indeed negotiations were never, in those times, carried on in that secret and indirect way, which has been common in modern times.

[7] *Sent them away without, &c.*] The wiser and more moderate Athenians, and those of higher rank in general, would gladly have profited from present prosperity, to make an advantageous accommodation. But the arrogance of the people, fed by success, and inflamed by the boisterous eloquence of Cleon, now the popular favourite, made all endeavours for the salutary purpose fruitless. (Mitford.)

[1] *Corinthian territory.*] Some MSS. have *Corinth*, which is confirmed by Aristoph. Eq. 595. *Ἄξιοι δ' εἶσ' εὐλογεῖσθαι — ἐξεπήδων τ' εἰς Κόρινθον*. Yet the common reading is preferable, and it was certainly read by Polyænus. See 1, 39, 1.

"This next undertaking," observes Mitford, "passion seems to have dictated: they would take revenge on the Corinthians, the first instigators of the war, and, upon all occasions, the most zealous actors in it."

horse transports.[2] Of the allies there followed them the Milesians, Andrians, and Carystians; and they were commanded by Nicias son of Niceratus, with two colleagues; and sailing, they at dawn of day[3], came to anchor between Chersonesus and Rhetus[4], at the shore of a place between, above

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[2] *Horse transports.*] These are said to have been among the first of the kind, being invented not long before, and formed out of old triremes. But though they might be the first used in *Greece*, such had been before employed by Xerxes in the transportation of his troops to Greece. See Herod. 7, 97. who has the very name. These are not unfrequently mentioned in the late historians, both Greek and Latin.

[3] *Sailing, they at dawn of day.*] Hack and, as it seems, Hobbes take ἅμα ἕῳ with πλέοντες. But I prefer, with most translators and commentators, to take the words with ἔσχον. And this is supported by Polyæn. 1, 39, 1. who gives the following as the stratagem by which Nicias effected a landing: Νικίας ἐπιπλεύσας τῇ Κορινθίᾳ νυκτὸς, ἔνθα ὁ Σολύγης λόφος, ἀποβιβάσας Ἀθηναίων ὁπλίτας, καὶ χιλίους, ἄλλους ἀλλαχῆ, λοχῆσαι τάξας ἀπέπλευσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπηύγαζεν, ὡς πάλιν αὖ φανερῶς ἐπέπλευσεν· οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι σπουδῇ ἐκβοηθοῦντες ἔθεον, κωλύσοντες ἐκβαίνειν. οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδραις ἐπανιστάμενοι, τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν διέφθειραν. From which narrative, founded, as it should seem, on antient authority, we gather a circumstance which would not otherwise have been known to us. But the passage, even after the labours of Casaubon and Maasvic, is very corrupt, and should (I think) be restored as follows. For καὶ χιλίους read καὶ χιλίους ἄλλους, ἄλλους. By the ἄλλους are to be understood the troops of the Milesians, Andrians, and Carystian allies, either all, or a part of them, and perhaps light infantry. It is not improbable, however, that Polyænus wrote Ἀθηναίων ὁπλίτας χιλίους, καὶ χιλίους ἄλλους. Then for ὡς read ὥς for οὕτως, *deinde;* and for ἐπανιστάμενοι read ἐξανιστ., a word used by Thucyd. 3, 107. Polyæn. p. 483. and often by Xenophon and Polybius.

[4] *Chersonesus and Rhetus.*] In the able account Thucydides gives of this invasion of Corinth there are some things exceedingly perplexing, and others which, with all the assistance from the best modern maps, are quite incomprehensible. Historians and geographers place the scene of the battle, as I conceive, *wrong;* and no wonder, considering that they are ignorant of the true sites of Chersonesus and Rhetus, *between which* the Athenians landed. Being then, incorrect in this particular, it is not surprising that they should be *egregiously* so in placing Solygea. For that in the map of B. Boccage is put nearly in the midway between Cenchrea and Crommyon: supposing which to be the true position, the following absurdity will arise; namely, that the Corinthians sent half their forces, about forty stadia, south of Solygea, and the part of the coast attacked, to force Crommyon, was situated eighty stadia north-east. It is clear, therefore, that some error exists in the position of *one* at least of these; and we might fancy that Cenchrea *should* be situated somewhere in the middle, between the position of Solygea as laid down in those maps, and Crommyon. But that would bring it to Schœnus, which we know from the concurring testimony of antient authors was situated *north* of it. Besides, supposing Cenchrea to have been situated as they place it, how could Mount Oneius, near Schœnus, and Crommyon *hide* (as Thucydides says) the engagement from the view of the Corinthians at Cenchrea? All this error has, I conceive, arisen from placing Solygea wrong. It is evident from Thucydides that that place was

which rises the Solygean hill, on which the Dorians being formerly pushed, carried on war against the Corinthians of

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situated nearly in the midway between Chersonesus and Rhetus (thus D'Anville is wrong in placing it so near the former). The principal difficulty will then be how to fix *them*.

Now as it seems we are unable to fix the situation of Chersonesus by Rhetus, let us try the *contrary*. Chersonesus, though mentioned in no other passage except this of our author, was evidently not a town, but a peninsula. And its situation we may, I think, lay down with tolerable certainty. We know it must have been some peninsula on the east coast of Corinthia, yet there are but *two* which *at all* correspond with the distances given by Thucyd. (sixty stadia from Corinth, and twenty from the isthmus) As to the *northerly* one (i. e. the one separating port Schœnus), it does not *well* correspond in the distance from *Corinth;* and not at all in that from the *isthmus*, since it is absolutely placed *upon* it: and, moreover, we should thus be compelled to place Cenchrea *on* port Schœnus, contrary to all antient authorities, confirmed by Dr. Clarke, Trav. vol. 3. c. 18. It must, then, have been the *other* peninsula (i. e. the one situated nearly thirty stadia from where Cenchrea is laid down). This answers exactly in its distance from Corinth; and tolerably well in that from the isthmus, especially considering the vagueness of the application of that term (though we *might* read, with Palmer, for κ, ν, i. e. fifty stadia). The above position of Chersonesus is placed beyond doubt by Thucydides himself, a little further on, p. 590. Lips., from which passage it appears, that near to the Chersonesus were ἐπικειμέναι νῆσοι; which is exactly the case with the one in question.

Having, therefore, with great probability, fixed the position of Chersonesus, we may, with ease, lay down that of Solygea, as being twelve stadia from the shore, and about midway between Chersonesus and Rhetus. For though we cannot, with certainty, fix Rhetus, yet it could not be far from Chersonesus, since we find, from c. 43., that the Athenian line extended nearly from the middle point between Rhetus and Chersonesus, to *Chersonesus*. It is probable, therefore, that Rhetus was not more than four or five miles from Chersonesus; and the scene of this well-fought battle may be fixed with tolerable accuracy.

Still, however, there is one difficulty to vanquish, which is this: — Supposing Cenchrea to have been situated where our maps place it, there appears no *mountain* (and certainly not, as it should seem, Mount Oneius) to hide the battle from their view, and the distance is so short (not more than half a mile) that nothing could have prevented them from coming up to the assistance of their countrymen; for we are told they lost no time, on seeing the battle, but ἐβοήθουν εὐθύς. Moreover, had Cenchrea been so near Chersonesus, it would have been foolish in the Corinthians to have detached half their forces to *so near* a post, and yet too far from Crommyon, to answer the purpose for which that was detached, namely, to cover the latter place. It may be observed, too, that had they been *so near*, the Corinthians would have had time to summon them by messengers to the engagement; but there is no Mount Oneius *hereabouts*. I am inclined to suspect, that the whole of the east coast of Corinthia is laid down *very inaccurately* (indeed, Dr. Clarke, ubi supra, says, that the *isthmus* has been but imperfectly surveyed), and that Schœnus should be put twenty stadia nearer to Crommyon, and Cenchrea thirty stadia higher up the coast; and it will, I think, be found, that a *chain* of mountains (or rather the *Oneian mountains*), as they are called by Polybius, Plutarch, and Strabo (which last writer says of them, ὑπέρκειται τούτων πάντων), reaches

the city, who were Æolians; and there is now upon it a village called Solygea. From this shore where the ships were at anchor, the village itself is distant twelve stadia, the city of Corinth sixty, and the isthmus twenty.[5] The Corinthians having had long previous intelligence from Argos [6] that the enemy of the Athenians was coming, had assembled [7] for defence at the isthmus, all but those who resided beyond the isthmus [8] (and

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down to the south of Cenchrea, and close below it, *by which* the view of the battle would be intercepted from the Corinthian detachment stationed there.

Such, then, is, I have no doubt, the true mode of removing the difficulty as respects Mount Oneius, a name which was applied not only to that mountain range which skirts the north part of port Schœnus, but also that which, rising from the *southern horn* of the port of Cenchrea, runs up into the interior, and meets the Acrocorinthus. Thus Cenchrea was on the *northern* side of that promontory and mountain, and, no doubt, at the bottom of the port; and, consequently, to those there situated, the action here described would not be visible.

As to the long debated *Rhetus*, on whose situation there has been so much uncertainty, if I mistake not, there is something in the *ratio significationis* which will enable us to fix that. The name is the same with that occurring at 2, 19. Ῥειτούς, *the brooks*, on which see my note, and Dr. Clarke, cited in the appendix. Now, as that was not a town, neither, it should seem, was this. In fact it seems to be the spot mentioned by Pausanius at l. 2, 2, 3. t. 1. p. 184. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τῷ ῥεύματι τῷ διὰ τῆς Θαλάσσης Ποσειδῶνος χαλκοῦν. κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον πέρας τοῦ λιμένος Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Ἴσιδος ἱερά. Κεγχρειῶν δὲ ἀπ' ἀντικρὺ τὸ Ἑλένης ἐστὶ λουτρόν. ὕδωρ ἐς Θάλασσαν ἐκ πέτρας ῥεῖ πολὺ καὶ ἁλμυρὸν, ὕδατι ὅμοιον ἀρχομένῳ Θερμαίνεσθαι. where ῥεύματι is variously handled by the editors; but all that seems necessary is to cancel the διὰ before τῆς Θαλάσσης; and for πέρας I would read, from Cod. Amas., κέρας. The Ἑλένης λουτρὸν, described there as a "salt brook running into the sea," is clearly the long sought Rhetus. And this is confirmed by Dr. Clarke, 3, 760., who says: "We visited the bath of Helen. It is formed by a spring, which here boils up sufficiently to turn a mill close to the sea."

Upon the whole, a tolerably good representation of the chorography of this part of Greece is given by D'Anville, as also by Boccage. As to that of Arrowsmith, in his new atlas, it is very imperfect and incorrect. The *best* seems to be that given by Dr. Clarke.

5 *Twenty.*] From all the data which I have above collected, εἴκοσι is unquestionably wrong. Yet I cannot adopt Palmer's conjecture, εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατον, which would make it as much too far off, as εἴκοσι too near. It should rather seem that the error arose from the use of letters for figures; and for κ I conjecture λ or μ (30 or 40).

6 *From Argos.*] From the communication between the two countries, this intelligence would easily reach Argos.

7 *Had assembled.*] For the context requires that ἐξοήθησαν should have the sense of a pluperfect.

8 *Those who resided beyond the isthmus.*] These, we may suppose, though not on actual duty, would hold themselves in readiness to support the assembled force of those on the other side of the isthmus.

five hundred who were absent on garrison in Ambracia and Leucadia). The rest, drawn up in full force, watched where the Athenians would attempt to disembark. When, however, they eluded their observation, by landing in the night, and the signals announcing the event had been raised for their information [9], then leaving half their forces at Cenchrea, if, perchance, the Athenians should make an attack on Crommyon [10], they proceeded in all haste to resist the enemy.[11]

XLIII. And now Battus, one of the commanders [1] (for there were *two* present at the battle), taking one battalion [2], marched to the village of Solygea to defend it [3], since it was unfortified; while Lycophron, with the rest of the army, engaged with the enemy. First the Corinthians attacked the right wing [4] of the Athenians, immediately on its disembarkation, opposite to [5] Chersonesus, and then the rest of the

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9 *And the signals, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of this very brief sentence, which was tolerably well discerned by the Scholiast. As to the explanations of Bauer and Bredov., they plunge the whole in tenfold obscurity. The addition "announcing the event," or something similar, is *implied* by the article. And as to Bauer's objection, that σημεῖα cannot be used in the above sense, it is overruled by Goeller, who adduces an example from c. 111. ὅπως ὁπότε — τὸ σημεῖον ἀρθείη ὃ ξυνέκειτο, πρῶτοι ἐσδράμοιεν. and further on: ἔπειτα τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ πυρός, ὡς εἴρητο, ἀνέσχον.

By the αὐτοῖς must be meant the Corinthians; as is plain from what follows, κατάλοντες τοὺς ἡμίσεις αὐτῶν — ἐβοήθουν. As, however, there is a harshness in so taking αὐτοῖς, it is possible that Thucydides wrote αὖτοσε.

10 *Leaving half their forces, &c.*] Now the half at Cenchrea covered Crommyon also; and thus they provided for both, as they could not tell which would be the real point of attack; for there might be only a feint at one, and the real attack at the other. There were, it may be observed, only three places at which the enemy could debark to make their attack, Crommyon, Cenchrea, and the situation which they really did take, *off Solygea.*

11 *Proceeded, &c.*] They had before, it seems, been posted for *that effect.*

1 *Commanders.*] Possibly by στρατηγῶν Thucydides may mean persons filling an office like that of the στρατηγοὶ at Athens, or the βοιώταρχαι in Bœotia.

2 *Battalion.*] Perhaps λόχος here answers to our *brigade.*

3 *Village of Solygea, to defend it.*] The true reason seems to have been to secure the hill of Solygea as a strong post. But as the village was upon the hill, to garrison *that* was effectually to *occupy* the hill.

4 *First the Corinthians attacked, &c.*] It seems that they had not yet proceeded far enough to come opposite to the *left* wing.

5 *Opposite to.*] Here I would, with two MSS., read for πρὸ, πρός. The words are often confounded. See supra, c. 31, 1.

army. The combat was stoutly maintained, and all of it hand to hand. The right wing of the Athenians and Carystians (for those were drawn up last [6] of the line) sustained the charge of the Corinthians, and with some difficulty repulsed them. They retreated [7] to a stone fence [8], and from thence, being on an eminence (for the ground was all on an ascent), launched stones at the enemy, and having sung a pæan, again rushed upon them; and the Athenians withstanding the attack, the battle was again hand to hand. But a certain battalion [9] of the Corinthians, going to the succour of their left wing, put the Athenians to flight, and chased them to the sea side. However the Athenians and Carystians turned about, and made a stand at the ships. The rest of the army on either side was engaged in continual action, especially the right wing of the Corinthians; at which Lycophron, having his post opposite to the left wing of the Athenians, maintained the combat: for the Corinthians expected the Athenians would make an attempt upon the village of Solygea.

XLIV. For some considerable time, then, the combatants maintained the battle, neither side giving ground to the other; when at length the Corinthians were routed, chiefly by the exertions of some horse (which were especially serviceable, as the other party had none), and retreated to the hill, where

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6 *Were drawn up last.*] Not "drawn up in the rear," as Smith renders. By *those* are, I conceive, meant both the Athenians and Carystians; for it is not likely that the Athenians would commit so important a station as the last on the wing to the Carystians only. It was generally the post of honour. See I. 5, 67.

7 *Retreating.*] Here, with most of the MSS. and the recent editors, I read ὑποχ. Indeed it may be questioned whether ὑπερχωρέω be not a *vox nihili.*

8 *Stone fence.*] Or "quick hedge." Which of these senses be the true one, it is not easy to determine; both significations of the word being found in the earlier writers. The latter is well illustrated by the Schol. on Theocr. Idyll. 1, 46. and Kistemacher, and denotes what we call a *live* hedge or fence, in contradistinction to what is termed a *dead* one. I, however, prefer the former sense, as such would be more likely to be chosen with a view to defence as this was. These stone fences are common even in various parts of England.

9 *A certain battalion.*] This should seem to have been the battalion before mentioned as stationed at Solygea to garrison it.

they took post[1], and descended not[2], but kept still. The greatest loss on the part of the Corinthians was sustained at the right wing in this rout[3], and among the rest fell Lycophron, their commander. But the remainder of the army[4] retreating to the height (so, however, that when forced to give way, there was neither much pursuit, nor any rapid flight)[5], there took post. The Athenians, on seeing no more advance to fight, rifled the dead, and taking up their own slain for burial, immediately raised a trophy. Now to that half of the Corinthians which was posted at Cenchrea, as a guard force lest the enemy should make an attempt on Crommyon, the battle was not visible; their view being intercepted by Mount Oneius.[6] However when they saw the dust, and learned what was doing, they immediately proceeded to the spot. Aid also was now brought by the elder Corinthians of the city, on hearing what had taken place. Then the Athenians, perceiving them[7] all advancing upon them, and supposing them to be succours sent by the neighbouring Peloponnesians, retreated in haste to their ships with the spoils and their own dead, except two, whom they left behind as not being able to find them, and embarking on board their ships, they crossed over to the islands off the coast.[8] From thence sending a

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[1] *Took post.*] Not "laid down," or, "grounded their arms," as Hobbes and Smith render. See note on l. 2, 2.

[2] *Not.*] Οὐκέτι is here, as often, for οὐκ; for they had not before descended.

[3] *The greatest loss, &c.*] Such is the sense of ἐν τῷ τροπῷ — ἀπέθανον. Hobbes and Smith have greatly mistaken the sense. It is strange that Hobbes should render, "the greater part of their right wing was slain," when a little further on, the number of dead of the whole Corinthian army is only stated at two hundred and twelve.

[4] *The remainder of the army.*] i. e. the left wing and centre. The meaning is strangely misrepresented by the Scholiast.

[5] *So, however, that when forced, &c.*] Literally, "retreating, when forced, in the following manner; namely, not with much pursuit," &c. Smith has quite mistaken the sense.

[6] *Their view being, &c.*] This proves, as I before observed, that Mount Oneius (or the Oneian mountains) is wrongly placed in the best maps. A chain, it seems, came down to the sea, between Cenchrea and Chersonesus, and, as I suspected, terminated at Chersonesus, which appears to have been a rocky peninsular promontory.

[7] *Them.*] i. e. the elder Corinthians from the city; for they could not suppose the party from Cenchrea to be such.

[8] *Islands off the coast.*] Namely, off the promontory of Chersonesus. These are found in none of the maps but those of D'Anville, and are by him

herald, they fetched away, under truce [9], those dead whom they left behind. In the battle were slain of Corinthians, two hundred and twelve; of the Athenians, somewhat less than fifty.

XLV. Weighing anchor from those islands, the Athenians sailed the same day to Crommyon [1], in Corinthia, which is a hundred and twenty stadia from the city of Corinth, and anchoring there, they ravaged the country, and there encamped that night. On the following day, coasting along to Epidauria

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represented as three in number. It may be observed that, by using the article, Thucydides adverts to them as well known, with reference to the Chersonesus which he had mentioned.

9 *Fetched away, under truce.*] Thereby, however, resigning all claim to the victory. Smith, indeed, maintains that Nicias did *not* thereby renounce the victory. But that is running counter to all antient authority. As to the credit gained by Nicias in the battle, which he takes pains to prove was not lessened by this sending for the two bodies, that is quite another affair. "The honour of the victory was," as Mitford observes, "clearly the Athenians.'" It is, moreover, urged by Smith, that nothing is said of the Corinthians demolishing the trophy. But it may be observed that the silence of Thucydides will not prove that it was *not* demolished. Though, indeed, such was not *necessary;* for the very asking a truce to fetch away the dead, as it implied inferiority, so it was supposed to yield all claim to victory.

With respect to the *motive* which actuated Nicias in this instance, Mitford thinks "it was apprehension of the clamour and popular ill-will which the leaving the two bodies there might have occasioned." But this seems scarcely doing justice to Nicias. He was more probably, as Plutarch thinks, influenced so to do by that *religious spirit* (though sometimes tinctured with superstition), which animated his whole conduct (see 7, 77.); it being accounted impious to leave the dead unburied. Even the sceptic Hobbes does justice to his motive; and adds: "Besides, the people took marvellously ill the neglect of the dead bodies, as may appear by their sentence on the captains after the battle at Arginusæ."

1 *Crommyon.*] Called by Steph. Cremmyon; and so Pliny and Scylax; by Strabo and Pausanias, Cromyon. But the spelling of Thucydides, which is confirmed by Xenophon, is the most antient; since this town seems to have derived its name from the form of the promontory near which it was situated, that bearing some resemblance to an *onion.* This also confirms the opinion of Gell and others, who fix the site of Crommyon near the present Caside (though it may be observed that Gell places it too far from Caside in the direction of Corinth). Chandler, Boccage, D'Anville, and Poppo, indeed, remove it to Caneta further on the coast. And Poppo urges that otherwise the distance from Corinth will not be correspondent to that here mentioned by Thucydides, namely, one hundred and twenty stadia. This, however, may be contradicted. The best maps, as those of D'Anville, Boccage, and Arrowsmith, make the *promontory* about thirteen miles from Corinth, which allowing nine stadia to the mile (generally a right computation) will make the required distance.

first, they made a descent[2], and proceeded to Methone[3], which lies between Epidaurus and Trœzen[4]; and having fenced across the isthmus on which Methone is situated, and established there a garrison, they afterwards carried on a war of devastation in the territory of Trœzen, Haliæ[5], and Epidaurus. After the place had been fortified, the fleet sailed home.

XLVI. At the same time that these events took place, Eurymedon and Sophocles, after having departed from Pylus with the Athenian fleet, to proceed to Sicily, and having arrived at Corcyra, joined their forces with those of the city in an attack on the Corcyreans, who had taken post on Mount Istone, and who, after the insurrection, had passed over from the continent, and making themselves masters of the country, committed much devastation. This strong hold they stormed and took, but the garrison effected their escape in a body to a certain eminence, and there obtained terms of surrender; which were, that they should deliver up the hired auxiliaries, but that their fate, having delivered up their arms, should be left to the determination of the Athenian people; and the commanders removed them, under treaty, to the island of Ptychia, there to be in durance[6] until they should be sent to Athens; with this proviso, that if any one should be found making his escape, the treaty should be considered as broken for all.[7] But the leaders of the democratical party at Corcyra, fearing lest the Athenians should not put the persons

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[2] *Descent.*] This seems to imply also some devastation of the country.

[3] *Methome.*] Called by Scylax and Strabo Methana. That was, doubtless, the Doric way of pronouncing; *Methone*, the Attic, which is also found in Diod. Sic. and Suidas in Αμηράτ. This town was situated on the isthmus of the peninsula (like Potidæa), and seems to Chandler to have preserved its antient name. It is near the present Dama.

[4] *Trœzen.*] Supposed to have been near the present village of *Castro*, or *Damala.*

[5] *Haliæ.*] Or Halia. See note on 1, 105. The meaning seems to be that the Athenians ravaged the sea coasts of Epidauria, Trœzen, and *Hermione*; for what is here called Halias, was the sea-coast of Hermione towards the south.

[6] *In durance.*] To be there, as one should say, on their parole of honour though with the cruel proviso just afterwards mentioned.

[7] *The treaty should, &c.*] i. e. as Mitford paraphrases, "the benefit of the capitulation should be considered as forfeited for all."

to death on their arrival thither [3], resort to the following contrivance [4] : — They persuade some few of those on the island, by privily [5] sending friends, and instructing them to say (as if [6] out of good-will) that "the best thing for them would be to make their escape as soon as possible, and that *they* themselves would furnish them with a bark [7], for the Athenian commanders were going to deliver them up to the Corcyræan people."

XLVII. After they had persuaded them, and the bark was treacherously provided, they were caught in the act of sailing away, and thus the treaty was broken, and they were consequently all delivered up to the Corcyræans. Towards the accomplishment of this design, and the affording some tolerable pretence for the enormity, and encouragement to its

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[3] *On their arrival.*] i. e. at Athens. Such seems to be the sense of the very brief expression οὗς ἐλθόντας, which Krueger and Gottleb. think stands for αὐτοὺς ἐλθόντας, taking it of their being sent to *Ptychia*. But that mode of interpretation, though plausible, and somewhat countenanced by the words preceding, is at point blank contradiction with what follows, c. 47. "were evidently unwilling that the men should be conveyed to Athens by *others*;" by which it appears that they were to be sent to *Athens*. They were *then* to be kept at Ptychia, till authority had arrived from Athens to remove them thither for trial, or denounce their doom, and direct them to be sent thither for execution. The ellipsis "to Athens," is to be supplied from "*Athenians*," as at c. 50.

[4] *Contrivance.*] Polyænus Strat. 6, 2. very improperly gives this base trick a place among military stratagems.

[5] *Privily.*] Or *treacherously*. Thus Suidas explains the ὑποπέμψαντες by μετὰ δόλου ἐκπέμψ. So also Xen. An. 2, 4. 21. ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑποπέμψαιεν. where Suid. explains μετὰ δόλου ἐκπέμψαιεν. Dionys. Hal. 683, 35. 686, 6.

I shall take this opportunity of emending the corresponding passage of Polyæn. Strat. 6, 20. p. 585. Κερκυραῖοι δείσαντες μὴ φιλανθρώπως βουλεύσηται περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος· κρύφα ἔπεμψαν πρὸς Ἀργείους, &c., where for ἔπεμψαν πρὸς Ἀργείους read ἔπεμψαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἑταίρους.

[6] *As if.*] Bekker has rightly altered the δῆθεν to δή. The sense of *pretence* might be expressed by either δῆθεν, or ὡς, but *both* would be superfluous. In my edition I shall emend various passages of the classical writers similarly corrupt.

[7] *A bark.*] For πλοῖον δέ τι I would conjecture πλοῖον δ' ἔτι, since the τι seems frigid.

These *friends*, it seems, were either false friends, or persons who pretended to compassionate the case of these unfortunate people, and acted the part of friends. Mitford styles them "persons likely to find confidence." He, however, carelessly narrates as if *all* the prisoners were concerned in this plan, whereas it was only a few, though sufficient to accomplish the purpose intended.

execution, it had not a little contributed that the Athenian commanders were evidently unwilling that the men should be conveyed to Athens by *others*, and thus bring credit to those that conveyed them, for *they themselves* were proceeding on their voyage to Sicily.[1] Then the Corcyræans seized[2] and shut them up in a large building[3], and afterwards taking them forth by parties of twenty, they led them forward[4] along two rows of heavy infantry stationed on each side, bound one to another[5], and beaten and stabbed by those on either side, according as each might see his enemy[6]; and whip-bearers[7] following in the rear, hastened on those that lagged on the way.[8]

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[1] *Towards the accomplishment, &c.*] Such appears to be the sense and scope of this very difficult sentence ξυνελάξοντο δὲ — προσποιῆσαι, which is passed over by the commentators. The grammatical details I must reserve for a future occasion.

The historian, with more than usual decision, imputes the chief blame to the Athenian commanders, who were, it seems, influenced by the most contemptible selfishness. How different from the conduct of the generous Nicostratus!

[2] *Then the Corcyræans seized, &c.*] It is observed by Mitford, that the atrociousness of what followed would be beyond belief, if it came attested by less authority than that of Thucydides. He adds, however, that the enormities practised by the democrats, at the capture of Lyons in the French Revolution, beggar all former ideas of atrocity, and offer a striking similarity in some principal circumstances. "The only object in either case was (to use the words of Mitford) that full revenge should be taken, and that, as far as might be consistent with public order, the utmost indulgence for that passion should be allowed to every individual among the sovereign multitude."

[3] *A large building.*] What this was, the commentators do not even offer a conjecture. By the term employed it should seem not to have been a private house, but some public building. The very same uncertainty exists at l. 2, 4. where see the note, as also my annotation on Acts 12, 7.

[4] *Led them forward, &c.*] A barbarity something like what is called in the army *running the gauntlet* (with which there is something corresponding in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 473, 4.), except that here the perpetrators were permitted to wreak their fury with *swords* as well as whips.

[5] *One to another.*] i. e. by two and two.

[6] *As each might see his enemy.*] A refinement of cruelty to make each one's enemy his executioner!

[7] *Whip-bearers.*] These were probably official persons, like our *beadles* and the ῥαβδοῦχοι of the Greeks. In the above sense μαστιγόφορος occurs in Xen. Cyr. 8, 3. and Rep. Laced. 2, 2.

[8] *Hastened on those, &c.*] And, indeed, the pain thereby occasioned was probably little less than that inflicted by the soldiers; for it appears from Hesych. in Κερκυραία μάστιξ, that the whips of the Corcyræans were of an extremely large kind, like what we call *cat-o-nine-tails*.

XLVIII. Of these persons there had been led forth and destroyed to the amount of sixty, without the knowledge of the rest, who supposed that they were removing them somewhere else. But on receiving intimation of what was passing (some one having told them), they called upon the Athenians, and bid *them*, if they pleased, destroy them, refusing any longer to go forth from the building, and declaring they would not suffer, as far as lay in their power, any one to enter. As to the Corcyræans, they had no intention to attempt forcing open the doors [1], but mounting on the roof of the building, and pulling off the covering [2], flung down the tiles and launched arrows at those below. Then, some of them sheltered themselves [3] as well as they were able, while the greater part rid themselves of existence by thrusting down their throats the arrows which had been launched at them, and hanging themselves with the ropes of some couches which happened to be there, and with bands made of shreds or strips from their clothes [4]; and in every way, throughout most of the night (for

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[1] *Had no intention, &c.*] There is, perhaps, somewhat of sarcasm couched in this sentence.

[2] *Mounting on the roof, &c.*] There is something very similar in Xen. Hist. 6, 5, 9. ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸν νεὼν καὶ τὴν ὀροφὴν διελόντες. Properly διελόντες would mean "breaking an orifice through," as in Polyæn. l. 5, 3. p. 439. τὰς ὀροφὰς τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων διελεῖν. and St. Mark 2, 4. ἀπεστάγησαν τὴν στέγην — ἐξορύξαντες. where ἐξορ. is exegetical of the former ἀπεστάγησαν, Here, however, the term may mean *demolish, throw down*, as at l. 5, 2.

[3] *Sheltered themselves.*] Not "attempted at first to defend themselves," as Mitford and Hobbes understand; for that was impossible.

[4] *Hanging themselves with, &c.*] Such seems to be the real sense of the perplexed passage καὶ ἐκ κλινῶν τινῶν — ἀπαγχόμενοι, in which I see no reason to resort to any change of reading. It may be proper to consult the learned note of Goeller, who concludes with laying down the following as the construction: καὶ ἐκ κλινῶν τινῶν τοῖς σπάρτοις, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱματίων τοῖς παραιρήμασι, ἃ ἐποίησαν (ἀπέσχισαν), ἀπαγχόμενοι. But this requires ἐποίησαν to be *read* for ποιοῦντες without any authority, and is a very uncritical way of removing the difficulty. After all, the most rational view of the passage is that taken by the Scholiast, who regards the words παραιρήματα and ποιοῦντες as a breviloquentia; though he might more truly have said that the whole of the clause καὶ ἐκ κλινῶν — ποιοῦντες is a brief form. of expression, in which ποιοῦντες is, as it were, a vox prægnans, σπάρτους, too, being understood from σπάρτοις. The full sense is, "and making ropes by making shreds from their garments," i. e. by tearing up their garments into strips. It seems they took the long shreds, and platted them together.

the night closed[5] on the horrors of the scene), they made away with themselves, and were destroyed by the missiles of those above. When it was day, the Corcyræans, tossing them one over another[6] into carts, carried them out of the city. The women, such as they had taken in the fort, they sold for slaves. In this manner were the Corcyræans of the mountain destroyed by the democrats, and thus this long-drawn tragedy, at least as far as concerns the present war, was brought to a close; for there was no farther remnant of sedition of any consequence. And now the Athenians proceeding to Sicily, whither they were first bound, carried on the war in conjunction with their confederates.

XLIX. At the close of summer the Athenian force at Naupactus and the Acarnanians jointly undertook an expedition against Anactorium, a city of the Corinthians, which lies at the mouth of the Ambracian gulf, and obtained possession of it by treachery; and after sending away[1] the Corinthians, the Acarnanians themselves occupied the place, sending colonists from all their districts.[2] And thus ended the summer.

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[5] *The night closed.*] And, as Thucydides seems to hint, shed additional horrors on the scene.

A little before, I read, from the conjecture of Poppo, *παντί τε τρόπῳ*; and further on *ἀναλοῦντες*, from the conjecture of Heilman, which is supported by Valla and Phavorinus.

[6] *One over another.*] Such is simply the sense of *φορμηδόν*, on which I am surprised Goeller should commend the annotation of the Scholiast. The word literally signifies *cross-wise*, and also *one over another*. The term is very expressive of the *ignoble* treatment exercised towards the corpses of these unfortunate nobles (as Mitford calls them), who, it seems, were not allowed any funeral rites.

The passage is alluded to by Aristid. 3, 520. *φορμηδὸν ἐπ' ἀμαξῶν ἐκφέρειν, ὥσπερ τοὺς Κερκυραίων νέκρους.* Similar ones are found in Dionys. Hal. 1, 623, 13. *ἐπὶ ἁμαξαῖς σωρηδὸν οἱ θνήσκοντες ἀπεκόμιζοντο.* Herodian 4, 6, 2. *τὰ δὲ πτώματα ἁμάξαις ἐπιτεθέντα, ἔξω τῆς πολέως κομισθέντα, σωρηδὸν, κατεπίμπρατο.*

[1] *Sending away.*] Namely, unhurt. The Acarnanians, barbarous as they were accounted, showed on this occasion, as also on that narrated at l. 3, 114., far greater moderation and humanity than their more polished neighbours. And here I must observe, that Mitford is not warranted in saying that they took *all* the property of these Corinthians.

[2] *All their districts.*] Acarnania was divided into various tribes and townships, or petty districts, each in some measure independent of the rest.

L. At the commencement of winter, Aristides son of Archippus, a commander of the ships sent to collect tribute from the allies, apprehends, at Eion on the Strymon, a Persian called Artaphernes, who was proceeding from *the King* to Lacedæmon [1], and on his arrival at Athens the Athenians translated the letters from the Assyrian [2] language into the Greek, and read them; in which, among many other things, the sum of the whole was this, that he did not know what they meant; for though many ambassadors had gone thither, no two agreed in their proposals; if, therefore, they wished to make any clear and explicit declaration, they should send some persons to him with this Persian. Artaphernes the Athenians afterwards sent away in a trireme to Ephesus [3], and some ambassadors of theirs with him, who there hearing that King Artaxerxes [4] son of Xerxes, was lately dead, (for about this time he died, [5]) returned home.

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[1] *Proceeding from the King to Lacedæmon.*] From the beginning of the war intrigue had been carrying on by the Lacedæmonian government with the court of Persia; and that court, it appears, was not disposed to disdain negotiation with a little Grecian republic; but the distance, the difficulty and danger of communication, difference of manners, and contrariety in maxims of government, pride on both sides, and some apprehension on that of Lacedæmon, of the superior weight of the Persian empire, had prevented any treaty from being brought to a conclusion. (Mitford).

[2] *Assyrian.*] Why Thucydides should say Assyrian, and not *Persian*, the critics are not quite agreed. Duker thinks it is because, "though in the Persian language, the letters were in the Assyrian character; the Persians, indeed, having then none of their own, but using the Assyrian ones, which, as we find from Pliny H. N. 7, 56., were very antient." Herodotus, too, he adds, 4, 87., has the very same expression γράμματα Ἀσσύρια, where Schweighausser remarks that the Assyrian letters were the same with the Babylonian and Chaldaic. Hack supposes that the Persians spoke the Assyrian dialect; but that, Goeller remarks, may be refuted from Heeren's Ideas, vol. 1. p. 1. p. 146. There is no doubt but that the language was Persian; for the ruling nation of the empire (the Persian) would be sure to exact that the Persian language should be used in all public writings, by the same policy as that resorted to by William the Conqueror of England, and his successors, who required the use of Norman French in all law writings.

[3] *Sent away in a trireme to Ephesus.*] The Athenians had not hitherto solicited any alliance with Persia; yet they were anxious not to embroil themselves with that powerful empire, while they were engaged in war with Peloponnesus. (Mitford.)

[4] *Artaxerxes.*] Bekker and Goeller, from one MS., have edited Artoxerxes. See Wesseling and Schweighausser on Herod. 6, 43 and 98.

[5] *Died.*] On this event see Wesseling on Diod. 12, 64.

LI. This same winter the Chians, at the requisition of the Athenians, who suspected [1] them of some design to revolt, demolished [2] the wall which they had lately built, obtaining, however, as far as possible, sure pledges [3] from the Athenians that they would make no change of measures in respect of them.

YEAR VIII. B. C. 424.

LII. At the commencement of the subsequent summer there was an eclipse [1] of the sun about the new moon; and at the commencement of the month there was an earthquake.[2] And now the exiles of the Mytilenæans and the other Lesbians, occupying most of them a strong hold and sally-post [3] on the continent, and having hired some forces from Peloponnesus, and collected others from the parts where they resided [4], seize on Rhœteum [5], but, upon receiving two thousand staters, restored

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[1] *Suspected.*] In ὑποπτευσάντων ἐς αὐτούς, &c., the participle may be iterally rendered, "entertaining a suspicion respecting them that they meditated," &c.

[2] *Demolished.*] Possibly περιεῖλον may only mean *dismantled*, and *lowered*, so as to render it unfit for any long siege; as was done in the case of Babylon, by order of Darius.

[3] *Procuring, &c.*] Or, "making a firm compact." A very different sense is assigned by Hobbes, Smith, and Gail; but not, I conceive, such as is supported by the original.* The version above given is confirmed by Valla, Portus, Benedict, Krueger, and Goeller. It is not probable that the Athenians would have chosen, at a critical time like this, to deal so very harshly with a powerful ally, as the other interpretation implies. It would, besides, have been without any object, since they carried the point they aimed at.

[1] *Eclipse.*] Ἔκλιπές τι, somewhat of eclipse. The expression is rare, but occurs in Dio Cass. 793, 30. and Arrian E. A. 3, 7. 9.

[2] *An earthquake.*] Goeller refers to Elmsley on Eurip. Heracl. 830. The eclipse and the earthquake are recorded by our historian, in accommodation to the notions of almost all his contemporaries, who regarded them as ominous of what was to happen.

[3] *Occupying a strong hold and sally post.*] Both these senses seem to be comprehended in the expression ὁρμώμενοι ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου.

[4] *Collected from those, &c.*] So αὐτόθεν is used at 1, 11. 3, 7. 7, 71.

[5] *Rhœteum.*] A promontory of Troas, situated a little within the Hellespont, celebrated for the tumulus of Ajax, which still remains. The *town* of Rhœteum, which here seems meant, was situated about four miles

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* Hack, indeed, who adopts that interpretation, offers the following specious version: — "Quanquam fidem Atheniensibus fecerant, et satis dederant, se, quantum in ipsis esset, nihil de sua conditione esse novaturos."

it to the inhabitants uninjured.[6] After this they proceeded with their forces against Antandrus[7], and, by means of some treachery within the place, take the city. It was also their intention to set at liberty both the *other* cities of what is called the Acte[8], which, as being formerly possessed by the Mytilenæans, were now occupied by the Athenians; and above all, Antandrus, having fortified which, they might easily (as[9] there was great facility thereabouts for ship-building, wood being plentiful and Ida close at hand, and procuring, too, other equipments[10]), by sallying from thence, both annoy Lesbos, as being near, and subdue the Æolian cities on the continent.[11] Such was the plan which they were about to prepare to carry into effect.

LIII. This same summer, the Athenians, with sixty triremes, two hundred heavy infantry, and a few horse, in conjunction with the Milesians and some other allies, went on

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to the north of it, and may (putting aside mythological fiction) be supposed to have been so called from the brook on which it was situated; and thus the name will have the same ratio significationis as Rhætus, mentioned supra, c. 42.

6 *Upon receiving two thousand staters, restored, &c.*] On the Phocæan stater Goeller refers to Boeckh. Staatsh. d. Attic. 1. p. 24.

These exiles seem to have been driven, by dire necessity, to pursue the same course which was in after times followed by the *buccaneers* in America.

7 *Antandrus.*] On the north coast of the gulf of Adramyttium, and now called Antandro.

8 *Acte.*] On the continental territory of Lesbos. See note on l. 3, 50, 5. It was called *Acte*, as being of a *wedge-like* form, the base of the triangle being a line drawn from the head of the Adramyttian gulf to the promontory of Sigæum, and its apex the promontory of Lectum.

Duker thinks the towns in question were so styled, because all on the *sea coast*. But such would not be a sufficiently distinctive appellation.

9 *They might easily (as, &c.*] Such appears to be the best representation of the perplexed and involved words of the original, on which Poppo and Goeller have bestowed much pains, but to little purpose.

10 *Equipments.*] The var. lect. σκευῇ is specious but unnecessary, since the common reading παρασκευῇ may have the same sense as at 6, 4. Nor is there any occasion to read, with Poppo, παρασκεύην, since the εὐπορία ἦν may be here repeated.

11 *Æolian cities on the continent.*] By these are meant, it should seem, the very *Actæan* towns just before mentioned, some of which we know, from Mela and Strabo, were Æolic colonies, having been, probably, settled by the same Æolians who colonised Lesbos.

an expedition against Cythera.[1] The command was given to Nicias son of Niceratus, Nicostratus son of Diotrophes, and Autocles son of Tolmæus. Now Cythera is an island closely adjacent to Laconia, being situated over against Malea. The inhabitants are Lacedæmonians of the Periœci[2]; and every year a certain magistrate passed over thither, called the Cytherian supreme judge[3]; they also regularly sent over a garrison of heavy infantry, and paid especial attention to the place: for it was the point of approach[4] to their merchant-

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[1] *Made an expedition against Cythera.*] Κυθήρα, the *plural* form, was the most antient (and seems to have reference to the *cloven* shape of the island, which to the south runs out into two *forks*), but, in after times, another form arose from the *nomen gentile*, namely, Κυθηρία and Κυθηραία. It appears from Aristotle and Dionys. Perieg., that the island was formerly called Πορφύρουσα, as it should seem, from dealing in *purple die*, which may lead us to suppose that it derived the name from the *Phœnicians*, who were famous for that article.

"This expedition," Mitford thinks, "was devised by the more restless and ardent spirits, who urged that they should push success, and press the Peloponnesians on all sides." It should seem, however, that the pacific party, at least, secured *this* advantage, namely, to appoint commanders who would not unnecessarily aggravate the horrors of war. Now the conduct of Nicostratus, at Corcyra, was such as to warrant every reliance on him. As to Autocles son of Tolmæus, he was, probably, a younger brother of that Tolmides (son of Tolmæus) who, thirty-four years before, commanded an expedition to the Lacedæmonian coasts, and afterwards was the conqueror of Bœotia.

[2] *The inhabitants are, &c.*] Such appears to be the sense of the passage, which has been totally mistaken by all the translators, and neglected by the commentators. By the Periœci were meant all the inhabitants of the Lacedæmonian territory except the Spartans, i. e. those who inhabited the city of Sparta, and a certain district round it. Now these were accounted as much inferior by the Spartans, as the Latins and some others were, for a long time, regarded by the Romans.

[3] *The Cytherian supreme judge.*] Such seems to be the real sense of Κυθηροδίκης ἀρχή, where ἀρχὴ is used to denote a *magistrate*, as at 5, 28 and 47. It very rarely occurs in the singular; yet I have adduced some examples in my note on St. Luke, 8, 11. Mitford seems to have thought that there was a board of judges or magistrates, which *may* have been the case. There is nothing in the use of the singular to refute this opinion. The word Κυθηροδίκης is of the same form with Ἑλληνοδίκης, Εἰρηνοδίκης, Ἀγωνοδίκης, Ναυτοδίκης, &c.

This sending over a judge, it may be observed, implied subjection on the part of the Cytherians. So Herod. l. 5, 83. says of the Ægineans, in respect of the Epidaurians: δίκας διαβαίνοντες ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον, ἐδίδοσάν τε καὶ ἐλάμβανον παρ' ἀλλήλων. Such, indeed, was the subjection in which the Cytherians were held, that the citizenship of Cythera became proverbial to denote any thing mean; as is plain from Synes. 301. D. νησιώτης οἰκήσω — μέτοικος, ἀτιμότερος ἀστοῦ Κυθηρίου.

[4] *Point of approach.*] Namely, the point which the ships from Africa used to make for and touch at in their way to Laconia. Thus the Scho-

ships from Egypt and Libya; and thereby, moreover, Laconia was the less infested from the seaward (where alone it could be annoyed) by privateers [5], as it juts out and stretches [6] into the Sicilian and the Cretan seas.

LIV. Having there, with their armament, come to anchor, the Athenians proceeded with two ships and two thousand heavy infantry of the Milesians [1], and seized the city of the Cytherians towards the sea, called Scandea [2], and with the rest of the forces disembarking at that part which faces Malea, they marched against the city of the Cytherians (which is on the coast), and found them all drawn up in readiness; and, a battle taking place, the Cytherians for some time stood their ground, but then turned and fled to the upper city, and afterwards capitulated with Nicias and his colleagues "to leave it to the Athenians to decide concerning them at their

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liast explains it προσόρμισις, καὶ καταγωγή. Hence it is called by Xen. Hist. 4, 8, 7. the Phœnician post. In the same manner προσβολὴ is used at l. 4, 1. We may presume that these ships brought corn (which so unfertile a country would require), and such other commodities as the institutions of Sparta would permit to be imported.

[5] *Was the less infested, &c.*] Thus it would have been a great acquisition to the enemy, for Demaratus on Herod. 7, 235. (referred to by Poppo Proleg. p. 20.) says it was well adapted for maritime devastation on Laconia.

[6] *Juts out and stretches.*] Or extends itself. The Scholiast well explains it ἀνατείνει καὶ ἀναπέπταται, the latter of which terms is very applicable to the form of the island, which is cloven, and to the south it expands itself and runs out into two *forks*, one jutting into the Sicilian, the other into the Cretan, sea.

[1] *Two thousand heavy infantry of the Milesians.*] This shows how numerous, at times, must have been the quotas furnished by the allies; for two thousand (and that might not be the *whole*) might seem a greater force than would be demanded of one city.

[2] *The city, &c.*] This expression has reference to the only other city which Cythera had, and that is said to have been inland, of the same name with the island. Nearly the same sites are now thought to be occupied, the latter by Palæo Castro, the former by St. Nicolo. From Pausanias and Pliny, indeed, it would appear that the two cities were only ten stadia apart, and perhaps were regarded as one; Cythera being called the upper, and Scandea the lower, city. And so D'Anville and Boccage. But this is contradicted by what Thucydides says, from whom it is plain that the city of the Cytherians was on the coast opposite to Laconia, and had an upper town belonging to it. The only way of reconciling this difference is to suppose that, in the time of Pausanias and Pliny, old Cythera had become deserted, and that what was *then* called Cythera was this upper town above Scandea.

pleasure," only conditioning for their lives. There had, indeed, before been some communication held by Nicias with certain of the Cytherians; hence both the immediate and the subsequent conditions of the capitulation were adjusted and despatched the more speedily and favourably for them: for otherwise the Athenians would have expelled [3] the Cytherians from the country, as being Lacedæmonians, and especially as the island was so adjacent to Laconia. After the treaty, the Athenians took possession of Scandea, the town and the port, and providing for the safe keeping of Cythera, sailed away to Asine and Helos, and very many other towns on the sea coast, and making descents, and taking up their quarters in such places on shore as they found convenient, they ravaged the country for about seven days.

LV. As to the Lacedæmonians, though they saw the Athenians had possessed themselves of Cythera, and expected that they would make such descents on their coast, they no where opposed them [1] with any combined force, but only de-

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[3] *Otherwise the Athenians would have expelled, &c.*] The recent editors are all of opinion that ἀνέστησαν γὰρ ἂν is the true reading. And this they have introduced into the text; but without any authority. And strange it were to suppose that ἂν, which seems so necessary to the sense*, should be lost in *all* the copies. I cannot, therefore, but suspect that the sense endeavoured to be communicated by means of the ἂν is inherent in the verb itself. For not only imperfects and preterites indicative are used for pluperfects subjunctive (as was first remarked by Jensius Lect. Luc. on Timon 9., to whose examples I add Herod. 9, 45. ἐμάχετο. 9, 77. ἐδίωκον. Thucyd. 8, 82. ἀντηλλάξατο), but sometimes aorists, as Acts 7, 26. συνήλασε. Eurip. Ion. 1286. κἄπειτ' ἔκτεινας φαρμάκοις τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Dio Cass. 448, 91. ἀπηλλάγη. Arrian E. A. 1, 21, 7. ἀνερρίφη.

I have here inserted *otherwise*, as being a very frequent ellipsis with ἂν either expressed or understood; as Soph. Elect. 323. ἐπεί τ' ἂν οὐ μακρὰν ἔξων ἐγώ. and Eurip. Hec. 1269.

With respect to ἀνίστημι, it is a vox solennis de hac re; as Diod. Sic. 5, 95. and Max. Tyr. Diss. 35, 11, 166. Φωκέας ἀνῖστη. where Heinsius ill renders *perdidit*.

[1] *Opposed them.*] Literally, "arranged themselves, or drew out against." It is well observed by Mitford, "that the measures of the Lacedæmonian

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* Necessary, because we find from c. 57. that they were not really expelled from the island. It is a strange carelessness in Aristid. 1, 276. c. to represent them as having been removed. The error, doubtless, arose from a false interpretation of the present passage; and this may serve to show how antient the common reading is.

spatched a number of heavy infantry detachments, as garrisons, to different parts of the country where they might be needed. In *other* respects, indeed, they were exceedingly on their guard, fearing lest any innovation in the state should arise amongst themselves; the calamity at the island being unexpected and heavy, Pylus, too, and Cythera being occupied by their enemies, and hostilities, rapid and not to be guarded against [2], encircling them on all sides; insomuch that, contrary to their usual custom, they formed a body of four hundred cavalry [3], and some archers, though they were never more sluggish or indisposed to war than at present [4]; being engaged, contrary to the existing form and nature of their military institutions, in a *naval combat*, and that against *Athenians*, to whom what was not undertaken seemed ever to fall short of what they

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government mark, not so much the want of force in its hands, as the want of ability to direct it. Descents upon the Lacedæmonian coast were expected, but where they would be attempted could not be foreseen." The same writer then proceeds to animadvert on the Lacedæmonians for "deserting the maxims of Lycurgus, and dividing their strength in forts and strong posts, through the length of their winding coast." The censure, however, is wholly void of foundation, and could only have arisen from inadvertently taking φρουρὰς to mean *forts*; or, perhaps, from being deceived by Smith's version *posts*. He might justly have censured the Lacedæmonian government for not forming better arrangements for concentrating a large force on any point assailed; for want of which the Athenians were enabled to land *any where*, and ravage the country in detail. Where, it may be asked, was Brasidas? It is true that the Lacedæmonians were hampered with many difficulties, and especially harassed by fears of domestic insurrection; for a constitution like theirs, so imperfectly extended to *many*, and only the instrument of oppression to *more*, might well excite fears for its stability, in times of unprecedented innovation, such as were those of the Peloponnesian war.

[2] *War — not to be guarded against.*] This use of ἀπροφυλάκτος with πόλεμος is very rare. I know not any other example than Dio Cass. 89, 21. (imitated hence): ὥστε καὶ μέγαν καὶ συνεχῆ καὶ ἀπροφυλάκτον καὶ ἄπιστον τὸν πόλεμον γενέσθαι. where Oddey need not have scrupled at the term. Moreover, for ἄπιστον ought there to be read, not ἄπειστον, (with Fabric.) but ἄσπειστον, a word which occurs in the best authors, especially Appian. So also Suid. ἄσπειστον ἔχθραν. ἀσπονδον μῖσος.

[3] *Contrary to their usual, &c.*] The Lacedæmonians relied only on their armed footmen, or men-at-arms, in whose valour and skill in fight they gloried much, as a peculiar virtue, and as for horsemen and light-armed soldiers, they made less reckoning, and only used such of them as were brought in by their confederates. (Hobbes.)

[4] *They were never, &c.*] Such seems to be the real sense, though not the literal rendering of ἐς τὰ πολεμικὰ — ἐγένοντο, in which there is a blending of two forms.

expected to achieve [5]; and moreover, many events of fortune happening in a short time, against all their calculation, threw them into an extreme consternation, and they feared lest some such disaster as that on the island should again befall them. For which reason they were become timid of engaging in battle, and whatever they stirred in they thought they should fail in [6]; their minds having become wanting in confidence, from their former unacquaintance with reverses.

LVI. On the Athenians, therefore, ravaging their sea coast, as any descent might be made over against each guard force, they, for the most part, kept still, as knowing themselves to be inferior in number, and being in the disposition of mind just adverted to [1] One party on guard, however, which even made a resistance about Cotyrta and Aphrodisia [2], struck fear into the crowd of light-armed by a sally upon them; but on the heavy infantry sustaining their charge, they retreated back again, and some of the men were slain and their arms taken: on which the Athenians, having set up a trophy,

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[5] *To whom what was, &c.*] Such seems to be the meaning of the darkly expressed sentence of the original, of which no one has better seen the scope than the Scholiast, and of which the best commentary is a kindred passage at 1, 70. ἃ μὲν ἂν ἐπινοήσαντες μὴ ἐπεξέλθωσιν, οἰκείων στέρεσθαι ἡγοῦνται· ἃ δ' ἂν ἐπελθόντες κτήσωνται, ὀλίγα πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα τυχεῖν πραξάντες. So also Agath. p. 23. ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν ἠττῆσθαι μόνον ὑποτοπήσαντες τῷ μὴ σφόδρα νενικηκέναι. where I conjecture for τῷ μή, τὸ μή.

I entirely agree with Goeller that πρᾶξαι, which Hack reads, is not necessary. Nay, there is far more propriety in the common reading. The only harshness consists in the use of the verbal substantive δοκήσεως with an infinitive after it, as if it were a verb. On which Matthiæ and Buttman have omitted to treat, and Viger. (p. 56. seqq.) but slightly treated on.

[6] *And whatever they, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of the difficult clause καὶ πᾶν ὅ, τι—κακοπραγεῖν, of which Goeller gives the following version: "quia animus eorum non-sponsor factus est, sive mine confidens, propterea quod prius non consueverant in fortuna adversa versari." Indeed despondency usually arises from unacquaintance with casualty.

The passage is imitated by Dio Cass. p. 25, 61.

[1] *Being in the, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of the brief and ænigmatical phrase ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ, which is not well rendered by Goeller, "cum in hoc statu rerum essent, ut animo minus forti essent et audaces."

[2] *Cotyrta and Aphrodisia.*] Of these towns all that we know is, that they were maritime ones on the east coast of the gulf of Bœæ, and a little north of that place. Probably the site of Cotyrta is at what is now called Palæo Castro.

sailed away to Cythera, and thence sailed round [3] to Epidaurus Limera [4], and devastating a part of its territory, they came to Thyrea, a place in the district called Cynuria [5], which is on the borders of the Argive and Laconian territories. This the Lacedæmonians, in whose possession it was, gave as a sojourn to the expelled Æginetes, because of the good offices they had received from them at the earthquake, and the insurrection of the Helots, and because, though in subjection to the Athenians, they had always been attached to their cause.

LVII. On the approach, then, of the Athenian fleet, the Æginetes abandoned the fort [1] at the sea which they were building, and retired to the upper city, where they dwelt, distant about ten stadia [2] from the sea side; and though the

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[3] *Sailed round.*] For they had to double the promontory of Malea.

[4] *Epidaurus Limera.*] i. e. Epidaurus the *hungry;* so called from the *poverty* of its soil. So the Scholiast on 7, 26., who explains the epithet by *κατάξηρος* (dried away) *ἐνδεὴς*, as Suid. by *πενιχρὰ*, *λιμώττουσα*. Various authorities for the word *λιμηρὸς*, and references to critics, may be seen in Steph. Thes. nov. edit. col. 8503. As to the other derivation, supported by all the old commentators, namely, from its *many havens*, it is truly said by Poppo to be at variance with analogy.

[5] *Cynuria.*] Or, *Cynosuria*, as Bekker edits from MSS.; though Goeller recalls the old reading, and, I think, upon just grounds. The other seems to have arisen from the margin, where it was meant to indicate the derivation. The common reading, indeed, is placed beyond doubt by the circumstance that Herodotus, 8, 73., calls the inhabitants of this country Κυνούριοι, and says they were *αὐτόχθονες*. The inhabitants had, doubtless, been long settled there; and obtained their name, probably, from some fabulous stories of their difference of formation, originating in ignorance and the little communication with other places. Thus Africa, and other distant countries, were peopled with Cynocephali, and even more portentous beings. Nay, even at the present day, the names given to some tribes of North American Indians savour of the same whimsical conceits. Thus we read of the Flatheads, Dog-ribbed, &c. &c.

This country is very inaccurately laid down by Boccage, who has diminished it by nearly one half. It is best represented in the new Comparative Atlas of Arrowsmith. Pouqueville, Græc. 4. p. 170., says it corresponds to the present district of St. Peter, and that Thyrea was situated near the present village of St. Peter. Perhaps, however, it may better correspond to the present *Stilo*.

[1] *The fort.*] Not *wall*, as Portus, Hobbes, and Smith render. It was, no doubt, some sort of fortification, and, probably, intended (as Mitford thinks) for the protection of their shipping; as the Æginetes, accustomed to riches derived, not from agriculture, but commerce, still directed their views to the sea.

[2] *Distant about ten stadia.*] Thyrea was situated, like most of the older

‡ In Bloomfield's edition (1843) all this is retracted

Æginetes asked of a battalion of Lacedæmonians, stationed there as a guard for the country, and which had been assisting them in building, to enter into the fort [3] with them, they were not willing; nay, it seemed to them to be dangerous to be cooped up therein; but retreating to the heights, as they thought themselves not strong enough to give the enemy battle, they there kept still. Meanwhile the Athenians had come to anchor, and marching forward immediately with their whole force, they took Thyrea, burning the city, and plundering [4] whatever was valuable therein; and such of the Æginetes as were not slain in the assault they carried away to Athens, together with Tantalus son of Patrocles, the Lacedæmonian governor [5], who was with them, and was wounded and taken captive. They also brought some few persons of the *Cytherians*, whom it seemed proper, for security's sake, to remove; and these the Athenians decided to deposit in the islands [6], and that the rest should inhabit their country, paying a tribute of four talents.[7] But the Æginetes who were taken they decreed should be put to death [8], because of their former and

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maritime towns of Greece, not upon the shore, but about a mile from it on rising ground, fitter for defence. (Mitford.)

[3] *Enter into the fort.*] It is not quite clear whether by this be meant the fort which they had been building, or the acropolis of the upper town. The *latter* is understood by all the translators: but the former seems required by the context; for how can we well understand by τὸ τεῖχος aught but the τὸ τεῖχος just before mentioned? Besides, had there been a fort in the upper town, the Æginetes would surely have made a better defence, especially as they had little mercy to expect from the Athenians.

[4] *Plundering.*] Not *destroying*, as Hobbes and Smith render; for there was no reason why they should destroy what they could carry away. Mitford rightly understands it of "stripping the place of all that was valuable."

[5] *Governor.*] Namely, of the city and district; not commander of the garrison.

[6] *In the islands.*] Namely, the Cyclades, &c., which were especially used for that purpose. Thus the Mytilenæans were placed at Tenedos; and the Corcyræans at Ægina. See 3, 72.

[7] *A tribute of four talents.*] A small sum, indeed, and only a *quit rent;* but that, as well as their preservation from the horrors of devastation, may be ascribed to the benevolent intercession of Nicias and Nicostratus.

[8] *Decreed should be put to death.*] It is well observed by Mitford, that what few individual tyrants could have thought of without horror, the Athenian people directed by a deliberate decree. "The law," he adds, "established by the Lacedæmonians, and sealed with the blood of the unfortunate Platæans, was but too closely followed. And this was the hor-

perpetual hostility, and that Tantalus should be kept a prisoner with the other Lacedæmonians from the island.

LVIII. The same summer, a suspension of hostilities was entered into first between the Camarinæans and the Geloans; but afterwards the other Siceliots [1] assembling out of all the cities to Gela [2], the deputies entered into conference with each other, to try whether a pacification could be effected. Many opinions were delivered on both sides [3]; the speakers differing in their views, and demanding satisfaction accordingly as they each thought themselves aggrieved. And among the rest, Hermocrates [4] son of Hermon, a Syracusan (who also especially swayed their decisions), addressed the assembly to the following effect: —

LIX. "It is not on the part of the *least* city [1], Siceliots, nor the most exhausted by the war, that I am now to make

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rible fate of that miserable remnant of a Grecian people, once declared by an oracle, and confessed by all Greece, the most meritorious of the Greek nation, for their actions in its common defence against the most formidable enemy that ever assailed it."

[1] *Siceliots.*] Lat. Sicilienses. Such is the name always given by Thucydides to the Greek colonists in Sicily. The original inhabitants, then confined to the mountains and inland districts, he calls Σίκελοι, Siculi, Sicilians. This distinction is also found in other writers. From want of attention to this, there have been errors committed both by scribes and editors. The same distinction, we find from Ammonius, was observed with respect to Italy; the old inhabitants being called *Itali*, the Greek colonists *Italiotæ*.

[2] *Gela.*] This city was fixed on in preference to Camarina, as being more central.

[3] *On both sides.*] Or, as we say, pro and con.

[4] *Hermocrates.*] This great and accomplished Syracusan seems to be ushered into this history with peculiar dignity, as the very mouth of Sicily, exhorting them all to concord and unanimity, and teaching them the method of securing the welfare and glory of their common country, upon the noblest plan. He will act afterwards in the most illustrious scenes, and show himself on all occasions a man of true honour and probity, a firm and disinterested patriot, an excellent statesman, and a most able commander. The Athenians never had a more determined or a more generous enemy. But that will not hinder our historian from representing him in all his merit. (Smith.)

[1] *The least city.*] In this elegant litotes, the orator (or rather Thucydides) seems to have had in view the words of Xerxes to Demaratus in Herod. 7, 101. Δημάρητε, σὺ εἷς Ἕλλην τε, καὶ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι — πόλιος οὔτ' ἐλαχίστης, οὔτ' ἀσθενεστάτης. to which there is a striking resemblance in the scarcely less elegant turn of St. Paul, Acts 21, 39. Ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος μὲν εἰμὶ Ἰουδαῖος, Ταρσεὺς, τῆς Κιλικίας, οὐκ ἀσήμου πόλεως πολίτης. The genitive,

this address, signifying therein to the assembly what appears to me the counsel most conducive to the benefit of all Sicily. And now as to *warfare*, what need is there for a man to dilate on its horrors, by selecting whatever can be said, and thus deliver a long harangue to those who well know all that he can say? For no one is induced[2] to engage in war through ignorance of its consequences, nor is any one deterred from it by the fear of such, when he fancies he shall gain any advantage thereby. But so it happens, that to the one party the advantages seem to overbalance the perils, and the other chooses to encounter dangers in preference to suffering any present injury or grievance.[3] But if they should happen to be doing either the one or the other *unseasonably*, why then exhortations to peace are very serviceable; a truth which to be persuaded of, may be highly for our advantage on the present occasion. For it was with the view and intent, forsooth, of each of us (consulting well for our own interest[4]), that we first went to war, and are now endeavouring by discussion and debate to effect a mutual reconciliation; and unless it happens that each shall depart with what is just and right, we shall again resort to arms.[5]

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however, in this passage of Thucydides, seems to denote, not birth or residence at, but deputation from; implying that he is a *representative* of that city.

The drift of the opening sentence of the oration is (as the Scholiast remarks), to preoccupy the reflection to which those are obnoxious who urge pacific counsels; namely, that they do so from weakness and fear. The orator magnifies his country, that the freedom and spirit of his address may be excused.

"This oration (the Scholiast observes) is divided into the topics of what is *just*, what is *expedient*, and what is *possible*: q. d. It is *just* to come to an accommodation with our countrymen, and undertake a war against the Athenians. Again, it is *expedient* not to suffer Sicily to be enslaved. Finally, it is *possible*, if we will but come to reconciliation, easily to overcome the enemy."

[2] *Is induced.*] Or, impelled. Ἀναγκάζεσθαι here denotes that *moral compulsion of strong motive*, on which I have before treated. It may be observed that the words following contain *a maxim of perpetual truth*, which is well illustrated by the Scholiast.

[3] *Grievance.*] i. e. the being aggrieved, or taken advantage of in any way; as 1, 77. 5, 30. 5, 104. and elsewhere.

[4] *Consulting well for our own interest.*] Literally, "managing." So Polyæn. p. 516. Ἑλλήνων τὰ οἰκεῖα εὖ διεμένων.

[5] *And unless it turn out, &c.*] No one has so well explained this passage as the Scholiast. The ἀντιλογῶν he well expounds ἀντιρρήσεων καὶ λόγων.

LX. "And yet we ought to know (if we be wise) that this congress should not be for the purpose only of considering our *private* interests, but whether we can yet save *Sicily in general*, now plotted against, as I conceive, by the Athenians. And well may you think *them* more powerful recommenders of reconciliation [1] than my *words*, who, wielding the greatest power of all the Greeks, lie off here with a few ships, watching our errors, and with the specious pretext of *alliance*, craftily draw over those who are naturally their enemies to their own advantage [2]: for if we take up a war, and, moreover, call in these men (who are ready enough of themselves to bring in their forces [3] uncalled for), thus injuring ourselves at our own expense, and thereby paving the way [4] for their aggrandizement, it is likely that when they shall perceive us to be worn down [5], they will come hither with a greater armament,

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The expression is best illustrated by the words at the end of the last chapter, ἐλέγοντο ἐπ' ἀμφότερα, κ. τ. λ.

[1] *Recommenders of reconciliation.*] Literally, "reconcilers, peacemakers." The word διαλλακτὴς is rare, but it occurs not only in Demosth. ap. Steph. Thes., but also in Eurip. Phœn. 471. Dio Cass. 70, 15. Joseph. 44 and 982 Polyb. ap. Procop. 166.

[2] *Craftily draw over, &c.*] Here again the Scholiast is our best interpreter. The orator argues that all the Sicilians are *natural enemies* of the Athenians; and that they are turning the Leontines and others to their own advantage. Καθίστασθαι signifies to *dispose*.

[3] *Bring in their forces.*] Not, "invade us," as Smith renders. For such cannot be the sense of ἐπιστρατεύουσι. The Athenians, it is urged, will send forces which shall watch their opportunity to set both parties at variance, supporting one against another till all be so weakened as to accept their yoke.

I cannot approve of the reading of Bekker and Goeller ἐπικαλουμένους; for though the accusative is found after ἐπιστρατεύω in both Thucydides and other good writers, yet that syntax must necessarily imply *hostility*, which is not here meant. The sense intended seems to require the *dative*, which is also confirmed by a kindred passage of Agath. p. 43, 3.

[4] *Paving the way.*] Goeller explains τῆς ἀρχῆς προκοπτόντων, "making an increase of their empire;" and he censures Hack for supplying μέρος. Both commentators, however, seem to be wrong. Such a use of the word as the above would involve an unprecedented harshness; nor is it necessary to the sense. It is in vain that Goeller appeals to the Scholiast; for it is only the *last words* of the scholia that give any countenance to this mode of interpretation, and those are plainly from a different hand. The first part of the scholia supports the common and, no doubt, true view of the metaphor, which is taken from making a road through a wood, &c. See my note on St. Matt. iii, 3. As to the genitive in ἀρχῆς, to account for which seems to have led to the above device, it is governed of περὶ, understood, in the sense, "quod attinet ad."

[5] *Worn down.*] Or, "our strength utterly spent." Τρυχόω is a very strong

and endeavour to bring *all* these states under their subjection.

LXI. "And yet (if we be wise) it behoves us, who are each seeking to obtain for his country what is not theirs, rather to call in allies, and face additional dangers [1], than injure what we already possess; and to believe that faction most of all destroys states, and *Sicily in general*, of which we the inhabitants are, indeed, conjointly plotted against, and yet by separate states stand apart [2] in quarrels. Fully persuaded of this, we ought, both individuals [3] and states, to be reconciled, and thus endeavour to save Sicily at large. Nor ought any one to entertain the notion [4] that the *Dorians* among us are, indeed, enemies of the Athenians, but that the Chalcidic race is safe by their Ionian descent [5]: for the Athenians do not attack those nations, because they are of different descent one from the other, but through a covetous longing after those good things [6] throughout Sicily at large, and which we jointly possess. This they have now shown, on the invitation [7] addressed to them by the Chalcidic race; for to people who had never, in virtue of alliance, given them any aid, they rendered right with a promptitude beyond the claims of compact.[8] And, indeed, for the Athenians thus to aim at

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term, and is similarly used at 7, 28. τετρυχωμένοι πολέμῳ. also l. 1. τετρ. τῇ προσεδρείᾳ. Herod. 3, 2. ἐτρύχωσαν τὴν Ἑλλαδα.

[1] *Face additional dangers.*] Such seems to be the sense contained in the rare phrase προσλαμβάνειν κινδύνους, where πρὸς stands for πρόσεστι.

[2] *Stand apart.*] This use of διίστημι is also found, and in a *physical* sense, at 4, 32. διέστησαν κατὰ διακοσίους καὶ πλείους.

[3] *Individuals.*] This seems to refer to some persons who took the lead and guided the sentiments of the generality. Most of these seem to have been merely factious partisans like Athenagoras. See 6, 36. Hermocrates was, with respect to Sicily at large, a true patriot.

[4] *Entertain the notion.*] "Or imagine, represent to himself." Here must be understood δόξαν. See Steph. Thes. in v. and Herod. 1, 86.

[5] *That the Dorians among us, &c.*] The meaning (which is too briefly expressed, and requires to be unfolded) is, that the Dorians, indeed, are enemies to the Athenians, and, therefore, have reason to fear their attacks; but that the Chalcideans being friends, are in no danger, and secure by their Ionic descent. At τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν must be supplied γένος.

[6] *Good things.*] Not "*necessities*," as Hobbes renders.

[7] *On the invitation.*] i. e. in the use of the invitation. The translators, I would observe, are here too paraphrastical.

[8] *For to people who, &c.*] Such appears to be the true sense and closest

and forecast for[9] their own aggrandizement is pardonable enough; nor do I blame those who are *desirous to rule*, but rather those who are *disposed to serve*[10]: for man is naturally prone to domineer over such as yield, but to be shy of meddling with those who resist, or even become assailants.[11] But we who, knowing this, forecast not aright, nor each come here esteeming *this* the most important concern, for *all* to attend to what threatens danger to all; we, I say, are very blameworthy.[12] The speediest way of removing that danger would be for us to come to terms of mutual accommodation: for the Athenians do not assail us, proceeding from their own country, but from that of those who have called them in[13]; and thus war would not be terminated by war, but differences would, without trouble, cease by pacification[14]: and thus those who have been called in, as they came hither, with fair pretences, for our injury; so may they with fair reason be despatched, without having effected their purpose.[15]

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version of the obscure sentence τοῖς γὰρ — παρέσχοντο. There had, it seems, been a treaty of alliance between the Athenians and those; or it was implied in their common descent. The phrase, παράσχεσθαι τὸ δίκαιόν τινι, may be rendered, "to do any one right." The use of μᾶλλον with a substantive, involves an ellipsis quite Thucydidean.

9 *Forecast for.*] This is a somewhat rare sense of προνοεῖσθαι, but it is found at 6, 9. προν. τι τοῦ σώματος.

10 *Nor do I blame, &c.*] The comparative in ἑτοιμοτέρους must, as at 3, 63., be resolved into μᾶλλον and the positive; as Eurip. Med. 472. Elm. πρόθυμος μᾶλλον ἢ σοφωτέρα. And so the Latin writers; as Tacit. Agric. 44. decentior quam sublimior fuit.

11 *Shy of meddling, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of φυλάσσεσθαι τὸ ἐπίον, which words are strangely misconceived by Smith.

12 *But we who, knowing, &c.*] Such is the closest version of the words of the original, which do not easily assume an English dress without such circumlocution as would destroy the cast of the sentence. Goeller, somewhat freely, but correctly, renders thus: — "Si quis huc in hoc concilium venit cum isto judicio, non antiquissimum esse, commune omnibus periculum avertere cunctos, fallitur." He truly observes, that there is a mixture of two constructions, one in the third, the other in the first person.

13 *For the Athenians do not, &c.*] And, therefore, if we could all come to agreement, they would have no footing, or sally post, from which to annoy us.

14 *War would not be, &c.*] In the original the verb πάυονται must be construed with both members of the sentence, and taken per dilogiam with a modification of sense.

It is well observed by the Scholiast that the orator here distinguishes between *war* and *differences*, and, by a sort of euphemism, applies the latter to contests between those of the same country.

15 *And thus those who, &c.*] It is impossible, in any translation, to pre-

LXII. "And such (as far as regards the Athenians) will be the benefit attendant on our pursuing wise counsels.[1] And now this *peace*, which is confessed by all to be the best of all things[2], why should we not make it amongst ourselves? Or think ye that if any be in a prosperous condition, or in the reverse, that *quiet* rather than *warfare* will not rather remove the evil and secure the good; and that *peace* does not keep honours and splendours more free from danger, besides having many other advantages, such as any one might employ as many words in dilating on as on that of *war*?[3] Considering then these things, ye ought not to slight[4] these admonitions, but rather from them each of you provide for his own safety. And if any one reckons that he shall assuredly[5] accomplish any object, either by justice or by force, let him not think it hard to be disappointed of his purpose; knowing that many who have sought to avenge themselves on such as had injured them, or others who have hoped by the exercise of might to increase their possessions at the sacrifice of an-

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serve the dense brevity and antithetical point of the original. The above version is formed on the basis of Hobbes. Smith has certainly missed the sense.

The meaning of the εὐλόγως (which is well explained by the Scholiast) is, that as the war which brought the strangers thither had terminated, there would be a sufficient reason for sending them away.

[1] *Pursuing wise counsels.*] Namely, pacific ones. By the "advantage as regards the Athenians," is meant their ridding the country of them.

[2] *Which is confessed by all to, &c.*] So Cicero: "Nihil tam populare quam pacem, quam concordiam, quam otium reperiemus." Theophyl. Sim. 77. D. οὐδὲν γὰρ τῆς εἰρήνης καθέστηκε τιμαλφέστερον. The present passage is imitated by Procop. 20, 24. πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν τὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι ὁμολόγηται παρὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων. Perhaps our author had in view Eurip. Suppl. 486. where the Theban herald thus treats of peace and war: καὶ τοῖν δύοιν γε πάντες ἄνθρωποι λέγειν Τὸν κρεῖσσον' ἴσμεν (καὶ τὰ χρηστὰ καὶ κακὰ), Ὅσῳ τε πολέμου κρεῖσσον εἰρήνη βροτοῖς. For such is, I conceive, the true punctuation.

[3] *Or think ye that if, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of this long and involved sentence, in which there is much of *anacoluthon*. See Duker and Goeller. Here I read, with Bekker and Goeller, παύσω and ξυνδιασώσαι. The optative seems required. Goeller observes that at δοκεῖτε, taken, as it were, parenthetically, ὅτι is to be supplied (see 2, 72.); and that ἔχειν, &c. μὴ is required by the sense, though omitted by reason of the commencement of another construction. And he refers to a similar construction at 1, 71. διαμέλλετε — νέμετε.

[4] *Slight.*] Literally, "*overlook.*" It is impossible, in our language, to express the antithesis or paronomasia in ὑπεριδεῖν and προιδεῖν.

[5] *Assuredly.*] The Scholiast explains παντῇ πάντως.

other's right, have respectively been frustrated in their expectations; the former not only not attaining vengeance, but not coming off with safety; the latter, perchance, instead of gaining more, losing[6] what they had: for vengeance does not necessarily and naturally[7] attain its object because the pursuer of it is *aggrieved;* nor is strength secure of its object because it is sanguine in its expectation. But the instability of fortune is most predominant over the future, and though the most deceitful of all things, is the most pregnant with useful instruction: for each party being equally inspired with apprehension, we proceed against one another with so much the more forethought and consideration.

LXIII. "And now inspired both with the undefinable fear of this unseen future[1], and the present terror of the Athenians at hand; and, as to what may be deficient in the plans which we each thought we should accomplish[2], accounting that we have been enough hindered in their execution by those officious intermeddlers, let us send them packing from our country—these hovering foes; and entering into treaties of peace among ourselves, agreeing, if possible, for perpetual amity, or, at least[3],

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[6] *Losing.*] Literally, "leaving on the field to the possession of their adversary."

[7] *Naturally.*] Or, "as in justice it ought." Δικαίως here has nearly the sense of *merito*, like εἰκότως. So Xen. de Venat. 4, 5. ἐπικλαγγάνουσαι δικαίως. Soph. Œd. Col. 742. πᾶς σε καδμείων λεὼς καλεῖ δικαίως.

The whole of this portion of Thucydides is closely imitated by Dio Cass. p. 398, 16–29. where for ἀτυχεῖ, edited by Reimer from Leunclav. and Steph., it is clear from hence that εὐτυχεῖ is the true reading.

[1] *Inspired both with, &c.*] This may call to mind a passage in the well known soliloquy in Shakspeare's Hamlet.

[2] *As to what may be deficient, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of the obscure clause καὶ τὸ ἐλλιπὲς — πράξειν. And the above version is, I find, supported by the opinion of Goeller, who takes the words τὸ ἐλλιπὲς τῆς γνώμης for an accusative absolute; rendering the whole passage thus:—"Quare utraque de causa cum ob inexploratum hujus incerti rerum eventus metum, tum ob Atheniensium præsentiam, qui formidolosi nobis adsunt, territi; quod vero attinet ad mancum illum consiliorum, quæ nos unusquisque aliquatenus exsecuturos sperabamus, satis nos his obstaculis impeditos arbitrantes, hostes nobis imminentes ex hac insula amandemus."

[3] *If possible—or, at least.*] Or, "if not." Such is the sense of μάλιστα μὲν — εἰ δὲ μή. Moreover, at ἐς αἴδιον must be understood χρόνον. The phrase is equivalent to ἐς ἀεί, scil. χρόνον, which occurs elsewhere in Thucydides and in the best writers.

as long as circumstances shall admit, let us postpone the determination of our private differences to a future season.[4] Upon the whole, be assured that by following the counsel that has been suggested, we shall each of us preserve his country in freedom, from which, as masters of our own actions, we may make the due returns[5] for either benefits or injuries. But if, through mutual distrust, we hearken to other counsels, we shall no longer be occupied[6] in avenging ourselves, but be our lot ever so fortunate[7], we must of necessity become friends with our direst foes, and at enmity with those whose friendship we should cultivate.

LXIV. "For my part, indeed (as I began with saying), representing[1] [as I do] a state most mighty, an assailing rather

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[4] *Postpone the determination, &c.*] As this clause διαφοράς ἐς αὖθις ἀναβαλώμεθα, though not without difficulty, is neglected by the commentators, the following illustrations may not be unacceptable: — Lucian 2, 231. τὰς ἐλπίδας — εἰσαῦθις ἀεὶ ἀνεβάλλετο. and 583. τὰ λοιπὰ εἰς αὖθις ἀναβαλώμεθα. Xen. Symp. 2, 7. τοῦτο μὲν, ἐπειδὴ ἀμφίλογόν ἐστιν εἰσαῦθις ἀποθώμεθα. Eurip. Iph. T. 376. πολλὰ δ' ἀπεθέμην ἀσπάσματα, ἐς αὖθις. Synes. 201. A. τοῦτο εἰς αὖθις ἀναθώμεθα. It appears that the phrase is properly a *forensic* one, from Aristoph. Conc. 284. Ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νυνὶ τὰς ὑπερεξηκοντέτεις Ἐσάγομεν, ἀλλ' ἐσαῦτις ἀναβεβλήμεθα. Τὰς ἐντὸς εἴκοσιν γὰρ ἐκδικάζομεν.

[5] *Returns.*] It is truly observed by the Scholiast that ἀμύνεσθαι is used in two senses, both for good and for evil. Such is the case with our verb to *reward* and some others.

[6] *We shall no longer be occupied, &c.*] The difficulty found in the original arises from the extreme brevity with which the passage is worded: all that is wanting is supplied by the Scholiast, and, perhaps, more than all: for the words ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ — δουληθῆναι are not necessary to the sense. Perhaps, too, the subaudition of the *first* clause is too arbitrary. I am inclined to think, with Heilman, that περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαί τινα depends upon γιγνοίμεθα, in which there would then be a dilogia; for γίγνεσθαι περὶ signifies to *be intent on*. It is not, however, *necessary* to alter τοῦ to τὸ, as Heilman suggests.

[7] *Be our lot ever so fortunate.*] Literally, "if we are exceedingly fortunate; namely, so as to avoid utter slavery." The Greeks used ἄγαν for πάνυ, as the French do *trop*, and we sometimes *too*. The following are kindred phrases, and used in a similar context: — Dionys. Hal. Ant. 256, 34. εἰ δὲ τὰ κράτιστα πράξειαν. and 330. ἂν μὲν εὐτυχέστατα πράξασαι. Heliod. 118, 10. and 2, 104, 10. καὶ ταῦτα ἂν εἴη τὰ εὐτυχέστερα. Thucyd. l. 5. 9.

[1] *Representing.*] Such is the sense of παρεχόμενος which was alone seen by Smith. As the commentators make no remark on the word, the following examples may be not unacceptable. Thucyd. 4, 85, 4. πόλιν ἀξιόχρεων παρεχόμενος. Herod. 7, 161, 19. ἀρχαιότατον ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι. and 8, 61, 5. Εὐρυβιάδεα οὐκ ἐῶν ἐπιψηφίζειν ἄπολι ἀνδρὶ· πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλῆα παρεχόμενον. Dionys. Hal. Ant. 1, 146. ἡμεῖς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἄρχειν ἄξιοι ἐσμεν Ἰταλίας, ὅτι ἔθνος. Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ μέγιστον τῶν κατοικούντων τήνδε

than a defending one, I yet think it right, with this forecast, to make concessions [2], and not so to hurt one's foes as oneself to receive a *greater* injury [3]; nor with foolish obstinacy do I claim to be alike master of my own purpose, and of what I do not direct—*fortune* [4], but, as far as is right, to give way.[5] I think it just, too, that you the rest should do the same as myself, and that of yourselves, and not to suffer this [6] from your enemies: for it is nothing disgraceful for countrymen [7] to give away to countrymen [8]; as Dorians to Dorians, or Chalcidians to their kinsmen, or, on the whole, for any of us, who are neighbours and fellow-inhabitants of one country, and that surrounded [9] by

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τὴν γῆν ἐθνῶν παρέχομεν. Liv. 1, 25. terni juvenes, magnorum exercituum animos gerentes.

[2] *Think it right, &c.*] It has been with reason suspected that the copies are in this passage incorrect. And, indeed, such has been *proved* by Goeller. Bekker conjectures *προειδόμενος αὐτὸς*, Goeller *προειδόμενος αὐτῶν*, which latter is greatly preferable; and this (Goeller having received it into the text) I have followed. Without wishing to detract from the merit of his emendation, I cannot but observe that it was long ago anticipated by Hobbes, who expresses it in his version.

On the sentiment Goeller compares 1, 84. *παιδευόμενοι — νομίζειν τὰς διανοίας τῶν πέλας παραπλησίους εἶναι καὶ τὰς προσπιπτούσας τύχας, οὐ λόγῳ διαρετάς.* and 1, 140. *ἐνδέχεται γὰρ τὰς ξυμφορὰς τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ ἧσσον ἀμαθῶς χωρῆσαι, ἢ καὶ τὰς διανοίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

[3] *And not so to hurt, &c.*] Hence may be emended a kindred passage of Eurip. Suppl. 557. *Μὴ θύμῳ φέρειν, ἀδικεῖν τε τοιαῦθ' οἷα μὴ βλάψαι πόλιν.* where read *πάλιν*, conjectured by Reiske and Haeth.

[4] *Nor with foolish obstinacy, &c.*] So 6, 78. *οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε, ἅμα τῆς τε ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ταμίαν γενέσθαι.* The passage is imitated by Dionys. Hal. 588, 44. *τίς γὰρ ἂν ὑπομείνειεν ἄνθρωπος ὢν, ἅπαντα καὶ τῆς γνώμης, καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναλαβεῖν*; Aristid. 3, 419. C. *πῶς ἀξιώσει συλλήβδην πάντα κατορθοῦν, καὶ πάντων κρατεῖν ὄντα ἀνθρωπον· καὶ ταῦτα μὴ μόνον ὢν ἡ γνώμη κύρια· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἐστίν.*

[5] *But as far as is right, to give way.*] It is a sagacious remark of Aristid. 2. 233. *δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ὀρθῶς βουλευομένους, τῶν μὲν πολεμίων πάντως ἐθέλειν κρατεῖν, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων εἰδέναι ὅτε καιρὸς ἡττᾶσθαι.* and 2, 324. B. *οὐ πρότερον τῶν πολεμίων ἠττήθησαν, πρὶν ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἐβουλήθησαν.*

[6] *Suffer this.*] i. e. to yield.

[7] *Countrymen.*] It is usually rendered *kinsmen*, which sense is supported by 1, 9. and 4, 106: but the other seems more apt. The expression *οἱ οἰκεῖοι* literally signifies those of one's *own* house or country.

[8] *It is nothing disgraceful for, &c.*] There is a similar sentiment in Aristid. t. 2, 44. B. and Liv. 23, 5. Non cum Samnite aut Etrusco res est, ut quod a nobis ablatum sit, in Italia tamen imperium maneat.

[9] *Surrounded by the sea.*] Περιῤῥύτου. As the commentators have not noticed the word, the following illustrations may be acceptable. Hom. Od. τ. 173. *Κρητή τις γαῖ' ἐστι, μέσῳ ἐν οἴνοπι πόντῳ, Κάλη καὶ πίειρα περίῤῥυτος.* Soph. Phil. 1. (used of Lemnos) *περιῤῥύτου χθονός.* See

the sea, and who bear one common appellation[10] of *Siceliots*; we, who (I suppose) shall go to war[11] with each other, as it may fall out, and shall again, by mutual conferences[12], come to terms *by ourselves*. But *foreign invaders* we shall ever, if we be wise, jointly repel; since while we are singly injured, we are universally exposed to danger.[13] As to *allies* or *mediators*, never let us for the future call *them* in. By so doing we Siceliots shall procure a double benefit to Sicily, for the present, to be rid of the Athenians and a domestic war; and for the future, to inhabit uninterruptedly a free country, and less plotted against by foreigners."

LXV. Swayed by these admonitions of Hermocrates, the Siceliots were reconciled with one another, and agreed[1] to lay aside the war, on condition of each party holding what it possessed[2], and that the Camarinæans should have Morgantine[3], on paying to the Syracusans a stated sum of money.

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also Eurip. Phœn. 215. Diod. Sic. 1, 146, 2. Aristid. 2, 400. A. So the Latin *circumfluus*.

[10] *Bear one common appellation.*] The whole passage is imitated by Dio Cass. 1005, 96. πάντας γὰρ ὑμᾶς συγγενεῖς, ἅτε καὶ μιᾶς νῆσου οἰκήτορας ὄντας, καὶ ἓν ὄνομα κοινὸν κεκτημένους. So Eurip. Herc. Fur. 31. οὐ ταὐτὸν ὄνομα παῖς πατρὸς κεκλημένος.

[11] *We who (I suppose) shall go to war, &c.*] See Xen. Hist. 2, 3, 6. Soph. Œd. Col. 612. The sense of οἶμαι is here *utique*, as in Eurip. Hec. 344.

[12] *By mutual conferences.*] So Eurip. Orest. 1067. ἐς κοίνους λόγους ἔλθωμεν.

[13] *Since while we are singly, &c.*] It is pithily observed by Tacit. Agric. " in commune non consulunt; ita dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur." and Justin 8, 1. " omnibus perire quod singulæ admitterent, non nisi oppressæ senserunt."

[1] *Were reconciled with one another, and agreed, &c.*] Both these senses seem included in ξυνηνέχθη, each arising from that of being *brought together*. This use is of frequent occurrence in Dionys. Hal. as Ant. p. 592. συμφέρεσθαι ταῖς γνώμαις. also Dio Cass. 146 and 424. from which it appears that γνώμῃ in the present passage is not rightly explained by the Schol. σκέψει, but signifies *animis*, and has reference to the sense of *reconciliation*.

[2] *Holding what it possessed.*] Another example of what we call the *uti possidetis*.

[3] *Morgantine.*] The commentators here refer to Cluverius's Sicily p. 335. and other authorities. They agree in fixing the Morgantine here mentioned to a place called Morgantina, Morgentia, or Morgantium, situated on the east coast, and near the mouth of the river Simæthus. But as the Camarinæans could not have held this town by reason of its distance from them, I have long been of opinion that the Morgantine here mentioned was another town of the same name, but of little note, between

Then the allies of the Athenians, calling such of them as were in authority [4] to a conference, told them that they intended to come [5] to terms of accommodation, and that the treaty should include *them also.*[6] These approving of the thing, they acceded to the required conditions of treaty, and afterwards the ships of the Athenians sailed away from Sicily. On the arrival, however, of the commanders, the Athenians condemned Pythodorus and Sophocles to banishment [7], and on the third in the commission, Eurymedon, they imposed a fine [8], on the charge that when it was in their power to have subdued Sicily, they were induced by bribes [9] to return without effect-

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Camarina and Syracuse. And this conjecture I find supported by Poppo Proleg. 2, 508., who *also* thinks it possible that there may be some mistake in the name, and that Καμαριναίοις is for Καταναίοις. Cluverius, too, seems to have suspected some error, since he does not adduce this passage in his diligent collection of citations on Morgantium. I am, however, inclined to think the former of the two conjectures the more probable; for the *Catanians* seem not to have been at variance with any; whereas the Camarinæans, we know, had been at difference with the Syracusans. See 3, 86. The Scholiast, too, says Morgantine was Σικελικὸν πόλισμα, i. e. town of the Siculi: and rightly; for it was, no doubt, founded (as was the other Morgantine) by the Morgetes, a tribe in Italy which passed over thence to Sicily soon after the Siculi, and inhabited some of the central parts of the country. The Morgantine in question was, probably, situated at some inland spot where the territories of Syracuse and Camarina were adjacent to each other. As to the *other* Morgantine, it is clear from Diodorus and Strabo that it was quite an inland town, and therefore it is very wrongly placed by Arrowsmith (in his comparative Atlas) at the mouth of the Simæthus. It must have been situated somewhere about the place assigned to it by D'Anville and Butler.

[4] *Were in authority.*] i. e. the commanders, namely Pythodorus, Sophocles, and Eurymedon, and probably some of the chief officers.

[5] *Intended to come, &c.*] Or "wished to come." Some such sense must here be included in the use of the future tense.

It is acutely remarked by the Scholiast, that this was as much as telling the Athenians that they had no further occasion for their services.

[6] *Include them also.*] Hence it appears that these allies of the Athenians, namely the Leontines, Rhegines, &c., did not attend the congress at which Hermocrates pronounced the foregoing oration; and that when it is said "the Siceliots agreed, &c.," we are only to understand an agreement of those present, which was left to be afterwards acceded to by such as were not then present.

[7] *Condemned Pythodorus and Sophocles to banishment.*] It should seem that on returning from any superior command, a sort of trial was instituted, in which the persons who had been sent out were required to "give an account of their stewardship."

[8] *On the third, &c.*] Perhaps he was more mildly dealt with, because, being only *third* in command, it was thought he was not so responsible for what was done amiss.

[9] *Induced by bribes, &c.*] The condemnation was manifestly unjust, and

ing any thing. So much, from their present fortune, were they filled with the notion that nothing was to cross them [10], but that they should equally accomplish what was possible and what was difficult, alike with a powerful or with an inferior force; the cause whereof was that unexpected good-fortune in most of their undertakings which thus imparted strength to their hope.

LXVI. This same summer, the Megaræans of the *city* of Megara, being hard pressed in the war with the Athenians, who regularly every year in full force made two incursions [1] into their territory, and harassed by their exiles from Pegæ, who being in a sedition expelled by the people [2], were carrying

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the charge improbable. The commanders had indeed returned without effecting any thing in Sicily; but that was owing partly to the great delay in their proceeding thither, though chiefly to the able measures carried by Hermocrates. The commanders, indeed, merited punishment for having in some measure caused, and made no exertions to check, the unheard of enormities which took place at Corcyra under their own eye! And certainly the grovelling selfishness they there so unblushingly avowed might make the charge of bribery in Sicily not so *improbable;* though, under the circumstances of the case, the *charge was absurd.* A much more powerful weapon was wielded by the truly great Hermocrates.

It is truly remarked by Hobbes, that "nothing was more frequent in the Athenian assemblies at this time, than when things went amiss, to accuse one another of bribery: for it was a sure way to win favour with the people, who thought that nothing was able to resist their power." And it may be added, that the charge of bribery, like all other charges of a base kind made on the higher ranks, will always by the multitude, as bringing their superiors down to a level with themselves, be heard with attention, and repeated with triumph. So apt are they to judge their superiors by themselves, and as being *themselves* scarcely ever proof against corruption, they readily believe it of others.

[10] *That nothing was to cross them.*] Or, that they were to meet with no crosses; for ἐναντιοῦσθαι seems to be for ἐναντίωμα εἶναι or ἔσεσθαι, as 4, 69. ἐναντίωμά τι ἐγένετο.

The extravagant views and wild presumption ensuing among the Athenian people, which the vying flattery of interested orators contributed not a little to inflame, are marked by their own favourite poet, the admirable satirist of the age. Indignation, hatred, animated and obstinate enmity, became, of course, mixed with the fear which the prevalence of their arms infused through a large portion of the Greek nation, and hence arose a fermentation which principally gave birth to the transactions now requiring attention. (Mitford.)

[1] *Made two incursions.*] Erat decreto publico cautum, ut στρατηγοὶ Atheniensium, patrium jusjurandum jurantes, insuper jurarent, ὅτι καὶ δὶς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν ἐμβαλοῦσι. Plutarch in Pericle, p. 306. (Duker.)

[2] *The people.*] "The popular party;" Smith. It might, however, be

on dreadful ravages [3] on them, began to say one to another [4] that it was expedient to recall the exiles, and not suffer their country to be doubly [5] exposed to ruin. A rumour of what was thus said coming to the ears of the favourers of the party without, they now thought proper more openly than before to urge the same subject.[6] Whereupon the leaders of the democratical party, finding that it was not possible for the people long to endure these evils, becoming alarmed hold correspondence [7] and negotiation with the Athenian commanders [8], Hippocrates son of Ariphro, and Demosthenes son of Alcisthenes, with intent to deliver up the city; conceiving that by this course less danger would be incurred to them by the recall of those who had been by them expelled.[9] The proposed con-

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freely rendered, "by the government, which was a democracy;" for such, notwithstanding its connection with Lacedæmon, was that of Megara, though there was an aristocratical party. Yet, it may be observed, the democracy of the government did not hinder animosity with Athens prevailing.

Pegæ was the Megaræan port on the Corinthian gulf, where, it seems, these exiles had fixed themselves.

[3] *Carrying on dreadful ravages.*] Their watchfulness for every opportunity of plunder, waste, and slaughter, was incessantly harassing. (Mitford.)

[4] *Began to say one to another.*] Not "hold conferences," as Smith renders; for that is inconsistent with what follows. These were, it seems, persons of the lower ranks, who, most groaning under the complicated pressure of distress, became dissatisfied with their governors, and thus muttered one to another.

[5] *Doubly.*] i. e. both by the Athenians and by their own exiles.

[6] *Thought proper more openly, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense, which has been misrepresented by the translators. The words will not admit that which they assign: ἠξίουν might be freely rendered *ventured;* ἔχεσθαι signifies properly *to stick to, prosecute vigorously;* as 6, 88. ἐχ. τοῦ πολέμου. Finally, λόγον signifies *topic, subject.*

They were partly emboldened, as Mitford thinks, by dependence on support from Lacedæmon.

[7] *Hold correspondence, &c.*] As being of the democratical party, they thought they might better trust a democracy, such as the government of Athens, than aristocracy, such as that of Sparta.

[8] *Commanders.*] Of *what* army, is not said; and it may seem strange, that such a meritorious officer as Demosthenes had not been employed in a more prominent manner; but the truth is that an equally important duty had been performed by him at home, in commanding, as it should seem, the Athenian forces on the Megaræan frontier, in communication with a naval force at the island of Minoa off Nisæa, and blockading that port.

[9] *Less danger would be incurred, &c.*] "They feared (as Mitford says) lest the fall of their own power, and the necessity of seeking refuge in exile might follow."

ditions of the treaty were: — First, That the Athenians should take possession of the long walls (which were about eight stadia [10] from the city of Nisæa, its port), in order that the Peloponnesians might not be able to bring up forces from the side of Nisæa [11], of which they only were to form the garrison, for the sake of security against the Megaræans.[12] That afterwards they were to attempt to deliver up the upper city; and this, they thought, would more easily be brought over when the other point was first accomplished.

LXVII. The Athenians thus, when all due preparation had been made on both sides, by words and by deeds [1], sailing under cover of night to Minoa, the island off Megara, with six hundred heavy infantry, under the command of Hippocrates, seated themselves in a cavity [2] from which the bricks for the walls had been dug, and which were not far off; whilst another part of the forces with Demosthenes (the other commander), consisting of light-armed Platæans [3], and the rest *Peripoli* [4], lay in ambush at the temple of Mars, which is yet

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10 *Eight stadia.*] Strabo, p. 568, 18. says that the distance was *eighteen* stadia; whence Falconer (his editor) infers that the text of Thucydides must be corrupt. But why not suppose the corruption to rest with that of Strabo? In fact, however, neither *may* be wrong, since circumstances might be very different in the course of between four and five hundred years. Both writers are too correct to be suspected of inaccuracy; and in neither case do the MSS. give the least reason to suppose error. There was, too, some difference in the length of the stadium at the two periods in question. In the above passage of Strabo Poppo would cancel the δέκα καί. But that may be considered somewhat uncritical. Were any change necessary, I should prefer reading δέκα ἢ ὄκτω.

11 *In order that the Peloponnesians, &c.*] "In order that (as Mitford says) the communication between the Peloponnesian party in Megara, and the Peloponnesians in Nisæa being cut off, both might fall."

12 *The Megaræans.*] Namely, those who favoured the aristocratical party.

1 *By words and by deeds.*] i. e. by previous terms of treaty, and providing of forces, &c., both by the Megaræans and by the democratical party, to carry the treaty into effect.

2 *Seated themselves in a cavity, &c.*] The place is to be understood as being a hollow not far from the walls of *Nisæa;* for it is *implied* that they crossed over thither; and such is clear from what follows.

3 *Platæans.*] These it was well judged to employ, as being bitterly hostile to the Lacedæmonians, and persons in such desperate circumstances as to care little for life.

4 *Peripoli.*] A sort of military patrole, consisting of young men from eighteen to twenty years of age, employed chiefly for the defence of the

nearer in distance than the former. Now, none of the Megaræans knew of this, except the persons whose care it was this night to make themselves acquainted with what passed. And they (the plotters) as soon as the day was about to dawn, put in practice the following scheme [5]: — They had long before, as privateers, been accustomed (with the permission of the governor) to bring down by night, on a cart, a boat of two oars, to be conveyed down to the sea by the ditch, and then sail out, and, before it was day, to carry it back again by the gates to the fort [6]; which was done in order that the Athe-

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city, forts, borders, and ports of Attica. See Pollux 8, 105. These were seldom led out to battle beyond the borders of Attica. Though they seem to have been used for the yearly irruptions into Megara, together with the veterans. And it is not improbably conjectured by Duker that they were in the garrison which the Athenians had at that time in the island of Minoa. (Hack.)

These seem to have nearly answered to our *militia*, as we may be allowed to *infer* from the following passages: — Thucyd. 8, 92. Soph. Antiq. 1151. Plutarch Alc. and Num., Æschines de Falsa Leg. 329. Reisk., Xenoph. de Vectig. 4. Dionys. Hal. 135, 9. 179, 35. περιπόλων τῆς γῆς ἱππέων τε καὶ ψιλῶν. and 573, 32. 618, 30. Anonym. ap. Suid., Aristoph. Av. 1178. Demosth. Olynth. 3. Lucian 2, 296. 3, 47. Athen. l. 6. Polyæn. 2, 34. περιπόλους τῶν χωρίων. Æschin. 51, 33. ἐκ παίδων ἀπαλλαγεὶς περίπολος τῆς χώρας. Still there is no little of uncertainty. From Thucydides, Plutarch, &c., we merely learn that they were a certain order of troops, and no more. There are two passages which supply us with fuller information respecting these, Æschin. 51, 33. above cited, and Aristot. de Repub. ap. Steph. Thes., but which are somewhat at variance with each other. For although it appears from Æschines (and Pollux 8, 9. p. 402. where for ἔφηβοι I conjecture ἔφηβοι οἱ), not only that the period of their juvenile garrison service was two years, but that it commenced at their ceasing to be παῖδες and becoming ἔφηβοι: yet, according to Aristotle, they became περίπολοι only the second year of their becoming ἔφηβοι. Now since it is hardly possible that either Æschines or Aristotle could be mistaken in a point which fell so immediately under their own observation, it may seem difficult to decide which authority should have the preference. I am inclined to award it to that of Æschines, not only as being confirmed by Pollux (whose explanation was probably founded on many *more* passages of the classical writers than those which have been preserved to us), but because the probation, intended by this sort of apprenticeship to soldiery, required two years rather than one. As, however, we can hardly believe Aristotle to have been mistaken, we must either suppose that in the time of Aristotle the period had been shortened to one, or else that the text of Aristotle is corrupt, and for I, that we should read II.

[5] *The following scheme.*] The τοιόνδε implies something that *follows*, and the word is often used of what is contrived or plotted.

[6] *They had long before, as privateers, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense and closest version of this perplexed passage, from which, however, we gather some useful information. The Scholiast interprets as if they had done this as a mere pretence. But the ἐκ πολλοῦ precludes such a

nians of Minoa might not know how to watch for them[7], no bark being visible in the port. This time, then, the cart was already at the gates, which being opened, as usual, for the boat, the Athenians (for they had been apprized of the thing by signal[8]) seeing this, ran at full speed from their ambush, in order to come up before the gates should be closed, and while the cart being yet in the gateway, prevented them from being shut to.[9] Accordingly they, together with their coadjutors, the Megaræans, slew the watch at the gates. And first the Platæans, under Demosthenes, and the patroles, ran in (where the trophy now is), and immediately on entering, engaged with and overcame those Peloponnesians at hand who had seen the occurrence and came to offer resistance, and thus made the gates secure for the Athenian heavy infantry, which now came up.

LXVIII. Then the Athenians, (each in order as he entered) marched to the wall. At first, indeed, the Peloponnesian gar-

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supposition. It should seem probable that both they and other Megaræans had resorted to this course for supplying their necessities, which must, indeed, have been very great to induce them to take so precarious a method: for it may be easily imagined how little they could expect to pick up.

The term λῃστὴς has been before, more than once, treated of. The epithet given to the boat, ἀμφηρικὸν, is taken to denote one of two oars, both used by one person, which may be the case; but the term is very rare, and scarcely found elsewhere than in Pollux 1, 82. This should seem to be equivalent to what is called by Æchin. p. 27, 9. an ἐπακροσκέλης. which Suid. explains by πλοῖον λῃστηρικόν.

By "the governor" is meant the Lacedæmonian archon (and so he is here called) of the fortress of Nisæa. His permission was necessary; and the expression indicating the procuring of his leave is remarkable, τεθεραπευκότες τὴν ἄνοιξιν, making interest for (by respectful attention or gifts) the opening of the gates. So Lucian t. 2. 558, 86. ἐτεθεραπεύκει δὲ ἄλλον ἵνα σφίσι ἵππεα ἔπεσθαι. Joseph. 819, 18. πλοῦτον ἐτεθεραπευκότα. See also Aristot. 1, 300. So also Thucyd. l. 5, 11.

As to the carrying the boat in a cart, of such I have remarked two other examples in Plutarch Lucull. 9. τὸ μέγιστον αὐτῶν (ἀκατίον) διαγαγὼς ἁμάξῃ πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν. Zosim. 3, 264. ταῦτα (πλοῖα) ἁμάξαις φερόμενα ἠκολούθει. Finally, a stratagem corresponding in almost every particular, and probably suggested by the one in question, is recorded by Livy l. 25, 8.

7 *That the Athenians of Minoa might not, &c.*] The literal sense of the obscure words ὅπης ἀφάνης εἴη φυλάκη is, "that their watching might be blind and indistinct," not knowing what way to be on their guard.

8 *For they had been apprized, &c.*] That is, they had been informed by signal of the time when the cart was approaching the gates.

9 *Shut to.*] Such is the literal sense of προσθεῖναι, (as Lucian 1, 633.) on which see Valck. on Herod. 3, 78, 16.

rison, a few of them, resisted, and some were slain, but the greater part betook themselves to flight, being in great alarm (the enemy having broken in by night, and the Megaræan traitors fighting against them), and supposing that *all* the Megaræans had betrayed: for it happened, too, that the Athenian herald, of his own mind [1], proclaimed that whoever of the Megaræans chose should come and join arms with the Athenians [2]; on hearing which, the Peloponnesians no longer stood to their posts, but thinking that they were really assailed by both Athenians and Megaræans, fled for refuge to Nisæa. When it was day, the walls being now taken, and the Megaræans of the city in a tumult, those who had held correspondence with the Athenians, and others of the democratical party who were conscious to their proceedings, urged that they ought to open their gates and go forth to battle. Now it had been agreed on with them, that on the opening of the gates, the Athenians should rush in, but they themselves (for the purpose of distinction [3], and that they might not be maltreated) should be besmeared with ointment; and they could with the greater safety have the gates opened, as four thousand Athenian heavy infantry and six hundred horse, who, according to a preconcerted plan, were to come from Eleusis [4], and had marched during the night, were at hand. But when the persons in question were besmeared, and were already near the gates, one of the accomplices discovered the conspiracy to the bystanders not privy to it; and they came in a body, and insisted that it was by no means advisable to go forth to battle (for that they had never ventured to do this when

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[1] *Of his own mind.*] Or counsel, suo consilio, as we vulgarly say, of his own head.

[2] *Whoever of the Megaræans, &c.*] The same proclamation that was made by the Theban herald at Platæa. See 2, 2. Such was, we may imagine, a usual proclamation, in cases where a city was entered with the wishes of a part of the inhabitants.

[3] *Distinction.*] Or rather "plain distinction;" for the διαδηλ. has an intensive force. The word has in Steph. Thes. no authority but that of Thucydides; but it occurs also in Dio. Cass. 23, 89. 684, 95. Aristot. Eth. l. 1, 13. Polyb. 6, 22, 3. 10, 41. 7. Xen. Mem. 4, 4, 1. Xen. Lex. 1800.

[4] *Eleusis.*] This was probably the head-quarters of the forces covering the frontiers of Attica, and without which the starving Megaræans would doubtless have been perpetually plundering in the Athenian territories.

stronger than now), nor to bring the city into manifest danger; and that if any would not be quiet [5], the battle should be *there*.[6] They did not, however, intimate that they knew of what was meant, but maintained that they were advising for the best, and withal they continued by the gates on guard; so that it was not possible for the conspirators to accomplish what they intended.

LXIX. The Athenian commanders, finding that some hindrance to the project had occurred, and knowing that they should not be able to take the city by force, immediately set about investing Nisæa with a wall of circumvallation, thinking that if they could take it before any help should arrive, Megara would more speedily surrender. Very shortly arrived from Athens iron [1] and stone-masons, and whatever else was necessary; then commencing from the wall which they occupied [2], and from that (on the side towards Megara) building a wall across, on either side of Nisæa down to the sea, the army partitioning out [3] the ditch and walls, for which they used

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[5] *Be quiet.*] i. e. hear reason, acquiesce in this.

[6] *The battle should be there.*] i. e. the matter should be determined by physical force, namely by knocks and blows; or there should be no battle with the Athenians, but with *them*.

[1] *Iron.*] Such being necessary in the erection of the walls; for the coping stones and casing part of walls were usually fastened with iron cramps. See 1, 93. note 9.

[2] *The wall which they occupied*] Namely, one of the two long walls they had just taken. Without some information of the chorography of Nisæa (of which we are almost wholly destitute), we must, on some points, be in the dark respecting this plan of investing Megara. If the long walls were meant to connect Nisæa with Megara, Nisæa must have been situated *between* them: yet by the preceding account, it cannot have been so situated. It should seem, therefore, that the long walls merely connected Megara with *the sea*, and that they did not include Nisæa, which seems to have stood outside, but abutting on *one* of them, probably that to the right hand in proceeding from the sea. The end of the long wall and that of Nisæa seem to have been the same. Thus the circumvallation would consist of two walls drawn from a point of the east long wall, a little beyond where it left the wall of Nisæa, and carried in the straightest direction either way to the sea. Had they made use of the *other* long wall, *one* of these transverse walls might have been dispensed with, but then the circumvallation would have been much more extensive, so as to have required a far greater force to guard it.

[3] *Partitioning out, &c.*] As was usual in such a case. See 2, 78.

stones and bricks from the suburb [4], and cutting down the trees, formed with the materials palisades where it was expedient.[5] The houses, too, of the suburb, when furnished with battlements [6], themselves formed a defence. The whole of this day they spent on the work, and on the following, about dusk, the wall was all but finished.[7] Whereupon those in Nisæa being much alarmed, and in great want of food (for they had only used it as it was brought day by day from the upper city), supposing, too, that the Peloponnesians would not bring assistance very speedily [8], and that those of Megara [9] were become their enemies [10], they capitulated with the Athenians on the following terms:—That *they* [11] should be dismissed without molestation, on delivering up their arms, each paying a certain specified ransom, but that the Lacedæmonians and the archon [12], and whatever others of that country might be in the place, should be disposed of by the Athenians at their discretion. Having agreed to these terms, they evacuated Nisæa; and the Athenians, having broken off the long walls [13] from

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4 *Suburb.*] Namely, belonging to Nisæa.

5 *Formed with the materials, palisades, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense; for it has been justly supposed by the commentators that *part* of the circumvallation was made with a strong wooden fence, such as that mentioned at l. 2, 75., and placed, no doubt, at situations of considerable natural strength, and which were not easily approachable.

6 *When furnished with battlements.*] Hence it clearly appears that they must have been flat at top, as at present in Greece and all over the east.

7 *All but finished.*] Such is the sense of ὅσον οὐκ, on which see the commentators.

8 *Supposing, &c.*] This they might imagine, from the tardiness shown by them on all occasions, even when their *own* safety was at stake.

9 *Those of Megara.*] This version is necessary, since many of those in Nisæa were also Megaræans.

10 *Become their enemies.*] Into this error they fell, as being precluded from all communication with the city.

11 *They.*] i. e. the Megaræans, who, it is probable, commenced the capitulation, and obliged the Lacedæmonians to consent to it.

12 *The archon.*] Or governor of the place; not the captain or commander of the Lacedæmonian garrison, as the translators render. See note supra, c. 67, 5. Thus in Xen. Œcon. 4, 6. and 8, 10. we read of ἄρχοντες τῶν κατοικούντων. civil governors, who administered affairs, and paid the garrisons, &c.

13 *Broken off the long walls.*] They did not raze the long walls, as some explain, but only beat down that part which joined to the city wall of Megara, and which, if left standing, would have been some defence to that city.

the city of Megara and taken possession of Nisæa, made preparations for accomplishing what was further to be accomplished.[14]

LXX. But Brasidas, the Lacedæmonian, son of Tellis, happened[1] at this juncture to be about Sicyon and Corinth, preparing an army to proceed to Thrace. As soon as the news reached him of the capture of the walls, being in alarm for the Peloponnesians in Nisæa, and apprehensive lest Megara should be taken, he sends to the Bœotians, urging them to meet him as speedily as possible at Tripodiscus (a village of Megara so called, and situated close at the foot of Mount Geranea), and he himself proceeded forward with two thousand seven hundred Corinthian heavy infantry, four hundred of the Phliasians, and seven hundred of the Sicyonians, together with such of his own troops as were collected together, thinking that he should find Nisæa yet untaken. But hearing of its capture (for he had set out for Tripodiscus in the night), he took three hundred chosen men (before any report of him

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[14] *Further to be accomplished.*] Namely, taking Megara itself.

[1] *Brasidas, &c., happened, &c.*] After taking an able view of the Lacedæmonian affairs at this juncture, Mitford remarks, "that in the complicated and protracted war in which the Lacedæmonians were engaged, far greater abilities and other management was necessary than had sufficed for the simple warfare of former ages. Yet in seven campaigns only one man had distinguished himself, Brasidas, he a young man, and the Spartan institutions unfavourable to eminence in youth; who though fortunate, indeed, in his first essay, was foiled in his succeeding attempts. But Brasidas could learn from misfortune, without being dejected by it. Of a temper as persevering, and a genius as fruitful as his understanding was strong and his courage clear, he alone among the Lacedæmonians was looking around for opportunities of new enterprise, which might relieve his country from the evils which pressed it, from the humiliation into which it was fallen, and from the greater evils which threatened. Some circumstances appeared favourable to his views, and particularly the alarm arising, on all sides, at the progress of the Athenian power; long since irresistible by sea, and now growing more and more formidable by land; and the terror of which had induced the Sicilian Greeks to repress the animosities, and accommodate the differences which had long prevailed between the several cities of their island." The terror of this, too, had excited the revolted cities in Thrace to take some means of securing themselves from that vengeance which had fallen so heavily on the Lesbians, the Æginetæ, and others. They had, therefore, concerted measures with the king of Macedonia to procure co-operation in a meditated attack on the Athenian possessions in Thrace, from Lacedæmon; which being promised, Brasidas had been appointed to the command, and was now at Sicyon and Corinth, drawing together his troops, and obtaining what assistance he could from the allies.

should reach), and effected his passage to the vicinity of Megara undiscovered by the Athenians, who were at the sea side.[2] His avowed, and indeed his real, purpose was to make an attack on Nisæa; but his chief design was to procure admittance into Megara, and secure the safety of the city. He requested that they would receive him, assuring them that he was in hopes of recovering Nisæa.

LXXI. But the two factions in Megara fearing, one lest he should introduce the exiles thither, and the other lest the democratical party should, on this very pretence, attack *them*, and so the city (being at internal war, and the Athenians lying in wait close at hand) would be ruined, refused to receive him.[1] Both parties, indeed, resolved to keep quiet, and watch the progress of events; for they expected that there would be a battle between the Athenians and the forces coming up, and they thought it would be their safest course for such as were friendly with the party victorious to go over to them. As to Brasidas, when he found he could not prevail, he returned back to the rest of his army.

LXXII. By the dawn of the succeeding day, the Bœotians had come up, who had, indeed, intended, even before Brasidas sent, to forward assistance to Megara (regarding the danger

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[2] *At the sea side.*] And, as it seems, doing nothing. A strange want of prudence and vigilance not to keep parties on the look-out in the direction of the isthmus, as they might very well expect that reinforcements would ere long be sent by the Peloponnesians to Megara. This may, perhaps, be accounted for by supposing, that, during the erection of the wall of circumvallation, all the forces without exception had been employed on the work; and that, after its completion, a period of inactivity had (as is usual) succeeded to one of extraordinary exertion. Besides, they no doubt calculated on the usual tardiness of the Peloponnesians; and they would not have been deceived in their expectations, but for the impetus given to their motions by the zeal and activity of Brasidas.

[1] *Refused to receive him.*] A singular kind of concord, between the factions in Megara, was produced by mutual fear. The democratical chiefs apprehended that the admission of a Lacedæmonian general would be immediately followed by the restoration of the exiles, and their own banishment; the aristocratical party not less feared that the consequence of any alarm to the popular mind would be a prevailing resolution to admit the Athenians, which would produce their own inevitable ruin. A momentary compromise was, therefore, followed by an unanimous resolution not to admit Brasidas. (Mitford.)

not as foreign, but their own [1]), and were now, in full force, advanced as far as Platæa; but on this message reaching them they were stimulated to fresh exertion; and now having despatched [2] two thousand two hundred heavy infantry, and seven hundred horse, they retired homewards with the remaining and greater part of their force. The whole force being now come up, consisting of not less than six thousand heavy infantry; and the Athenian heavy-armed being drawn up in battle array about Nisæa and the sea coast, and the light infantry dispersed scatteringly, over the plain, the Bœotian horse charging on the light-armed unexpectedly, put them to flight, and pursued them as far as the sea; for before this time no help had arrived from any quarter to the Megaræans.[3] On this, the Athenian cavalry driving full speed to charge them, a long-sustained rencounter of horse ensued, wherein each party claimed the victory: for the Athenians had attacked, slain, and spoiled the commander of the Bœotians and some of his men near Nisæa, and after keeping possession of the dead bodies, had given them up under truce, and erected a trophy. But as to the whole action, neither party came off with any decided advantage over the other, but the Bœotians departed to their army, and the Athenians to Nisæa.

LXXIII. After this, Brasidas and his army advanced nearer to the sea and the city of Megara, and occupying an advantageous position, they drew up in battle array, and kept

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[1] *The danger not as foreign, &c.*] In the words οὐκ ἀλλοτρίου are implied ἀλλὰ οἰκείου. So in a kindred passage at 2, 13. νομίσῃ τε μηδεὶς ἀλλοτρίας γῆς περὶ οἰκεῖον κίνδυνον ἥξειν.

[2] *Having despatched.*] Namely, with Brasidas; for Hobbes and Smith *wrongly* render, "having sent;" as if the Bœotians had not advanced further than Platæa, which, though not positively asserted, is *implied* in what precedes. For, as ἀνεχώρησε πόλιν can only mean to Tripodiscus, so παρῆσαν must import that the Bœotians *reached* that place, where, finding part of the evil to be prevented already incurred, and the danger consequent upon it to be not immediate, they thought it sufficient to send a strong detachment with Brasidas, and, with the rest, to return and watch the progress of events.

[3] *For before this time, &c.*] As much as to say, "And this was the first help the Megaræans received, whether from Bœotia or Peloponnesus." I cannot think, with Hack, that the words assign a reason why they came upon them unexpectedly.

quiet, supposing that the Athenians would be the assailants [1] (knowing, too, that the Megaræans were waiting to see who should be the victors); for they conceived that this policy was expedient both ways to them, in not attacking first, nor deliberately encountering battle and danger (for they plainly showed themselves to be ready for battle), by which the credit of victory without the labour would, they thought, justly be ascribed to *them*. At the same time it would, they thought, happen right in respect of the Megaræans: for had they (i. e. the Peloponnesians) not come up in sight, the thing would not have been suspended on the die of fortune, but the Megaræans would clearly have been deprived of their city, as beaten men; but now, even should the Athenians not choose to hazard a battle, they would obtain the object for which they came without striking a stroke.[2] And so it turned out; for the Megaræans [3], when the Athenians went forth, indeed, and

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[1] *Supposing that the Athenians would, &c.*] Judging, probably, from their characteristic impetuosity.

This measure, in the opinion of Mitford, "marked the judicious commander, who knew when to refrain as well as to dare."

[2] *They conceived that this policy, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense and closest rendering of this long and difficult passage, καλῶς δὲ ἐνόμιζον — ἕνεκα ἦλθον, of which Hack offers the following paraphrase: — "Cum Lacedæmonii animadvertissent, Megarenses circumspectare, qui victurus esset, ut ad eum ipsi concederent, utrumque bene sibi successurum putârunt, et cunctationem, donec illi aggrederentur, quum ipsi ad pugnam se paratos esse ostendissent, et victoriæ opinionem, si forte Athenienses vel ipsi prœlium detrectarent; eandem autem ob causam etiam cum Megarensibus bene pacem se inituros sperabant." I cannot, however, but differ with the learned commentator in his view of the passage. It appears to me that at καλῶς ἐνόμιζον we should supply, from the preceding, ἡσυχάζειν, and at ἀμφότερα supply κατὰ, as also at τὸ μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν. The ἅμα μὲν answers to the ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δέ. The words ἐπειδή γε — ἀμύνεσθαι are parenthetical, and elliptically expressed, the sense being "(which they were obliged to do) *since*." At ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ commences the *second* division of this "period of a mile," in which at ἐν τύχῃ γίγνεσθαι we must subaud πρᾶγμα, and at ἡσσηθέντων, αὐτῶν. The ὥστε is for ὡς or ὥσπερ, though we might suspect that Thucydides wrote ὡς γε. Finally, περιγίγνεσθαι signifies to *attain* or *obtain, accomplish*; a sense which is well illustrated by Abresch in his Diluc., Thucyd. in loc., and by Irmisch on Herodian, l. 3, 3, 16. Upon the whole, the sense has been by no one so well explained as by Hobbes, who thus illustrates the policy of Brasidas. "Brasidas, if he saved the town from the Athenians, had his end. Therefore, by showing himself ready, if the Athenians would not fight, he gained this, that he should be let into the town, which was all he came for, and, therefore, might justly be counted victor."

[3] *For the Megaræans, &c.*] Another yet more perplexed, and, indeed,

ranged themselves in order of battle by the long walls, as the enemy attacked them not, stood still; their commanders *likewise* considering that should *they*, after the advantages had been most on their side, charge a force greater than their own, the danger encountered by them would be unequal[4]; for if *they* (i. e. the Athenians) conquered, they would but obtain Megara, but if they departed, they should suffer damage in the flower[5] of their infantry; whereas the enemy having, out of their whole forces, and out of the army present, each only a *part* at hazard, might with reason choose to venture.[6] When both parties had thus staid some time, and no attack had been made on either side, the Athenians first drew off to Nisæa, and then the Lacedæmonians to the place whence they had set out.

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almost, if not quite, *interminable* sentence, such as bears particularly hard on a translator of Thucyd., since, if he retains the construction of the original, he, probably, disgusts most of his readers; and if he deserts it, he offends by insufferable prolixity and want of coherence, and exposes himself to censure from men of learning and judgment. I have here, as usual, taken the former of these courses, and must hope that the patience and attention of the reader will carry him through the involution.

Mitford briefly states the thing thus:—"The Athenian generals, having already carried their purpose in a great degree, deemed it utterly inadvisable, for what remained, to risk the army they commanded, under disadvantageous circumstances, against a superior force."

[4] *Danger encountered by them would be unequal.*] i. e. the danger encountered by both the parties in question would be respectively unequal.

[5] *Flower.*] What the French call *élite*. These, it seems, were picked troops, as in the case of the Ætolian expedition, l. 3, 98.

[6] *Whereas the enemy, &c.*] In the τοῖς δὲ ξυμπάσης — τολμᾷν there is something extremely difficult and perplexed. The sense assigned by the Scholiast, and which is adopted by Smith, is sufficiently apt, but impossible to be elicited from the words. As to the interpretation proposed by Hack, it is neither permitted by the words, nor suitable to the context. Benedict and Goeller regard the passage as corrupt; and the former proposes to read ἐκ τῶν παρόντων; the latter *edits* ἑκάστων κινδύνευον, assigning the following sense: "Peloponnesios autem, cum universi eorum exercitus et singulorum, qui adsint, pars periclitetur, consentaneum esse, prœlium committere velle." This sense, however, is very inapposite and forced; and few but the above commentator will see any opposition intended between ξυμπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως and παρόντας ἑκάστους. That the passage is very corrupt, there is no reason to doubt; and I venture with some confidence to propose the following readings; *namely*, for καὶ read κἀκ; and for ἑκαστὸν κινδυνεύειν read ἑκάστωι (i. e. ἑκάστῳ) κινδύνευον. Of which emendation I readily yield much of the credit to Goeller and Benedict, "secum habeant," &c. Thus the sense will be that given in the version.

LXXIV. And *now* the Megaræans who were in the interest of the exiles, seeing the Athenians unwilling to fight, and regarding Brasidas as the victor, became more courageous, and opened their gates to him and the other commanders from the cities, and having received them, proceeded to hold a consultation (those, meanwhile, who had held correspondence with the Athenians being in great consternation); after which, on the allies being dismissed to their several cities, Brasidas himself returned to Corinth, and pursuing his original purpose, carried forward the preparations for his expedition to Thrace. Meanwhile, the Athenians having retired home, such of the Megaræans in the city as had especially participated in the correspondence with Athens, finding that they were marked and known, immediately slunk off; whereupon the rest [1], having communicated with the friends of the exiles, recalled those at Pegæ, binding them by the most solemn oaths and engagements to bury all animosity in oblivion, and consult for the good of the state.[2] But they, when they had entered upon office, and appointed a review of the army[3], having separated the battalions [4], picked out about a hundred of their enemies, and such as were thought to have most participated in the correspondence with the Athenians, and

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[1] *The rest.*] Namely, those who were neither of one party nor the other, such as Thucydides at 3, 82. fin. calls the τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν (see the note there), and who, he adds, were usually the common prey of both parties.

[2] *Consult for the good of the state.*] By what follows this appears to have implied that they should be restored to the offices of government which they had held before their expulsion; as, indeed, seems alluded to by the article in ταῖς ἀρχαῖς.

[3] *Review of the army.*] Ὅπλων stands for ὁπλίτων. Of which use several examples are adduced by Duker, to which I add Xenoph. Anab. 2, 3, 4. ἐξέτασις ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. Demosth. π. Συ. § 1. β. Plut. Marc. 26. This review of the men, it may be observed, included an inspection of the *arms*.

Such reviews, Mitford remarks, were common in Greece.

[4] *Separated the battalions.*] Smith renders, "having disposed some bands of soldiers in a proper manner;" Hobbes, "having disposed — in divers quarters of the city:" both versions from Portus. The words, however, will not admit either of those senses, nor can they have any other than that above assigned. The policy was to contrive to separate the battalions or brigades, by reviewing each apart from the rest; whereby there would be less likelihood of tumult, and less possibility of combination, for the number picked out from each battalion was probably but small.

compelled the people to pass their verdict upon them by open suffrage.[5] Being thus condemned, they put them to death[6], and then established the state on the footing of almost an oligarchy.[7] And this change of government, though it had been brought about by the factious practices of a very few, long continued in being at Megara.[8]

LXXV. This same summer, Antandros being about to have its walls repaired and strengthened [1] by the Mytilenæans, in pursuance of their former intention, Demodocus and Aristides, the commanders of the Athenian squadron appointed to collect the tribute, happening to be in the parts of the Hellespont (for their third colleague, Lamachus, had sailed with ten ships [2] to Pontus [3]) as soon as they heard of the repairing and fortifying of the place[4], and considered that there was danger lest it should be there as at Anæa near Samos, where

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5 *Compelled the people to, &c.*] Not "*public* vote," as Smith and Mitford render. "The policy was," as Hobbes says, "because thus they should not dare but to condemn them, which they would not have done, if their sentence had passed by secret suffrage."

6 *Put them to death.*] This enormity is justly reckoned by Mitford among those instances of depravity in Grecian manners to which Thucydides has, in general terms, adverted, imputing it, in some degree, to the example set in the Corcyræan sedition.

7 *Almost an oligarchy.*] They were not content, it seems, with re-establishing the former aristocracy.

8 *Though it had been brought about, &c.*] Here I read, from the best MSS., with the recent editors, γενομένη. The common reading, notwithstanding what is alleged by Kistem., cannot be defended.

1 *Repaired and strengthened.*] Not "*furnished*," as Hobbes renders; nor "*fortified*," as Smith. There is a reference to the κρατυνάμενοι at c. 52. where the intention is mentioned. The use of the term κατασκευάζεσθαι shows that there were before walls, but they required repairing, putting in order, and strengthening.

2 *With ten ships.*] When we consider the number of these ships (only a detachment from a greater force), we shall see that such money-hunting armaments were sometimes very large, and their expense must have deducted much from what was received. It seems, however, that without such means very little money would have been collected. Things, indeed, are, at the present day, much the same in Asia Minor, where the Grand Seignior's taxes have generally to be collected at the point of the sword.

3 *Pontus.*] This would seem to import that certain tribute was received by the Athenians from the Greek colonies in Pontus, perhaps Heraclea, Sinope, Trapezus, Tripolis, and others, which, though not originally Attic colonies at all, were, in some measure, by the maritime power and extensive commerce of Athens, brought partly under the dominion of Athens.

4 *Repairing and fortifying the place.*] Παρασκευὴ here answers to the French *garnison*.

the Samian exiles having established themselves, both rendered service to the Peloponnesians in naval affairs, by sending them pilots [5] and shipmasters, and excited disturbances among the Samians of the city, and harboured deserters; therefore collecting forces from the allies, they sailed thither, and conquering in battle those of Antandros, who made a sally upon them, they recovered possession of the place; and soon afterwards Lamachus, who had sailed to Pontus, as he was at anchor at the river Calex [6] in the territory of Heraclea, loses his ships by the torrent of a land-flood [7] suddenly descending from the high country. Thus both himself and his army had to make their way by land through the territory of the Bithynians (who are Thracians situated on the opposite side of the strait, in Asia) to Chalcedon, a colony of the Megaræans, at the mouth of the Pontus.

LXXVI. This same summer also, Demosthenes, immediately after his return from Megara, proceeds with forty ships under his command to Naupactus; for there had been some correspondence held with him and Hippocrates on the affairs of Bœotia, by certain persons in the cities of that country, who wished to change the form of government, and convert it into a democracy [1] like that of Athens. These matters had been especially planned and contrived by them at the suggestion of Ptœodorus, an exile from Thebes; and certain persons were ready to deliver up Siphæ [2] (which is a sea-port

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5 *Sending them pilots.*] Of which they stood in great need, as we find from 1, 143. init. "we possess pilots and shipmasters homeborn;" i. e. we have not to fetch them from foreign parts, like the Peloponnesians.

6 *Calex.*] By other writers called Cales, and now Chelit. See the note of Duker and Poppo Proleg.

7 *Loses his ships, &c.*] It should seem that the ships were drawn up on shore, and being thence suddenly hurried down into the river, were thus dashed one against another, and some of them sunk. No account of any similar accident occurs to me.

1 *Convert it into a democracy.*] The advantage gained by Athens in the war continued to extend its effects. The partizans of democracy in all the oligarchical republics, but with still more eagerness the numerous democratical exiles, were every where watching for opportunities to profit from the turn in the affairs of Greece. In this state of things a plan was concerted for a revolution in Bœotia. (Mitford.)

2 *Siphæ.*] So Steph. Byz., who calls it ἐπινεῖον τῆς Θεσπιακῆς. and, as he seems here and elsewhere to have had reference to Thucydides, it is

town of the Thespian district, and on the Crisæan gulf); and Chæronea[3] (which is under the political authority of Orchomenus, formerly entitled the Minyeian[4], but now the Bœotian), other persons of Orchomenus, engaged to put into their hands: in which affair the Orchomenian exiles[5] had a principal hand, and were hiring mercenary auxiliaries from Peloponnesus.[6] Now Chæronea is the last town of Bœotia

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probable that he read ἐπιθαλασσίδιον, scil. χωρίον. So Pollux 1, 99. χωρία ἐπιθαλασσίδια. It is by some writers called Tiphæ. That, however, is Doric.

The site of this place is involved in doubt and uncertainty. According to Meletius it is at Libadostro; according to Wheler, St. Basilio; and according to B. du Bocag., Cangia. Gell thinks that Mount Corombile may possibly be Tiphæ. He adds, "that there is near the port of Bathi another part called Agiani, to which leads the way from Dombrena on the west side of Mount Corombile near the sea. There are there some ruins to which it is difficult to assign the antient name. Under the present village Chostia or Costia on this shore, is a Palæo Castro, which, if not Butis, must be Tiphæ."

[3] *Chæronea.*] This town (antiently called Arne), as appears from what follows, had not a separate district, but was in that of Orchomenus. At that time Bœotia was divided into a number of federal districts, belonging to the Thebans, Haliartians, Coronæans, Copæans, Thespians, Tanagræans, and Orchomenians, to whom the other towns seem to have rendered obedience. See Poppo Proleg. 292. Near this place was fought the famous battle in which the Athenians were defeated by the Bœotians, and afterwards the more celebrated one which sealed the doom of Greece for slavery; the birth-place and residence, too, of Plutarch. On its present situation see Dodwell, who says it is a small village called Capurna or Caprena; which name seems derived from the antient one; and probably that traveller, too, may not have correctly represented the present one.

[4] *Orchomenus, formerly entitled the Minyeian.*] Namely, by Homer. So Dr. Clarke's Travels 4, 152. "Its most antient name was Minyeia: and its inhabitants were called Minyeians long after the name of the city was changed to Orchomenus. They are mentioned under this appellation in the verses that were inscribed upon the tomb of Hesiod." Notwithstanding its antiquity, it seems to have been a place of but little note. See Strabo and Pausan. It is now called Scripa, and is two hours' distance from Chæronea. On its present state, see Dr. Clarke's Travels 4, 152. seqq. On the Minyeians see a learned treatise of Muller.

On the sense of ξυντελεῖν, see note on 2, 15.

[5] *The Orchomenian exiles.*] The use of the article seems to point at a fact which from other circumstances we have reason to infer, that Bœotia, as well as every other country in Greece, had exiled a considerable part of those who were in opposition to the ruling form of government. Yet these arbitrary measures did not prevent there being every where a faction that was prepared to run all risks to bring back their friends, and establish the form of government to which they themselves were attached.

[6] *Peloponnesus.*] Chiefly, it may be supposed, from Arcadia.

towards the district of Phanoteus [7] in Phocis. Some Phocians, too, participated in the affair. It was agreed [8] that the Athenians should seize Delium [9], the temple of Apollo, in the territory of Tanagra, situated over against Eubœa; and moreover, these plans were to be accomplished on an appointed day, that the Bœotians might not assemble in a united body for resistance at Delium, but might each have their attention turned to the disturbances in their own districts [10]; and if the attempt should succeed, and Delium be fortified, they hoped that they should with ease, if not immediately, introduce a change in the forms of government [11] in Bœotia; for on those places being occupied, and the country harassed with ravages, and a refuge close at hand for any persons [12] to fly to, things

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7 *District of Phanoteus.*] Such is plainly the sense of τῇ Φανοτίδι, as appears by the article. That this was the name of the *town*, in the time of Thucydides, appears from 4, 98. Yet no change is here necessary, since the *district* and not the town is meant. Steph. Byz. says it was sometimes called Phanotea or Phanote. But the latter form seems dubious, and the former a later one than the age of Thucydides, and which appears to have arisen from the name of the district. As to the forms given by Arrowsmith in his new Atlas, Panopeus and Phanoleus neither ever had any existence.

8 *It was agreed.*] Such is the sense here of ἔδει, as at l. 7, 27. οὓς ἔδει ξυμπλεῖν. and 6, 56. ἔδει ἄρξαι αὐτούς.

9 *Delium.*] The situation of this place (on which the commentators have neglected to treat) is most accurately described by Livy, l. 35, 5. thus — Templum est Apollonis Delium, imminens mari, quinque millia passuum a Tanagra abest: and Strabo 585, 14. thus — εἶτα Δήλιον τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκ Δήλου ἀφιδρυμένον Ταναγραίων πολίχνιον, Αὐλίδος δὲ ἔχον σταδίους τριάκοντα. Pausanias also says it was in the territory of the Tanagræans; and all antient authorities from Herodotus 6, 118. to Appian, Strabo, and Ptolemy, ascribe it to Bœotia. Yet it appears by what follows that there was some doubt raised by the Athenians. And, indeed, the frontier between the two states was in more than one place controverted.

Its site is fixed by Muller and Gell to the present hamlet of Dramis, at three miles' distance from Oropus. Thus it appears to be placed in the maps far too near that place

This temple is called by Steph. Byz. and Ptolemy πολίχνιον, a town. It should seem that a town gradually arose round it in the same manner as did the towns around the religious houses of the middle ages; and partly, too, from its admirable situation and fertile soil.

10 *Disturbances in their own districts.*] At κινούμενα subaud πράγματα. It is put for κινήματα.

11 *Forms of government.*] The plural is here used because Bœotia was divided into federal but, in some measure, independent states. All, however, at that time, being more or less aristocratical.

12 *Any persons.*] Namely, of the ravagers; chiefly, we may suppose, runaway slaves.

would not long continue in the same state[13], but the Athenians supporting the revolters, and the Bœotians possessing no collected force, they should establish things according to their own advantage.[14]

LXXVII. And now Hippocrates, with a force from the city, was ready at the appointed time himself to lead his army against the Bœotians, and had sent Demosthenes forward with the forty ships to Naupactus; in order that having collected a force, from those parts, of Acarnanians and other allies, he might sail to Siphæ, which was to be delivered up to him. A certain day was fixed on by them, at which they should accomplish the business in combination; and Demosthenes proceeding thither, and finding the Œneiadæ compelled by the united forces of the Acarnanians to enter into the Athenian confederation, himself raising the whole force of the allies there, and first commencing hostilities against Salynthius and the Agræans, by way of pretence[1], was making all due preparations in order to proceed to Siphæ at the time appointed.

January 7. 1853.

[13] *Continue in the same state.*] Or posture. It is well explained by the Schol. *κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν τάξιν.* Hobbes renders, "stand long at a stay," which illustrates that passage of our funeral service, "and never continueth in one stay." The phrase, "*to be at a stay,*" occurs in Levit. 13, 5. and 37.

[14] *According to their own advantage.*] Namely, upon the democratical model, which would be to their advantage. So 1, 58. 4, 113. and 1, 76. *ὑμεῖς τὰς — πόλεις ἐπὶ τὸ ὑμῖν ὀφέλιμον καταστησάμενοι ἐξηγεῖσθε.*

[1] *By way of pretence.*] I entirely agree with Hack that such is the sense of *καὶ προσποιησάμενος* (which has been misconceived by Hobbes and Smith), and that *τ' ἄλλα* is to be joined with *ἡτοιμάζετο.* Mitford has well represented the true sense of *προσποιησάμενος*, yet by a strange inconsistency * he introduces circumstances which probably never occurred at all, and were only founded on the false interpretation above adverted to, as that Salynthius was quickly compelled to submit to his terms. He adds, that after reducing some hostile towns, or clans of inferior note, and settling the affairs of those parts to his satisfaction, he returned to Naupactus, &c. All founded on a wrong punctuation.

* It is possible, however, that Mitford did not *perceive* the true sense of the word, and only introduced the circumstance from conjecture. If so, his *sagacity* (as usual) conducted him to the truth, which his *learning* would not have discovered to him.

LXXVIII. And now, at the same time of this summer, Brasidas proceeding with one thousand seven hundred heavy infantry [1] to Thrace, when he had arrived at Heraclea in Trachis, he sent a messenger forward to Pharsalus to his friends there, requesting them to conduct him and his army across the country, and on there coming to him at Melitéa in Achæa [2] Panærus, Dorus, Hippolochidas, Torulaos, and Strophacus (who was the public host of the Chalcidæans [3]), he then set forward.[4] There were others also of the Thessalians

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[1] *One thousand seven hundred heavy infantry.*] "The whole number," Mitford says, "together with the attendant Helots, would amount to four thousand." That, however, seems doubtful, as the heavy infantry themselves were enfranchised Helots.

[2] *Melitéa in Achæa.*] By Achæa is here meant Phthiotis, formerly so called, and the seat of the most ancient Greeks. Thus at l. 8, 3. we have Ἀχαῖοι οἱ Φθιῶται. And thus, too, Scylax reckons this as a city of the Achæi, (another proof among the many which establish the authenticity of his work, which has been called in question). Musgrave, too, on Eurip. Troad. 293. observes, "Fuit tempus, cum Thessali quoque Achæorum nomen obtinerent, cujus rationem colligere licet ex Pausan. p. 205, 33."

The Achæans can scarcely be considered as *then* forming part of Thessaly, since Brasidas would otherwise not have ventured to pass across their territory without conductors. And for a long time afterwards they were not so considered, as appears from Polybius, l. 30, 7. who calls them by this very name Ἀχαῖοι οἱ Φθιῶται, and says that their territory was apportioned to the Thessalians by Antiochus.

As to the site of this city, we only know from Ptolemy that it was a day's journey from Heracléa in the road to Pharsalus; and as Thaumacia has been ascertained to be at the present Thaumaco, so it should seem that Melitéa is nearly on the spot of Vlacholani. See Arrowsmith's Map of Turkey in Europe.

With respect to the *name*, it should seem from the authorities adduced by Wasse and Duker, that Melitea is the true reading; for *that*, or Melitæa, is constantly found, nor is there, perhaps, one good authority for *Melitia*. Indeed, the diphthong is required by the *ratio appellationis*, since the place (in the delightful valley of the Enipeus) seems to have been so called from its abounding in *bees* and *honey;* for we have the adjectives μελιτταῖος and μελίττειος (see Steph. Thes.); and places were sometimes called from this circumstance, as Melisseis, a place about Helicon. See Steph. Thes. So also Μελίτουσσα in Illyria.

[3] *The Chalcidæans.*] Namely, in Thrace, who had revolted from the Athenians, and by whose contrivances this project of introducing the Lacedæmonians into Thrace was chiefly brought about. See the following chapter.

[4] *He then set forward.*] Namely, from Melitéa. For as his conductors met him there, he had, doubtless, passed thither without any guidance. As far as that place it seems he *needed* none; for indeed Achæa, or Phthiotis, seems scarcely to have been part of Thessaly. But even Pharsalus is reckoned in Phthiotis by Polybius.

who conducted them, and among these Niconidas of Larissa [5], a friend of Perdiccas; for it was no easy matter to pass through Thessaly in any way without a conductor [6], and least of all, with an armed force. It is, indeed, by all the Greeks [7] regarded as a suspicious circumstance, for any to pass through the country of others without first obtaining their consent: besides, the lower orders of the Thessalians had always been friendly to the Athenians [8]; insomuch that had not Thessaly been, according to custom, under an oligarchical despotism, rather than a government of equal laws [9], he could never have gone forward: and even then, as he was passing along, some meeting him who were of an opposite party to those others, hindered his progress [10] at the river Enipeus, saying that he had

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[5] *Among these Niconidas of Larissa.*] Such is, I conceive, the full sense of *καὶ ἐκ Λαρίσσης Νικονίδας*.

[6] *Conductor.*] Ἀγωγὸς signifies not merely a *guide*, but also a *conductor*, a sort of person that has ever been necessary in passing through barbarous, or semi-barbarous tribes, and is so to the present day throughout Asia and Africa. From Dr. Clarke and other travellers it appears that Thessaly is to this day difficult of passage, from the brutality of the inhabitants.

[7] *It is, indeed, to all the Greeks, &c.*] The Scholiast is quite mistaken in understanding by *τοῖς Ἕλλησιν* the Hellenes or Achæans of Phthiotis, since through that territory Brasidas neither needed nor had any conductors. Besides, the words *πᾶσι γε ὁμοίως* are adverse to any such interpretation.

I cannot but observe, that in the editions of Bekker and Goeller, the punctuation is altered from that of the preceding editions, and much for the worse, by the removal of the period after *γε δή*. The words *καὶ μετὰ ὅπλων γε δή*, *cannot* be taken with the following verb *διέναι*, because they are necessary to complete the formula *ἄλλως τε*, and therefore belong to the preceding. At *γε δή* must be repeated *οὔκ εὔπορον*: and the *γε δή* is well rendered by Bauer, *utique multo minus*. Δή has here the force of *strengthening the limitation included in γε*, as is well observed by Hoogev. de Part. p. 117. who cites this very passage.

[8] *Friendly to the Athenians.*] Namely, from their attachment to democracy.

[9] *Under an oligarchical despotism, &c.*] Such seems to be the full force of *δυναστείᾳ — ἐγχώριον*, though *δυναστεία* may literally be rendered "a government of powerful persons." The sense of the whole passage is well represented by Mitford 297. in the following words—"The greatest part of Thessaly was nominally under democratical government, and the democratical party was zealous in the Athenian alliance; yet in most of the towns the interest of a few powerful men principally decided public measures."

Ἰσονομίᾳ is well explained by Hobbes, "equality of privilege in the whole."

[10] *Hindered his progress.*] Doubtless, with an armed force. *Where* this took place cannot be determined; but Brasidas would have to cross the Enipeus somewhere in the way to Pharsalus. According, indeed, to the inaccurate representation of all this part of Thessaly, in D'Anville and Butler's maps, he need not have crossed it at all. In fact, the confusion in the rivers there represented is most astonishing. As to the place assigned

no right to pass without the consent of the general assembly.[11] Whereupon the conductors declared that they would not take him forward against the general consent, and pleaded that having come on a sudden, they had, as being his hosts, conducted him on his way. Brasidas, on his part, urged that[12] he was come as a friend to them and the country of Thessaly, and that it was against the *Athenians*, who were his enemies, and not against *them*, that he was carrying his arms: that he knew of no enmity between the Thessalians and Lacedæmonians, that they should not use one another's country, and now, he would not go forward against their wishes, neither, indeed, could he, but, however, he thought he *ought*[13] not to be hindered. On hearing this, they departed; and he, by the advice of his conductors (and before any greater party should assemble to stop them), marched forward at full speed.[14] On this day that he had set forth from Melitéa, he reached[15]

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in Arrowsmith's New Atlas to Pharsalus, it is at variance with all authority. He has fixed it *not* on the *Enipeus*, but a river which runs into it; a mistake which perhaps originated in the situation of *Satalghe*, which is referred to *Pharsalus;* whereas it seems to be a town in another spot, which rose after the ruin of Pharsalus. In short, Dr. Clarke has truly said that our maps of Thessaly are a disgrace to geography.

The Enipeus seems to have derived its name from the noise made by its waters; so some names of antient rivers, as the Sperchius in Thessaly, Achelous in Acarnania, Erigon in Thrace, Margus in Thrace, Œscos in Thrace, &c. &c.; also some modern ones, as the Humber. The *contrary* to this is denoted in the names of other rivers, as the Evenus and Eurotas.

11 *General assembly.*] Smith renders, "general permission." That, however, is too vague. The words τοῦ πάντων κοινοῦ (which are aptly compared by Duker with Xen. Mem. 4. fin. ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ πάντων κοινοῦ γνώμης) plainly point at the existence of a sort of nominal democracy.

12 *Brasidas, on his part, urged that, &c.*] Fair words, discreetly used, softened them; and, after no long treaty, Brasidas obtained unmolested passage. (Mitford).

13 *He thought he ought, &c.*] Hobbes and Smith wrongly render, "*entreated*" and "*conjured.*"

14 *Full speed.*] The χωρεῖν δρόμῳ seems to answer to what, in our army, is called *marching at double-quick time.*

15 *Reached.*] Literally, "accomplished his journey as far as." After ἐτέλεσε is to be supplied ὁδόν. So Lucian, 1, 813. ἐς Ἰνδοὺς τελεῖ. Aristid. 1, 569. C. ἐνταῦθοι ἐντελέσαμεν. Lucian. ap. Steph. Thes. τριταῖος ἐτέλεσεν — εἰς Σκύθας. The ellipsis is *supplied* in Theognis Admon. 72. καὶ μακρὴν ποσσὶ Κυρν' ὁδὸν ἐκτελέσας.

Smith renders: "Nay, the very same day that he left Melitéa, he advanced as far as to Pharsalus." But this conveys the idea of a *great extent of country* traversed, which the words do not necessarily import, and which

Pharsalus, and encamped on the side of the river Apidanus[16], and from thence he proceeded to Phacium[17], and thence into Peræbia.[18] After this the Thessalians, his conductors, left him and returned; and the Peræbians (who are subject to the Thessalians) conveyed him to Dium, in the dominions of Perdiccas, a small city which lies at the foot of Olympus in Macedonia, over against Thessaly.[19]

LXXIX. In this manner Brasidas struck across Thessaly before any were ready to hinder him [1], and went to Perdiccas,

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facts will not justify. The distance that day performed was only nine miles; whence it seems there was some delay at the crossing the Enipeus.

[16] *He reached Pharsalus, and encamped, &c.*] This would seem to show that Pharsalus was situated upon the Apidanus; whereas we have the positive authority of Strabo for saying, that it was upon the *Enipeus;* and our best maps place it about five miles from the Apidanus. No diversity, however, need be supposed. Thucydides does not directly say that Pharsalus was upon the Apidanus. The truth seems to be, that Brasidas, on reaching Pharsalus, went a *short distance further*, and encamped at the confluence of the Enipeus and the Apidanus, which would be a well-adapted spot for that purpose. Hence it will follow, that all our maps are wrong, and that Pharsalus was really situated not far from that confluence.

[17] *Phacium.*] Situated on the Peneus, about twenty miles from Pharsalus. See the notes of Wasse and Duker. This place is found in D'Anville and Boccage, but not in Butler and Arrowsmith.

[18] *Into Peræbia.*] The air of the sentence leads us to suppose, that Peræbia was not far off. Indeed, it seems that Brasidas entered into Peræbia after crossing the river Atrax. For there *old* Peræbia seems to have commenced, which reached down to the Peneus; whereas afterwards the district was removed much farther backwards, in the direction of Mount Pindus.

The *ratio appellationis* of Peræbi has been rightly indicated by Alberti on Hesych. in v. He says it is equivalent to Περαιοί, "*the further men*," and, by a frequent epenthesis, Περαιβοί. He has, however, failed to notice that the term was used in reference to the great river Peneus. So that it had the same force with the *Northumbrians* of the middle ages. Thus, also, the appellation Peræa was given in Palestine to the country over Jordan; to omit other parallels. The orthography *Peræbia* (for which *Perrhæbia* is found in the later writers) is as antient as the time of Homer.

[19] *Foot of Olympus, &c.*] Smith renders — "a fortress of Macedonia, situated under Mount Olympus, on the Thessalian side." But πόλισμα signifies *a small city;* and Dium is *not* on the Thessalian but the *Macedonian* side of Olympus. Indeed, the words πρὸς Θεσσαλοὺς belong to τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ Μακ., which might truly be said to be over against Thessaly. It did not *then* join to it, since Peræbia, as we find from what just preceded, did not form a part of Thessaly, though subject to it.

[1] *Before any were ready to hinder him.*] This is not at variance with what went before, namely, that some opposed him at the crossing of the Enipeus. Yet they were, we may presume, in sufficient numbers to have prevented him, had he chosen to force the passage.

and to Chalcidice.[2] For as soon as the successes[3] of the Athenians had taken place, those in Thrace, who revolted from the Athenians, being in great alarm, had, in conjunction with Perdiccas, procured the sending of these forces from Peloponnesus; the Chalcidæans, as thinking that the Athenians would first make an attack upon *them* (and, moreover, the neighbouring cities, which had not revolted, privately concurred in the request), Perdiccas, as being, not indeed avowedly an enemy, but himself in some fear of the Athenians, on account of the antient differences with them; and especially he was urged on by his desire to subdue Arrhibæus, the king of the Lyncestians. It happened luckily for them that the ill success which at present attended the Lacedæmonians caused them to obtain the forces from Peloponnesus the more easily.

LXXX. For the Athenians, pressing upon and harassing Peloponnesus, and especially their territory, they hoped that they might effectually remove them by sending forces unto their allies[1]; especially as the parties in question were ready to support their troops, and had called them in, in order to

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[2] *To Perdiccas and to Chalcidice.*] Why Hobbes should have reversed the order, I cannot see. No doubt, Brasidas would first go to Perdiccas, i. e. to Pella or Edessa, as being in his way, and *then* to Chalcidice.

[3] *For as soon as the successes, &c.*] Mitford well expresses the sense thus: "The revolted cities in Thrace had not equally the means of choosing their party. Expecting that the vengeance which had cut off the people of Ægina, from the face of the earth, would next fall upon them, there was nothing which they were not ready to undertake in opposition to the power which gave them such apprehensions. Nor was the king of Macedonia easy in any confidence that he could place in his present alliance with the Athenian commonwealth, with which he had been so often at enmity; and while he was not without apprehension for the safety of what he already possessed, he was incited, by views of ambition, to which his connection with Athens was adverse; for he coveted the province of Lyncus, or Lyncestis, which the Athenian alliance in some degree guaranteed to its prince Arrhibæus." This able historian, however, omits to notice the co-operation of the other cities on the Thracian coast in the request; a very important circumstance, as serving to account for Brasidas so soon bringing them nearly all to the Lacedæmonian alliance, on his arrival in those parts.

[1] *Unto their allies.*] Not, "*against*," as Smith renders; for the army was only sent *to* them, as it is just afterwards said ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει scil. αὐτῶν, namely, τῶν συμμάχων. For this reason, perhaps, the late editors have done wrong in cancelling the τῇ before ἀποστάσει, which makes the word more significant and determinate. At ἑτοίμων we must supply αὐτῶν, with reference to the Chalcideans and Perdiccas before mentioned.

promote their revolt; and, moreover, they, the Lacedæmonians, wished on this pretence to send away some of the Helots; lest, as Pylus was held by the enemy, they might take advantage of the present crisis to attempt some innovation [2]: wherefore, too, they perpetrated what I am about to narrate: — In alarm at the youth and numbers [3] of the Helots (for many are the expedients which the Lacedæmonians have ever resorted to, to guard themselves against them), they issued a proclamation that such of them as thought they had best acquitted themselves towards the Lacedæmonians in warlike deeds, should be separated from the rest, in order to receive freedom: thus trying them, and conceiving that those who each thought themselves worthy of freedom, first would, from their high spirit, be assuredly the likeliest to rise upon them; and selecting [4] to the number of two thousand, who bore garlands on their heads, and went in procession round the temples as freedmen [5], they not long afterwards made away with them, and no one knew in what manner they were destroyed.[6] Then they gladly sent seven

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[2] *And, moreover, they were willing, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense, though not the most literal version, of the difficult passage καὶ ἅμα — νεωτερίσωσιν, where the obscurity is chiefly occasioned by excessive brevity. The construction is: καὶ ἦν (αὐτοῖς) βουλομένοις, ἐκπέμψαι, ἐπὶ προφάσει (τινας) τῶν Εἱλώτων. The phrase, βουλομένοις εἶναι, also occurs at 2, 3. 7, 35. and elsewhere. The genitives τῶν Εἱλώτων are to be taken partitively. At νεωτερίσωσιν Bekker and Goeller wrongly substitute a comma for the period of the preceding editions; there ought to be a colon.

[3] *Youth and numbers, &c.*] The atrocious expedients resorted to by the Lacedæmonians, to keep under the Helots, bear a striking resemblance to those recorded in Holy Writ, as practised (from the same dread of over population and rebellion) by the Egyptians towards the Israelites, who were, indeed, treated by them, in many respects, as were the Helots by the Lacedæmonians, though not with such atrocious violence and cruelty. The ingratitude evinced by the Lacedæmonians, in the following transaction, was as base as the craft evinced was despicable. It is truly said by Mitford, that a more nefarious measure than that to which they resorted, for obviating the danger, is not recorded in history, nor easily to be imagined.

[4] *Selecting.*] By this it seems that all were not taken who applied, but that the best were selected. The offer, it seems, was understood to imply examination and choice.

[5] *Bore garlands, &c.*] On the form of manumission Duker refers to Crag de Repub. Laced. 1, 12. Emmius Descr. Reip. Lac. p. 496. See also Palmer's Antiq. and Barthelemy's Travels of Anacharsis.

Previous to this going round the temples, they had, perhaps, been admitted to the participation of religious rites, which either implied freedom, or was the concluding act of liberation.

[6] *No one knew in what, &c.*] The ἕκαστος of the original is not to be

hundred of them as heavy infantry with Brasidas.[7] The rest of the troops he took were mercenaries raised in Peloponnesus. Brasidas himself, the Lacedæmonians had sent at his own earnest desire.

LXXXI. The Chalcidæans, too, were desirous to have a man who had at Sparta the reputation of efficient activity and promptitude in all his undertakings[1]; and when he went abroad, approved himself highly serviceable to the Lacedæmonians: for at the present crisis, by evincing his justice and moderation to the cities[2], he brought over most of them to

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pressed on; for *some* one must have known how *each* perished*; and, it is probable, that being dispersed about in small parties, in order to foreign service, and being, as we say, billeted on private persons, their hosts, by the orders of the government, slew them.

[7] *Then they gladly, &c.*] It has been doubted whether the men here mentioned were part of the enfranchised Helots, or the Lacedæmonians themselves. Smith and Mitford adopt the latter mode of interpretation; but Hobbes and others the former; and in this I must acquiesce. The *αὐτῶν* cannot well bear any other sense. Besides, the *air* of the words, *καὶ τότε προθύμως* (which are not ill rendered by Hobbes, "and now with all their hearts," &c.), suggests this. And at 5, 67. and elsewhere we read of the *Brasidean soldiers*. It is true that from 5, 34. we learn that the Helots who fought with Brasidas were enfranchised. But there were, doubtless, light-armed Helots, besides the seven hundred of heavy infantry in question.

As to the remaining thirteen hundred, we are to suppose that they were all sooner or later massacred, if, indeed, they all shared that fate. But the term *οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον* admits of some latitude. And it is not unreasonable to suppose that in the common report, as detailed at Athens, there was much of exaggeration. Otherwise, indeed, it were difficult to account for the marked fidelity shown by those sent into Thrace. Certainly there were other ways besides that of *assassination*, by which those thirteen hundred might be got rid of *in no very long time*, such as putting them to the severest military duties as guards of the country, and exposing them continually to the Messenians at Pylus. Excuses, too, might be sought, and easily found, for *punishing some* with *death*; and, if necessary, the hand of private assassination might be resorted to. Upon the whole, however, this cannot but be considered a most dark affair, on which it is impossible to come at the truth.

[1] *Activity and promptitude, &c.*] In opposition to the general sluggishness of the Lacedæmonians. To Brasidas may be applied the words of St. Paul to the Romans 12, 11. *τῇ σπουδῇ μὴ ὀκνηροὶ· τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντες.*

[2] *Evincing his justice, &c.*] Literally, "by showing himself to the cities as just and moderate." So the Apostle to the Philip. 4, 5. *τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ὑμῶν γνωσθήτω πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις.* His *moderation* is opposed to the haughtiness

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* Mitford renders *any one*. But that involves still more improbability, or rather impossibility.

revolt; others of them he took by treachery; so that the Lacedæmonians, if they choose to treat of peace (as they did), had it in their power to reciprocally give back and receive, and, moreover, by this diversion Peloponnesus had some breathing time from the labours of war. Indeed, in the succeeding occurrences of the war, and after the events in Sicily, the virtue and wisdom now evinced by Brasidas (to some known by experience, and by others believed [3] from report), especially infused into the Athenian allies an inclination for the Lacedæmonians: for he being the first that went out [4] on foreign commissions, and having approved himself in every way a worthy man, left among them an assured hope that the rest would be like him.

LXXXII. Brasidas having thus come into Thrace, the Athenians, on hearing of it, declared war against [5] Perdiccas, judging him to be the author of the expedition, and set themselves to establish a stricter watch over their allies there.[6]

LXXXIII. And now Perdiccas, immediately on the arrival of Brasidas and his army, takes them, and in conjunction with his own forces, goes on an expedition against Arrhibæus son of Bromerus, king of the Lyncestians in Macedonia [1], whose territory bordered on his own, and with whom he was at dif-

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and harshness which usually marked the Lacedæmonians in office. Thus of those who bore rule at Heraclea, it is said, l. 3, 93. fin. *ἐκφοβήσαντες τοὺς πολλοὺς, χαλεπῶς τε καὶ ἔστιν ἃ οὐ καλῶς ἐξηγούμενοι.*

[3] *Believed.*] Literally, "which others supposed to have existed."

[4] *The first that went out, &c.*] i. e. the first that went abroad as governor into other states since this war. For fifty years before this war, Pausanias, having the government of the Grecian confederates at Byzantium, behaved himself insolently, and then Cimon, an Athenian, by the virtues now praised in Brasidas, got the confederates to leave the Lacedæmonians, and affect the Athenians. (Hobbes.)

[5] *Declared war against.*] Literally, "proclaimed him a public enemy."

[6] *Set themselves to establish a stricter watch, &c.*] Hobbes renders, "reinforced the garrisons in the parts thereabouts." Smith, too, *includes* this sense, which, however, is not found in the words of the original.

[1] *Lyncestians in Macedonia.*] Not "the Macedonian Lyncestians," as Smith renders; for that would import that there were other Lyncestians elsewhere over whom Arrhibæus did not rule; which is not the case. On the Lyncestians, and the situation they probably occupied, I have before treated at l. 2, 99.

ferences [2], and wished to subdue. But when he had advanced with this army, accompanied by Brasidas [3] to the pass of Lyncus [4], Brasidas said he wished, before the commencement of hostilities, to first go and try if he could by words make Arrhibæus an ally of the Lacedæmonians.[5] Indeed Arrhibæus had sent a message by herald to Brasidas, that he was ready to leave the decision of their quarrel to him as umpire.[6] The Chalcidean ambassadors, too, who went with the army, in order that his zeal might be exclusively exercised in *their* service [7],

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[2] *Differences.*] Perhaps caused by the nature and extent of the obedience due to the Macedonian monarch not being well defined. *Allegiance*, probably, Arrhibæus was ready to yield; but was no more disposed to acknowledge *subjection* than the great feudal vassals of the later periods of the German empire to their sovereign. Besides, Arrhibæus was in lineage scarcely inferior to the monarchs of Macedonia, being, as we find from Strabo, p. 326., of the race of the *Bacchiadæ*, a very noble Corinthian family descended from Bacchia, daughter of Dionysius. His grand-daughter was the daughter of Philip of Macedon.

[3] *When he had advanced, &c. accompanied by Brasidas.*] It seems, as Mitford supposes, that he assumed the chief command of the combined forces.

[4] *The pass of Lyncus.*] i. e. the passage into the territory of the Lyncestians, mentioned infra, c. 124. 129. 132.

[5] *Said he wished, before, &c.*] He urged that he considered it neither just nor expedient, that his new forces should proceed to hostilities with a monarch not an enemy of the Lacedæmonians, until some attempt had been made to discover how he stood affected towards them: also that Perdiccas might find it expedient to try the effect of treaty before he resorted to hostilities; and that, perhaps, Arrhibæus would be intimidated by the threatening attitude he had assumed, and accept any reasonable terms of accommodation. "In fact (to use the words of Mitford) a common interest in opposing Athens had united the king of Macedonia with Lacedæmon, and with the allies of Lacedæmon in his neighbourhood; but their interests were otherwise different, and their views, in some points, opposite. The principal object of Perdiccas was to subdue the province called Lyncus, or Lyncestis, among the mountains on the western frontier of Macedonia, and far from the Grecian colonies. A measure by no means calculated to promote the interest of Lacedæmon, which rather required that alliances should be extended on all sides, and that the confederacy should have no enemy but Athens."

[6] *Umpire.*] The expression μέσῳ δικαστῇ is well explained by the Scholiast μεσιτῇ καὶ διαιτητῇ (though he seems not to have been understood by the commentators). His meaning is that it included the two senses of *mediator* and *umpire*, of which the latter as well as the former is found in the Latin *medius* (see Facciol.), though never, I believe, *both*. That the *latter* sense must here be understood, is plain from what follows.

[7] *In order that his zeal, &c.*] Literally, "in order that they might have him more promptly zealous in their own matters." They easily perceived that he had no liking to the business, and therefore sought to attach him by giving him such counsel as they knew would be agreeable to him.

These

suggested the advice, "not to rush on perils [8] for the sake of Perdiccas." Besides, the ambassador from Perdiccas, had said something of this sort at Lacedæmon, "that their master would make many of the nations around him allies to Lacedæmon:" so that from this circumstance Brasidas was disposed to show more impartiality in negotiating the affairs of Arrhibæus than he otherwise would.[9] But Perdiccas said that he had not brought Brasidas thither as a judge of their differences, but rather as a destroyer of those whom *he* should point out to him as enemies [10]; that he would commit a great injustice if, while himself was supporting half of the army [11],

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These seem to have accompanied him, not as *ambassadors*, but as what we call *military commissioners*, to represent a party in a common alliance.

[8] *Rush on perils.*] i. e. rashly encounter perils. In this passage there has been no little difficulty with respect to the reading. The common one is ὑπεξελθεῖν, which has been rendered *subire*. But as ὑπεξέρχεσθαι seems never to have that sense, Poppo, Hack, Bekker, and Goeller edit, from many MSS., ὑπεξελεῖν, i. e. "take away from and diminish perils to Perdiccas." This sense, however, is very forced and frigid. It is strange the learned editors just mentioned should not have perceived that the true reading is ἐπεξελθεῖν, which word is often used in the above signification by Thucydides and the best writers. So l. 5, 100. πᾶν πρὸ τοῦ δουλεῦσαι ἐπεξελθεῖν. 5, 9. ἔργῳ ἐπεξελθεῖν. 4, 14. βουλόμενοι τῇ παρούσῃ τύχῃ εἰς ἐπιπλεῖστον ἐπεξελθεῖν. Dio Cass. 407, 17. καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι καὶ ἐπεξελθεῖν πάνθ' ὅσα ἕκαστα καλῶς ἠπίστατο. and 66, 20. τῇ παρούσῃ οἱ εὐτυχία ἐπίπαν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἐπεθυμεῖ. Appian 2, 832, 13. ἄπειρος ὢν νίκην ἐπεξελθεῖν.

[9] *So that from this circumstance Brasidas, &c.*] Hobbes renders, "so that Brasidas favoured Arrhibæus, for the public good of their own state;" Smith, "so that it was entirely with public views, that Brasidas insisted upon treating with Arrhibæus." This, too, is the sense expressed by Portus; but I see not how it can be elicited from the words; κοινῇ cannot signify "for the good of the Lacedæmonians." It is plainly meant of the two parties between whom he was negociating, and must denote *impartiality*. So l. 3, 53. ὑποπτεύομεν καὶ ὑμᾶς, μὴ οὐ κοινοὶ (scil. δικασταὶ) ἀποβήτε.

[10] *Had not brought Brasidas, &c.*] This may call to mind the highly-spirited verse of Burns, perhaps equal* to any thing that *Tyrtæus* ever wrote:—

> "But bring a Scotsman frae his hill,
> Clap in his cheek a Highland gill,
> Say, sic is royal George's will,
> And there's the foe;
> He has nae thought, but how to kill
> Twa at a blow."

[11] *Supporting half of the army.*] Namely, of Brasidas. The other half, it should seem, was paid by the Chalcidæans; for which reason they had their commissioners present.

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* And his "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled," is perhaps *superior*.

he should hold conferences with Arrhibæus. He, however, against the will of Perdiccas, and though it tended to a quarrel, held a conference with Arrhibæus, and, persuaded by his representations, drew off his army before it had entered into the country. After this Perdiccas, thinking himself aggrieved, only contributed a *third*, and not a *half*, of the pay of the army.

LXXXIV. This same summer, Brasidas immediately [on leaving Perdiccas], and a little before vintage [1], went, accompanied by the Chalcideans against Acanthus [2], a colony of the Andrians. They were at differences among themselves as to receiving him; one party (consisting of the principal persons [3]) cooperating with the Chalcidæans to bring him in; *the people* [to keep him out]. However, because of their fruits, yet abroad and ungathered, the multitude were persuaded by Brasidas to admit *him* alone, and, after having heard what he had to urge, to take counsel. And being set up to speak [4] to the people (being, for a Lacedæmonian [5], not ineloquent [6]), he addressed them to the following effect:—

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1 *A little before vintage.*] In this mode of speaking we have a vestige of the simple phraseology of the early ages, when time was measured by such agricultural epochs; though here it is introduced for a reason that will immediately appear.

2 *Acanthus.*] On this see the note of Wasse, which, however, contains nothing very important. That commentator and the geographers omit an interesting fact mentioned by Steph. Byz., which points, quasi digito, to the origin of the appellation: Ἄκανθος, πόλις Θράκης, ἀκάνθαις πεφραγμένη. The name is, therefore, of similar derivation with *Olynthus*, &c.

The place is now called Erissus; among the Turks *Jeris*. See Walpole's Comment. p. 225.

3 *One party (consisting of the principal persons.)*] This was, no doubt, the aristocratical party. "These persons," Mitford observes, "had always been disposed to join with the Chalcidæans in renouncing the Athenian dominion."

4 *Being set up to speak.*] With the καταστὰς ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος we may compare Acts 22, 30. Παῦλος ἔστησεν εἰς αὐτούς.

5 *For a Lacedæmonian.*] This sense of ὡς is treated on by Duker, to whose examples I add Polyb. 18, 18, 3. ὡς Ῥωμαῖος. Eunap. 97. ὡς Ῥωμαῖος τις, οὐκ εἶναι τῶν ἀπαιδεύτων. Herod. 2, 135. μέγαλα ἐκτήσατο χρήματα ὡς ἂν εἶναι Ῥοδώπιος. and 4, 81. ὀλίγους, ὡς Σκύθας εἶναι.

6 *Not ineloquent.*] i. e. (setting aside the figure) *eloquent*. "He was," Mitford observes, "besides politic; and though not strictly scrupulous of truth, he was highly liberal in his policy." The following speech, it may be added, is a mixture of sophistry and cajoling.

It

LXXXV. "The sending hither, Acanthians, of myself and my army by the Lacedæmonians, has verified and confirmed the reason which, at the beginning of the war, we assigned for our hostilities with the Athenians, namely, that we were going to fight for the liberties of Greece; and if we have been long in coming (deceived in our opinion of the war there, wherein we expected that we should speedily and of ourselves, without any danger to you, pull down the Athenian tyranny), let us not be censured: for now, when it was practicable [1], we came hither, and will endeavour, with your assistance, to bring them down. But amazed am I [2] at this shutting of your gates against me, and if, indeed, I am come not to your liking. For surely we Lacedæmonians, as supposing we were coming to allies, and before we were actually here, should, at least in your minds, be arrived [3], and that it

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It is well characterised by Goeller, who observes: "Videtur con ulto Laconicam breviloquentiam sectari, quæ plus divinari, quam diserte dicta intelligi cupit." Such brevity and obscurity, indeed, is inherent in the nature of sophistry, since falsehood ever seeks covert in recondite and farfetched expressions, and tortuous construction, to support a bad cause (for which reason such were so often resorted to by Cromwell in his speeches); while of truth it may be said in the words of the celebrated lines of Eurip. Phœn. 479. Ἁπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφυ, κοὐ ποικίλων δεῖ τἀνδιχ' ἑρμηνευμάτων. How different, we may observe, is this oration from the straight-forwardness and right-heartedness which it is so pleasing to notice in the addresses of this general to his soldiers. In fact, Brasidas was no less remarkable for his *political* than his military skill; and, like Buonaparte, he was irresistible by his power of conciliating the good-will of those whom he had to address.

[1] *When it was practicable.*] i. e. (as the Scholiast explains) when circumstances afforded us the power of coming.

[2] *Amazed am I, &c.*] He began with assuring the Acanthians, that the great object of the Lacedæmonians in the war was to give liberty to Greece. It was, therefore, matter of wonder to him that the Acanthians did not at once receive him joyfully; that they hesitated to join the confederacy; that they entertained an idea of opposing their own deliverance, and that of Greece, from Athenian subjection. Nothing in reason could hold them to such a purpose, but apprehension of the power of Athens; and how vain that apprehension was, he had himself had the good fortune to prove to the world, when, before the walls of Megara, the whole force of Athens feared to engage that small band of Peloponnesians which he now commanded in Thrace. (Mitford.)

[3] *And before we were actually, &c.*] Such, I conceive, is the true sense of the passage, the difficulty of which has been occasioned by one of those aims at antithesis and witty point, which *we* are accustomed to consider frigid. And the above view of the sense is supported not only by Hobbes, but also by the opinion of Goeller, who renders thus: "credideramus fore ut veniremus ad eos qui prius, quam reapse veniremus, voluntate certe

would be to your liking; we, I say, have hazarded so immense a peril [4], traversing so many days' journey through a foreign country, and evincing [5] all possible forwardness and alacrity. If, therefore, you should have aught else in mind [6], or if you should be set against the liberation of yourselves and the other Greeks, that were hard indeed, and a serious hindrance [7] to us: for the fact is not only that you yourselves withstand us, but that those to whom I may betake myself will be less disposed to come over to me, finding this difficulty, that you, to whom I first came, and who occupy [8] so considerable a city, and who have the reputation of prudence, have refused to receive me: for I shall be unable to show any sufficient cause for such a refusal, but must be thought either to be introducing a liberty which has injustice for its aim [9], or to have come too weak and without ability to defend you from the Athenians should they attack you. And yet this army, which I have now under my command [10], the Athenians, when I

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socii essent." At γνώμῃ he rightly supplies ὄντας, as at l. 3, 70. 1, 122. Indeed, the only real difficulty is centered in the phrase τῇ γοῦν γνώμῃ ἤξειν. But this may very well bear the sense I have assigned, and it is a kindred expression to that of the Apostle to the Philipp. 1, 7. διὰ τὸ ἔχειν με ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμᾶς.

[4] *Hazarded so immense a peril.*] Literally, "thrown up," or, as we should say, *tossed up*, &c. A metaphor derived from playing at dice, and which occurs in Dionys. Hal. 189, 36. κινδύνων τὸν ἐσχατὸν ἀποῤῥίπτειν. where I conjecture κίνδυνον and ἀναῤῥίπτειν. See infra, l. 5, 103. and note.

[5] *Evincing.*] Literally, "*affording.*" The commentators notice that Ammonius adduces this passage in proof of the difference between παρέχειν and παρέχεσθαι. And it may be added that the kindred phrase προθυμίαν παρέχεσθαι (probably imitated from this) occurs in Demosth. Olynth. 1.

[6] *Have aught else in mind.*] Or, as Hobbes renders, "be otherwise minded."

[7] *Hard, indeed, and a serious hindrance.*] Such seems to be the full sense of δεινόν.

[8] *Occupy.*] Literally, "furnish or supply, towards the *common confederation* of Thracian cities, which Brasidas sought to set up."

[9] *A liberty which has injustice for its aim.*] i. e. some way connected with injustice, meant to end in slavery. Such seems to be the force of the somewhat harsh phrase ἄδικον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐπιφέρων.

[10] *I have now under my command.*] Such seems to be the full sense of ἔγω ἔχω, though as the ἔγω has no perceptible force (for it cannot well be emphatical) there is reason to suspect some corruption. And this suspicion is confirmed by variety of readings, which, however, seem not to contain the true one. That I conceive to be ἥκω ἔχων, "which I have now

went to succour Nisæa, did not choose to encounter [11], though superior in number. Is it, then, likely that they would send on board a naval armament against you even *equal* to that at Nisæa? [12]

LXXXVI. "I, for my part, came not for the *harm*, but for the *liberation* of the Greeks; and not till I had bound the chief magistrates of the Lacedæmonians by the most solemn oaths [1] that 'verily [2] whomsoever I should bring over to our side shall be confederates in full independence, and enjoying their own laws;' and, moreover, my object is not that we should have you as *allies to us* (bringing you over either

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come with under my command." Five MSS. come near to this by having ἔχω ἐγὼ, and seem in the archetype to have had that reading.

[11] *Did not choose to encounter.*] This politic boast, though totally false, for he commanded at Megara more than triple the force that he led into Thrace, nevertheless passed with the Acanthians, ill informed of transactions in Greece, and had considerable effect. (Mitford.)

[12] *Is it, then, likely, &c.*] There are few sentences in our author more perplexing in the interpretation than this ὥστε οὐκ — ἀποστεῖλαι. Smith's version is agreeable to the *words*, but very unsuitable to the *context*, and inapposite. And that of Hobbes is neither agreeable to the one nor the other. The most ingenious method of removing the difficulty is that of Heilman, adopted by Hack and Goeller. "Thucydides" he says, "seems to have meant to write, ὥστε, οὐκ εἰκὸς ὃν νηΐτῃ (supple στόλῳ, i. e. maritima expeditione) γε αὐτοὺς τῷ ἐν Νισαίᾳ στρατῷ ἴσον πλῆθος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀποστεῖλαι, οὐ δικαίως φοβεῖσθε αὐτούς. 'So that as it is not likely that they will send on board a naval armament a number equal to the army at Nisæa, you have no cause to be afraid.'" I cannot, however, place much confidence in an emendation which is nothing less than re-writing the sentence. We must, it seems, wait for better MSS., and, in the meantime, I beg to offer the following mild, and, if I am not mistaken, efficacious emendation. For οὐκ read οὖν, and take the whole sentence as interrogative. And the interrogation will imply a negative. Or (which I prefer) the οὐκ may be cancelled, and considered as having arisen from its not being perceived that the sentence is interrogative. Thus ὥστε will signify *an ergo?* or *num igitur;* as at Galat. 4, 16. ὥστε ἐχθρὸς ὑμῖν γέγονα ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν; where (as Hoogev. observes) the formula implies somewhat of absurdity in the thing interrogated.

[1] *Bound, &c. by the most solemn oaths.*] As the commentators have wholly passed over this remarkable phrase ὅρκοις καταλαβών, the following examples and illustrations may be not unacceptable: — Herod. 9, 106. πιστὰ καταλαβόντες καὶ ὁρκίοισι. and 3, 74, 1. πιστὰ λαβόντες καὶ ὁρκίοισι. Procop. 7, 8. ὅρκοις καταλαβὼν Ἀρσάκην. and 116, 28. ὅρκοις καταλαμβάνει. and 122, 26. 173, 23. 177, 13. Dionys. Hal. 1, 368, 4. ὅρκοις ἀλλήλους κατέλαβον. and 483, 5. Zosim. 4, 26, 7. ὅρκους καταλαβών. where I conjecture ὅρκοις.

[2] *Verily.*] Ἦ μὴν is a formula jurandi, on which Goeller refers to Buttman Gr. § 136. p. 576. And he renders it *gewiss und wahrhaftig.*

by force or fraud), but on the contrary, that we should be *allies* and helpers to *you* who are enslaved by the Athenians. Therefore I claim that I may not myself be suspected by you, inasmuch as [3] I have given you the strongest pledges of faith, nor be accounted an impotent defender, but I entreat you to boldly come over to me. And if any one of you, through private fear of some particular individual [4] (lest I should bring the city over to certain persons [5]), be reluctant or backward [6], let him on that head feel entire confidence: for I am not come hither to support a faction [7], nor is it my aim to introduce a dubious and unstable sort of liberty; which would be the case, if, disregarding the antient institutions of a country, I should either enslave the many to the few, or the few to the many [8]: for

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[3] *Inasmuch as, &c.*] The τε, which is cancelled by Bekker, should rather have been altered to γε, which (I perceive) has also been conjectured by Goeller.

[4] *Private fear of some particular individual.*] And such were not groundless, since in those times of political convulsion many contrived, under pretence of zeal for the public service, to wreak their private revenge. Thus in the horrible details of the Corcyræan sedition it is said, l. 3, 81. "that men were slain by their enemies of the opposite factions, as they chanced to meet with them, and that many perished 'through private enmity.'" And also at l. 4, 47. we read that the wretched victims of democratical fury were, on being led along between two lines of heavy-armed, beaten and stabbed "*as each saw his enemy.*" These, then, were times when men might well feel more than usual fear of their enemies.

[5] *Certain persons.*] Namely, the *few*, or those of the aristocratical party, who supported Brasidas.

[6] *Backward.*] Ἀπρόθυμος, which occurs here and at l. 8, 32., is a rare word, also used by Plutarch ap. Steph. Thes., and which should be restored to Dio Cass. p. 191, 22. καὶ ἐκείνους προθύμῳ διανοίᾳ ἐπὶ νίκῃ τεταραμμένους. Also at Joseph. p. 859, 9. τοῦ ἀπρομηθοῦς — τῶν γεγονότων. I conjecture τοῦ ἀπροθύμου, i. e. me invito. And in a confessedly corrupt passage of Æschyl. Suppl. 369. ἐξ ἀέλπτων καὶ κἀπρομυθήτων. I confidently propose κἀπροθυμήτων, which comes from ἀπροθυμέω, on which see Steph. Thes. Col. 4346. B.

[7] *To support a faction.*] Or, as Portus renders, "nourish up factions." The word ξυσταζίαζω is rare, and no other example is found in Steph. Thes. Yet it occurs twice in Dionys. Hal., as also in Dio Cass. 85, 59. and 336, 51. συνεστασίαζε σφᾶς. In Dio. Cass. 479, 6. ὄντας στασίασαι δ' οὖν σφᾶς. I conjecture ὄντας συστασίασαι.

[8] *Nor is it my aim to, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of the difficult words οὐδὲ ἀσαφῆ — δουλώσαιμι, in which the var. lect. and the conjectures of critics have alike arisen from the nature of the sentiment being misunderstood. Goeller here well annotates thus: "Adverbium sæpe et adjectivum vice fungitur totius sententiæ, velut hic, ubi sensus idem est ac si scripsisset: οὐδὲ ἐλευθερίαν νομίζω ἐπιφέρειν, ἢ ἀσαφὴς ἂν εἴη, εἰ, &c., vel sic: οὐδὲ ἀσαφῆ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν νομίζω ἐπιφέρειν, ἐπιφέροιμι δ' ἂν, εἰ," &c.

that would be *worse* than a foreign slavery, and to us Lacedæmonians there would thus result no grateful return for our labours, but instead of honour and glory, rather blame; and on account of the accusations [9] which we bring against the Athenians, we should be manifestly incurring worse censure [10] than those who make no pretensions [11] to virtue. For in persons at least who are in dignified stations, it is baser to seek lucre by specious deceit than by open violence [12]; since the one assails us by virtue of that power which fortune hath given [13], the other by the plotting of deliberate and meditated injustice.[14] Thus in concerns of the greatest moment we use proportionable circumspection and forethought.[15]

This, I would add, will best show the force of the article, which here falls under the head of Bishop Middleton's (sect. ii.) *Insertions by hypothesis*, this being one of those instances in which, as the old grammarians said, the article is used indefinitely. But see Bishop Middleton, p. 56.

At τὸ πατρίον subaud ἔθος. Brasidas means to say that the antient institutions of a country, by which it has grown up, and perhaps prospered, are better and more adapted to it than new and ready made ones (as 1, 71. τὰ ἀκίνητα νόμιμα ἄριστα). A tolerably liberal sentiment for an aristocrat. This was, doubtless, intended to quiet the apprehensions of those who were attached to the established democracy of their country.

Mitford well paraphrases the whole thus: — "From himself he assured them, that none need fear for person, property, or civil rights, on account of any political principles they had held, or any political conduct they had followed; for he was determined to support no faction, but, with his best power, to establish, wherever he might have influence, that equal liberty for all ranks, which formed the boast and the happiness of his own country."

9 *Accusations.*] Namely, ambition and lust of dominion. The words οἷς ἐγκλήμασι are governed of ἐπὶ understood.

10 *Worse censure.*] Literally, "more odious imputations."

11 *Make no pretensions.*] Literally, "make no show." By *virtue* is meant disinterested liberality, the deliverance of countries from foreign domination, which the Lacedæmonians pretended to.

12 *For in persons who, &c.*] This is not ill rendered by Gail, "car la fraude couverte du masque de la probité, est, du moins pour ceux qui pretendent à l'estime publique, un moyen plus honteux de s'aggrandir, que la violence declarée."

13 *By virtue of, &c.*] Or, as Gail renders, "by that sort of right which fortune gives, the right of the strong." So the Schol. τῷ τῆς ἰσχύος δικαίῳ.

14 *Plotting of, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of γνώμης ἀδίκου ἐπιβουλῇ, with which the translators have been somewhat embarrassed. There is a sort of *hypallage*; and γνώμη often signifies *purpose, intention;* as at 3, 40. 1, 62. and elsewhere. Hence may be understood Prov. 12, 2. ואיש מזמות ירשיע "a man of wicked devices or machinations he will condemn."

15 *Thus in concerns, &c.*] What bearing this has on the argument is by

LXXXVII. "Furthermore, you cannot receive (in addition to the oaths already sworn) a greater confirmation of our upright intentions than this — that our works, considered with our words, necessarily afford a conviction that they are truly (as I said) meant also for *your* advantage.[1] But if, notwithstanding my offers and promises, you allege that you *cannot* comply [2], but you conceive that being well inclined to us, you ought to be allowed so to reject our offers, as not to suffer injury by non-compliance — that the freedom seems to you not unaccompanied with danger — that it may be just to bring freedom to those who have the power of receiving it, but not to compel the reluctant to embrace it — why then I shall call to witness the gods and heroes of the country [3], that having come hither for good, I cannot move you to compliance; and I shall, by ravaging your territory, endeavour to force you; nor shall I any longer think I am committing injustice, but that I have a colourable justification for attack,

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no means obvious. Hobbes omits it in his version, and the commentators pass it over. It seems, however, meant as an illustration of the preceding position; q. d. we use such sort of forethought and circumspection as people do in concerns of the greatest moment; for forethought and circumspection *imply* plan and intention, and, therefore, if a deed be unjust, the crime of it is increased.

[1] *That our works, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of this most obscure passage, on which the Scholiast, Abresch, Bauer, Kistem., and Goeller may be consulted. Goeller annotates thus: "neque præter jusjurandum majorem fidem accipere possitis quam ea, quibus res ipsa cum verbis meis comparata evincit persuasionem, ita conducere, ut dixi. Suppleo igitur: ἢ ἐκείνοις οἷς τὰ ἔργα, &c., quod est idem ac si dixisset: οὐκ ἂν μείζω βεβαίωσιν λάβοιτε ἢ τὰ ἔργα, ἃ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἀναθρούμενα δόκησιν ἀναγκαίαν παρέχεται, ubi ἐκ λόγων ἀναθρούμενα est: ex verbis meis spectata, i. e. cum iis collata, et verba ὡς καὶ ξυμφέρει ὁμοίως ὡς εἶπον pendent ex δόκησιν. My own view of the passage may be collected from the translation. A full consideration of it I must reserve for my edition. Suffice it to say, that for οἷς, which has been so much stumbled at, I would read ὡς. In the words, "as I said," there is an allusion to what Brasidas professed at the beginning of his speech, that he was come for their liberation from tyranny.

[2] *Cannot comply.*] Namely, cannot come over to our side. This, it seems, was a usual phrase, by a euphemism, for refusing. So at l. 2, 74. the Platæans answer from the walls, they *cannot* do what the Lacedæmonians require.

[3] *Call to witness, &c.*] As did Archidamus previous to the siege of Platæa. It may, indeed, be supposed, that this was a not uncommon prelude to hostilities among the antients.

from the impulse of two urgent motives [4]; one, as regards the *Lacedæmonians*, lest, having only your good wishes, without your actual cooperation [5], they may receive injury by the sum of money contributed by you to the Athenians; the other, the *Greeks*, that they may not be hindered by you from being freed from slavery. For, indeed, we should not otherwise [6] be justified in our present undertaking; nor ought we *Lacedæmonians* [7] to liberate those who are unwilling to accept freedom, unless for the furtherance of the common good.[8] Nor is it from the desire of domination that we act thus; but it is rather with a view to put down those who lust after dominion. We should therefore injure the great majority, if, when bringing independence to *all*, we were to suffer *you* to thwart our endeavours. Deliberate, then, seriously on these matters, and exert yourselves to be the first to commence liberty [9] to the Greeks, and thus lay up [10] for yourselves an

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[4] *From the impulse of two urgent motives.*] There is here somewhat of the far-fetched and frigid, such as we sometimes, though *very rarely*, observe in the purest and best age of Grecian eloquence.

The κατὰ δύο ἀνάγκας here may be well compared with the (κατὰ) δύο ἀνάγκας, &c. at 2, 95.

[5] *Lest having only, &c.*] Such is the real sense, though not the literal rendering of the words of the original, in which there is a delicacy as regards the latter clause, scarcely to be expressed, without tedious circumlocution, in our own language. The whole sense is, "in order that by your good will only, and not your actual cooperation, if, indeed, ye will not be induced to give." The intermediate clause is omitted through delicacy. The words following τοῖς ἀπὸ, &c. are exegetical of the preceding, and may be rendered, namely, "in respect of the money."

[6] *Otherwise.*] On the ellipsis of ἄλλως after γὰρ I have treated, supra, c. 54.

[7] *Lacedæmonians.*] There seems to be some emphasis in the word, which is, perhaps, indicated by the article.

[8] *For the furtherance of the common good.*] Goeller annotates thus: "Sententia hæc est: sineremus vos in servitio Atheniensium manere, nisi communis Græcorum salutis causa, cui vos impedimento estis, vel invitos vos liberare deberemus: *nec decenter hæc faceremus, neque debemus Lacedæmonii nisi alicujus boni publici causa, qui nolunt eos liberare.* Ubi tamen potius hæc expectaveris: οὐδ' ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐλευθεροῦν ἐπεχειροῦμεν, εἰ μὴ ὠφείλομεν κοινοῦ τινος ἀγαθοῦ αἰτίᾳ."

[9] *Be the first to commence, &c.*] There may seem to be somewhat of pleonasm in this expression; but, perhaps, there was an emphasis couched therein. Smith and Gail here introduce, de suo, some striking metaphors. Sed *nobis* non licet esse tam disertis.

Liberty is not *expressed* in the original; but it is evidently *implied*, and is *required* in our style of oratory.

[10] *Lay up.*] i. e. for yourselves (which the force of the middle voice suggests), namely, as in a treasure to be repaid with interest; or, as favours

ever-during glory. Strive, I say, both that yourselves, in your private capacities, be not injured, and that you may confer on the state the most glorious and delightful of names — that of liberty!"

LXXXVIII. Thus spoke Brasidas. As to the Acanthians, after much had been first said on both sides of the question, they proceeded to a secret vote [1]; and, partly by the persuasive eloquence [2] of Brasidas, partly through fear for their fruitage, the majority decided to revolt from the Athenians; and having obtained from him the most solemn pledges, by the oaths which the Lacedæmonian chief magistrates swore when they sent him on this expedition, namely, "that the allies whom he might bring over should verily be independent," they then received the army [3] into the city; and not long after Stagirus [4], a colony of the Andrians, joined in the revolt. Such were the events of this summer.

LXXXIX. Immediately on the commencement of the next winter, when the places in Bœotia were to have been delivered

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are said to be laid up in the breasts of the grateful. See my note on 1 Timoth. 6, 19.

[1] *Proceeded to a secret vote.*] That none might be afterwards individually criminated for the vote given. (Mitford.) Of this custom we have frequent examples both in Thucydides and in other antient writers.

[2] *Persuasive eloquence.*] The ἐπαγωγὰ may literally be rendered *taking*. It may be observed, that the use of this term plainly shows the opinion of Thucydides as to the truth of Brasidas's representations. Thus at l. 6, 8. he speaks of some harangues as being ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀληθῆ. And at l. 5, 85. he says: μὴ ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ ἀνέλεγκτα (scil. ῥήματα) ἀκούσαντες ἀπατηθῶσι. So also Herod. 3, 53. ἐπαγωγὰ εἰπεῖν.

[3] *They then received the army.*] It seems, too, that they exerted themselves with all the zeal of new partizans or turncoats; for we learn from Plutarch, Lys. c. 1., that they dedicated to Apollo the first fruits of some spoils taken from the Athenians by themselves and Brasidas, in a splendid vase inscribed Βρασίδας καὶ Ἀκάνθιοι, ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων.

[4] *Stagirus.*] An antient city built in the times of Archilochus and Thales, and situated about twelve miles from Acanthus towards the north. It was for nothing so celebrated as for being the birthplace of Aristotle.

The name is often written with the plural form Stagira. It is proper to observe that it should never be spelt with a *y*, as it is commonly done; being derived from the old word, preserved by Hesych., σταγερὸς or σταγρὸς, *dry and hot*, a word of the same form as στυγερὸς, φλυγερὸς, μυγερὸς, σμυγερὸς, &c., all which are oxytons, and formed from primitives in γος, as φλογός. This was given with reference to the *soil*. It is remarkable that the place is at the present day called Stagros.

up [1] to Hippocrates and Demosthenes, the commanders of the Athenians, and it was agreed that Demosthenes should with the fleet proceed [2] to Siphæ, the other to Delium; there being, however, a mistake as to the days on which both were respectively to set forward [3], Demosthenes first sailing to Siphæ, having on board some Acarnanians and a considerable number of the allies thereabouts, is frustrated in his attempt; the project being disclosed by one Nicomachus, a Phocian of Phanoteus, who gave information of it to the Lacedæmonians, and they to the Bœotians; so that a force being sent by the whole of the Bœotians to withstand the attack (for Hippocrates had not yet, by presenting himself in their territory, afforded them any molestation), Siphæ and Chæronea were occupied and secured in time. As soon as those who were concerned in the plot perceived the mistake [4], they made no stir in the cities.

XC. And now Hippocrates, having called into the field the whole force of Athens, as well citizens as sojourners, and also such strangers [1], as were staying there, he arrives the

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[1] *Were to have been delivered up.*] Such is plainly the sense of ἐδίδοντο, which is said by Hack to be used "de conatu." The truth is, it might more accurately be rendered, "were in the course of being delivered;" the negotiation being concluded, and nothing remaining but the fulfilment. This sense may very well be deduced from the force of the imperfect tense, as denoting action begun and in progress, but not completed.

[2] *Proceed.*] ἀπαντάω literally signifies, to meet at a certain place by a certain time. See Duker.

[3] *A mistake as to the, &c.*] What was the nature of the mistake, is not clear. There is more than one way in which such a mistake might happen; but as we can rise no higher than conjecture, it is scarcely worth while to discuss the matter.

This, it may be observed, is one among the instances of strange negligence and want of plan and arrangement for due cooperation frequent in antient times. It does not, indeed, appear that stratagems were scientifically cultivated till the time of Philip and Alexander, after which they were finally brought to their highest pitch of perfection by Cæsar and Pompey.

[4] *Mistake.*] Or error, namely, in planning their respective advances.

[1] *Citizens—sojourners—strangers.*] It is here remarked by Mitford:—"The translations are not satisfactory; and we find no assistance from notes. The precise distinction, however, between μέτοικος and ξένος, though we should be glad to know what it is, is not particularly important here."

This passage, it may be observed, (though the commentators notice it not) is of consequence for determining the sense of οἱ μέτοικοι, for which

day after at Delium, where the Bœotians had already retired from Siphæ; and encamping the army, he proceeded to fortify Delium, in the following manner. First, they dug a ditch around the temple and the fane [2] (or sanctum sanctorum),

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term we have scarcely one that corresponds. That of *strangers*, usually adopted, is evidently from this passage wrong; neither does *sojourners* exactly express its sense. The ξένοι would, perhaps, best be expressed by *sojourners*, namely, those who, though sojourning, had been enrolled as μέτοικοι. It is observed by Pricæus on Acts 17, 21. that "the distinction between the ἀστοὶ and ξένοι was at Athens very frequent. The ἀστοὶ considered themselves as alone possessing any rank. All the rest were included indiscriminately under the name ξένοι. They called themselves the *first inhabitants*, the αὐτοχθόνες: the rest they styled *new comers*." And Kypke on the same passage observes, "The inhabitants of Athens were divided into πολῖται, μέτοικοι, and ξένοι. (See Demosth. adv. Aristocrat. p. 432.) Only the πολῖται (i. e. the ἀστοὶ) and the ξένοι are sometimes opposed, in a more extensive sense, by which the latter comprehended both the μέτοικοι and the ξένοι. Hence the question arises whether the ἐπιδημοῦντες ξένοι are to be taken in this more extended sense, as denoting all the ξένοι (*viz.* who had not the *jus civitatis*), or only those who, not having their fixed habitation at Athens, sojourned there for a time. But I find the phrase only used in the *stricter* sense." And so Thucyd. 2, 36. τὸν ὅμιλον καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων. The difference between the μέτοικοι and ξένοι seems to have been that the former were *residents*, the latter *sojourners*. Moreover, the μέτοικοι, I conceive had a sort of *jus Latii*, by a particular ceremony, which included, we may suppose, an oath of allegiance to the government; whereas the ξένοι, who were only sojourners, partook in no such ceremony. The reason why such an immense concourse of strangers, from every part of the world, should have flocked to this city, may be ascribed to the boundless liberality of the Athenian government towards them.

That the ξένοι should have been called upon to *take arms*, is very remarkable. We may, however, presume that these persons were closely connected with Athens by commercial pursuits and by intermarriage with Athenian citizens. Nor are we obliged to suppose that *all* were taken. Indeed, if the citizens went universally to battle, it would not have been prudent to have left the ξένοι behind. We have, I believe, no instance of the *Romans* trusting arms with their stranger-sojourners; but then they had not the *same reason*, nor were subject to the same compulsion; being so powerful that it was not necessary for them to resort to the measure here mentioned.

By the *whole force* of the Athenians is, of course, meant *all who were then in Attica;* for the Athenian forces were so dispersed in various parts of the dependencies of Athens, that they seldom or never could be *all* assembled. This is touched on by Pericles in his Funeral Oration, l. 2, 39. When, however, expeditions were made to some adjacent country, as Megara, or Corinth, or Bœotia, all the Athenians then in Attica were, it seems, assembled. Yet the πανδημεὶ here, does not, I conceive, comprehend all without exception, but only all who were of military age, and fit for service: *some* would be necessary to guard the city, and these, it seems, were the very old and very young; namely, those above sixty, and under twenty, or the ἔφηβοι, as also such as were maimed, or otherwise invalid, &c.

[2] *Fane.*] Not, "*sacred precincts*," as Hobbes and Smith render. The

and threw up [3] the earth from the ditch, to serve for [4] a wall; and having fixed down strong stakes [5] in the bank, they cast in [6] the wood of the vine-trees about the temple, as also stones and bricks from some ruined building near, which they pulled down for that purpose, and adopted every expedient to raise the rampart. They also disposed wooden towers at suitable places, and where there was no building of the temple left [7]; for what had been the portico had fallen.

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antients distinguished the *temple*, and the *fane* or *chapel* at one end of it *, which was thought the more peculiar residence of the god, and where his image was placed. There were, indeed, three parts of the sacred precincts, the τέμενος, or *sacred close* (surrounded by a high and massy wall), consisting of the plot of ground in which the temple was situated, and which was generally laid out as a *grove*; the ἱερὸν, and the νεών. All these are found recognised in Pausan. l. 5, 6. cited by Duker. It may be observed that the *chancel* in Christian churches corresponds to the νεὼν of the heathens.

[3] *Threw up.*] A very rare sense of ἀναβάλλω (see Eustath. cited by Duker), of which we have another example in a similar passage of Xenophon Anab. 5, 2, 5. τάφρος ἦν περὶ αὐτὸ (scil. χώριον) εὐρεῖα ἀναβεβλημένη, καὶ σκόλοπες ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβολῆς, καὶ τύρσεις πυκναὶ ξύλιναι πεποιημέναι.

[4] *To serve for.*] Such is here the sense of ἀντὶ, as at 2, 75. ἀντὶ τοίχων.

[5] *Stakes.*] These were probably derived from the rafters and other wood-work of the dilapidated building, just afterwards alluded to, namely, the portico which had fallen to ruins.

[6] *Cast in.*] Portus, Heilman, and others, as also Mitford, take ἐσέβαλλον to mean *interseruerunt, interwove*. But the word can only mean *injecerunt, infixerunt*; though, perhaps, those terms are not inapplicable to the thing in question. The passage following, however, compels us to suppose (what it is strange should not have occurred to Heilman) a *double* row of stakes, though Thucydides does not expressly say there was such.

The interstices were filled up with stones, bricks, &c. from the ruined building near; and also, I conjecture, by throwing in faggots made of the boughs and twigs of the vine-trees. This is perhaps alluded to in the παντὶ τρόπῳ.

[7] *And where there was no, &c.*] This is rendered by Hobbes and Smith, "There was no edifice of the temple standing." "No part of the old pale of the temple was left standing." But if such had been the case, with what propriety could it be said that a ditch was dug round the *temple and its fane*? Besides, the Thebans, c. 97., accuse the Athenians of having used the temple as an habitation. In short, the circumstance in question would have been little to the purpose. Hobbes, doubtless, fell into the error from false punctuation in his copy, and Smith inadvertently followed him. The words can admit no other sense than that above assigned. By the expression *buildings of the temple* Thucydides adverts to those *sacella*, or chapels, which sometimes stood apart from the temple, but within the τέμενος or close. Such was, perhaps, the οἴκημα οὐ μέγα, ὃ ἦν τοῦ ἱεροῦ mentioned at 1, 134., whither Pausanias took refuge.

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* So infra, 5, 18. τὸ δ' ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν νεὼν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς. See also, on this distinction, Valckn. on Herod. 6, 19, 13., who, among other passages, there adduces Herod. 4, 108. ἱερα κατασκευασμένα ἀγάλμασί τε καὶ βωμοῖσι καὶ νεοῖσι.

They commenced the work on the third day after they had left home [8], and laboured at it that day and the fourth, and of the fifth until dinner [9]: after which, as the greater part of it was finished, the army retired, previous to the conclusion of the whole, about ten stadia from Delium, and the light infantry most of them immediately marched forward; but the hoplites piled arms, and there halted.[10] As for Hippocrates, he yet stayed behind, fixing the guards and planning for the completion [11] of what remained of the outer work.

XCI. But during those days the Bœotians had been assembling at Tanagra, and when they had arrived from all the cities, and perceived that the Athenians were proceeding forwards homeward, the other Bœotarchs (of whom there are eleven [1]) being agreed in opinion that there ought to be no

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It is added, " for the portico (or cloister) had," &c., because it might have been expected that *that* would (as it was usually built abutting on the περίβολος or outer wall of the close) have supplied the place of towers, as far as it went.

[8] *The third day after, &c.*] It should seem that they lost no time; for they could not have reached till about noon of the second day, the distance being about thirty-two miles.

[9] *Dinner.*] By this is to be understood the meal taken about mid-day. It is, I think, plain from Thucydides that, in his time, the Greeks took three meals, the ἀκράτισμα, or breakfast; the ἄριστον, or a very early dinner; and the δεῖπνον, or supper, answering to a very late dinner with us, antiently called the δόρπος. As to the ἐσπέρισμα, or afternoon's lunch, mentioned by Philemon ap. Athen., that came into use afterwards; though among the Greeks of Homer's time the ἄριστον, taken about sunrise, stood for both breakfast and dinner.

[10] *Halted.*] Waiting, Mitford thinks, for their general.

[11] *Planning for the completion.*] Not, as Smith renders, " putting the finishing hand." Mitford well paraphrases thus: " the general then ordered the army to move homeward, while he should give final directions to the garrison, for the disposition of their guards, and the completion of the works."

[1] *Of whom there are eleven.*] I entirely agree with the commentators who take the words οἳ εἶσι ἕνδεκα to refer to the number of *Bœotarchs in all*, not to the *rest* besides Pagondas; Mueller, Schneider, and Klutz, however, taking the εἶσι for ἦσαν, understand by it that there were *twelve*. But this is very harsh, and contrary to the testimony of the Scholiast on l. 2, 2., who probably derived his knowledge from some antient authority, besides that of the present passage. It is, moreover, likely that an *odd* number should be used rather an *even* one, to avoid the inconvenience of equal numbers in voting; not to say that it would be difficult to make out *twelve* cities who can be supposed to have sent deputies to this national council.

battle, since the enemy was no longer in Bœotia[2] (for the Athenians, when they piled arms, were nearly on the borders of the territory of Oropus), Pagondas son of Æoladas being Bœotarch from Thebes, in conjunction with Arianthidas[3] son of Lysimachidas, and the command being his[4], and wishing and conceiving it best to try the fortune of battle, he called forward the troops, each by battalions (that they might not all at once leave their arms), and in the following manner urged the Bœotians to advance upon the Athenians and come to a contest: —

XCII. "It should never, Bœotians, have so much as entered the thoughts of any[1] of us your commanders, that we ought not to engage in battle[2] with the Athenians unless we

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[2] *Since the enemy was, &c.*] i. e. that there was no point of honour which compelled them to offer battle, as the enemy was no longer on Theban ground. From this it is plain that the boundary between Bœotia and Attica is wrongly fixed in the maps, and should be carried *across* the Asopus about three miles. Indeed, such is done in Boccage's map. *Afterwards*, it is true, the limit was the Asopus.

[3] *Bœotarch together with Arianthidas.*] Hobbes, Smith, and some others, join μετὰ Ἀριάνθου with βουλόμενος. But that is doing violence to the construction, and is at variance with what precedes, where the *rest* of the Bœotarchs are said to be all agreed. It is clear that Arianthidas is mentioned as colleague with Pagondas, from Thebes; and, therefore, it seems, that Thebes (being the capital) was allowed to send *two* Bœotarchs, as we also find from l. 7, 30.

[4] *The command being his.*] The command, it should seem, was always with one of the two *Theban* Bœotarchs, who took it in turn. That any should have otherwise understood the passage, is strange.

[1] This oration bears some resemblance in its plan and character to that of Sthnelaidas, l. 1, 86., as will abundantly appear from comparison. The Scholiast remarks, that the oration is distributed into arguments of *expedience* and of *justice*, with which is interwoven the smallest of *possibility*. The protasis consists of a rebuke of those who were not agreed to come to a battle. The κατασκευή, or disposition of the proofs, consists of accusation of the Athenians. The συμπέρασμα, or consequence of the argument, is hortatory to what ought to be done, &c.

It should never, &c.] This use of τινα has been sufficiently illustrated by Duker from a kindred passage of l. 3, 46. But when that commentator says, "non negaverim posse dici τοῦτό μου εἰς ἐπινοίαν ἦλθε, he seems to forget that the latter is indeed the only regular or proper form, and that the other is anomalous, though, as occurring in another passage of our author, it seems to be Thucydidean. Besides, the phrase in question not only *may* be used, but *has been* used. What else can be considered that of the Apostle to the Corinthians, Epist. 1. c. 2. v. 9. ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ, &c. where the ἀνέβη is Hellenistic Greek for ἦλθε, and our translators render as if the Apostle had so written.

[2] *Engage in battle.*] Literally, "enter into battle with." With διὰ

find them yet on Bœotian ground: for proceeding from a bordering territory, they have built a fort in Bœotia, and are preparing to ravage the country, and are surely [3] enemies, on whatever ground they be found [4], and whencesoever they have come and acted the part of enemies towards us. And now if any one deemed the previous determination the *safer* course, let him abandon his opinion; for prudent forethought in those who are *attacked*, does not admit of such deliberation for the preservation of their possessions as may be exercised by those who hold, indeed, their own, but, through a longing for more, are ready to assail their neighbour.[5] It is, too, your hereditary custom [6] to contend with a foreign invading force, alike in your own country and in that of your neighbours. But *Athenians*, and moreover *borderers*, you are *most of all* bound to oppose: for with respect to adjoining states, an equal balance of power [7] is to all the only security

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μαχῆς ἐλθεῖν I would compare Herod. l. 6. Æschyl. Suppl. 491. Eurip. Iph. Aul. 1392. διὰ μαχῆς μολεῖν. Procop. 50, 19. Examples may be seen in Dr. Monk's note on the Hippol. 1159. See also Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Prom. 121. δι' ἀπεχθείας ἐλθοντ'.

[3] *Surely.*] The δήπου is not well rendered *ergo* by Portus. This is one of those cases mentioned by Hoogev. de Part. p. 158. where the conjectural and asseverative senses are mingled; and it may be rendered *opinor, ay surely;* or, as there is only a pretence of doubting, *si diis placet.*

[4] *Enemies, on whatever, &c.*] So Eurip. Incert. Frag. 3. νόμος τὸν ἐχθρὸν δρᾶν ὅπου λάβῃς, κακῶς.

[5] *For prudent forethought, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of the difficult passage οὐ γὰρ τὸ προμηθὲς — ἐπέρχεται. The sentiment is well illustrated by the Schol. Vulg. and Cassel, and the construction by Hack. The best commentary will be found in the words of a kindred passage at 1, 86. (which it is strange should not have been thought of): "And that it becomes us, when injured, to *deliberate* — let no man tell me this; nay, it rather behoves those about to commit injury, to long deliberate."

[6] *Your hereditary custom.*] "That handed down by your ancestors." As this phrase πατριόν ἐστιν is neglected by the commentators, the following examples may be acceptable: — Dionys. Hal. Ant. 399, 26. 655, 3. 447, 2. Pausan. 4, 8, 3. Isocr. Paneg. 56. Liban. Orat. 423, 454 and 561. Pausan. 1, 10, 1. Lycurg. p. 163, 24. Joseph. p. 2, 35. Herod. 1. 41. Hence may be emended Tyrtæus Frag. 9. μὴ φειδόμενοι τὰς ζωᾶς, οὐ γὰρ πάτριον τᾶς Σπάρτας. where read τᾷ Σπάρτᾳ. Of the same kind is the phrase ἐπιχώριον ὂν ἡμῖν, supra, 4, 46. and ἐν ἔθει εἶναι elsewhere. This elegance has also been imitated by Livy, l. 2, 12. "et facere et pati fortia *Romanum est.*"

[7] *An equal balance of power.*] Or, to be equally matched in power. A valuable political maxim, on which Mr. Hobbes remarks: "So that as soon as a state hath a neighbour strong enough to subdue it, it is no more to be thought a free state." This, however, is a somewhat Machiavelian straining of the sense.

for freedom; and to those [8] surely who attempt to subdue, not their neighbour only, but also states which are far off; how does it not [9] behove us to fight to the utmost extremity? (especially in our case [10], who have an example in the treatment which those on the other side of the water, the Eubœans, and most of the rest of Greece, have received at their hands), and to know that in the case of the *others*, neighbours have disputes and battles about the boundaries [11] of territory, but in *ours* there will be fixed, if we be defeated, but *one boundary*, and that not controverted, extending to the *whole* [12]; for they will enter and hold by force all that we have: so much the more dangerous neighbours have we in them than in others.[13] And (remember) that those who (as the Athenians now do) assail their neighbours in the arrogant confidence of strength [14], are accustomed to fearlessly war on those who keep quiet, and only defend themselves in their own territory; while those who meet them half way and out of the boundaries, and, if occasion

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[8] *And to those.*] Here I read, from the conjecture of Duker, τούτους, which was rightly received by Bekker and Goeller. In fact, this is required by the γὲ δὴ following, on which see Hoogev. de Part. p. 118.

[9] *How does it not, &c.*] The πῶς οὔ here involves a strong assertion, as in Rom. 8, 32. When there is no negative with it, the πῶς involves a strong negative, as in 1 John 3, 18.

[10] *Especially in our case.*] These words are to be *understood*. We may then literally render, "have an example in the Eubœans, how *they* have been treated by them." For I have ever been of opinion that αὐτοῖς must be taken for ὑπ' αὐτῶν, and be referred to the Athenians. And so the words are taken by Bauer and Hack. Other commentators refer the αὐτοῖς to the *Eubœans*, and render πῶς διάκειται "how it is with them." But though διακεῖσθαι properly signifies *to be affected*, yet that sense would here be harsh. And it is more reasonable to suppose that Thucydides, with his accustomed freedom of usage, employed διακεῖσθαι for διατίθεσθαι.

[11] *Disputes and battles about the boundaries.*] So Herod. 5, 49, 44. (περὶ) οὔρων σμικρῶν — μάχας ἀναβάλλεσθαι.

[12] *There will be fixed, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense, which has been strangely misconceived by the translators. See the Schol. Cassel. There is a similar passage in Herodian, 4, 14, 14. οὐ γὰρ περὶ ὅρων γῆς ἡ φιλονεικία, περὶ παντὸς δέ. where see Demosth., cited by Irmisch. Hence may be defended and illustrated the common reading in Eurip. Troad. 375. ἔθνησκον, οὐ γῆς ὅρι' ἀποστερούμενοι, Οὐδ' ὑψιπύργου πατρίδος.

[13] *So much the more dangerous, &c.*] Or, as Hobbes renders, "So much more dangerous is the neighbourhood of the Athenians than of other people." It is truly remarked by Goeller, that there is a breviloquentia for ἐπικινδυνοτέραν ἑτέρων παροικήσεως τὴν παροίκησιν.

[14] *Confidence of strength.*] Ἰσχύος θράσει. So Soph. Philoct. 104. δεινὸν ἰσχύος θράσος. Eurip. Orest. 901. ἰσχύων θράσει.

offer, strike the first blow, they do not so readily meddle with.[15] A proof of this we have in these very persons: for after defeating them at Coronea, when, through our domestic factions, they occupied our country, we established that fearless security which hath continued up to the present time. Mindful of which, it behoves both the *older* of us to exhibit actions corresponding to their former deeds, and the *younger*, as being sons of fathers, who themselves so approved their bravery, to endeavour not to disgrace their hereditary virtues. Confident that the god, whose temple they have by erections so lawlessly abused, will be for us — and relying on the sacred rites which, offered up for us, have proved auspicious — let us boldly close with[16] these our foes, and show them that what they covet they may go and seek, by attacking those who will not defend themselves — but that as to those whose hereditary glory[17] it is by combat ever to preserve their own country free, and not to enslave that of others; from *such* they must not expect to go off without a struggle!"[18]

XCIII. By the use of such like exhortations [1], Pagondas induced the Bœotians to advance against the Athenians; for it was now late in the day. As soon as he had made close approach to their army, having halted his forces at a place from whence, by the intervention of a hill, the armies were not visible to each other, he ranged his troops in order, and

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[15] *They do not so readily meddle with.*] Literally, "*lay hold of* or *seize.*" The sense is much misconceived by Hobbes and Smith. Here we have a metaphor, taken from a dog, who *seizes* and *holds fast.*

[16] *Close with.*] Not "*march against,*" as Hobbes renders. ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι differs from χωρῆσαι, and has always the above sense.

[17] *Hereditary glory.*] It is ill rendered by Hobbes, "men that have the generosity to," &c. The Scholiast and Portus saw the true sense, which is illustrated by the following passages: — Homer Il. ε. 253. οὐ γάρ μοι γενναῖον ἀλυσκάζοντι μάχεσθαι. Pind. Pyth. 8, 62. τὸ γενναῖον ἐκ πατέρων λῆμα. where the Schol. interprets τὸ συγγενὲς ἐ. π. And Hesych. explains γενναῖον by συγγενικόν.

[18] *Without a struggle.*] I cannot approve of the emendation of Bekker and Goeller, ἀναναγώνιστοι. The common reading is more suitable in sense, and is defended by Xen. Cyr. 1, 5, 7. ἀθλήτης ἀναγώνιστος. and 1, 5, 10. εἴ τις — ἀναγώνιστος διατελέσειεν. The word is also used by Plato de Leg.

[1] *Such like exhortations.*] For he did not, we may suppose, address the same words to each of the battalions whom he addressed separately.

made dispositions for battle. On a message reaching Hippocrates, who was yet at Delium, that the Bœotians were advancing against them, he sent orders to his army to form in battle array, and soon after joined them, leaving about three hundred horse around Delium, that they might act as a guard to the place, in case of attack, and also might watch an opportunity to attack the Bœotians[2] in the course of the battle. But the Bœotians, on their side, stationed a force to act against and keep them in check; and when their dispositions were completed[3], they made their appearance above the hill[4], and there took post, ranged in the order that they were to engage, to the number of about seven thousand heavy-infantry, and above ten thousand light troops, of horse one thousand[5], and of peltastæ (or middle-armed) five hundred. The right wing was occupied by the Thebans and their fellows of the same province[6], the centre by the Haliartians, the Coronæans,

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[2] *To attack the Bœotians.*] Literally, "to fall upon the Bœotians." Smith renders, "attack the rear of the Bœotians." But that is more than the words import, or our knowledge of the circumstances will warrant; for why should they not have attacked one of the *flanks?*

[3] *When their dispositions, &c.*] Literally, "when things were in due order."

[4] *Made their appearance above the hill.*] Hobbes and Smith render, "showed themselves from the top of the hill." That sense, however, cannot be admitted, since it is inconsistent with what precedes; in fact, ὑπερέφανησαν signifies little more than, "they suddenly and rapidly advanced to the crown of the hill."

[5] *Of horse one thousand.*] One might have expected *more* than this number, considering how favourable Bœotia was to the breeding of horses, and celebrated for its cavalry.

[6] *Fellows of the same province.*] What is meant by the οἱ ξύμμοροι αὐτοῖς the commentators have been not a little perplexed to explain. Duker has a long note, in which he is of opinion that the expression may mean those who had been presented with citizenship by the Thebans. But then it may be enquired, Why should there be no mention of ξύμμοροι to the *other* districts? Now, from the diligent researches into Grecian antiquities by Mueller and other German scholars, it would seem that Bœotia nominally consisted of ten independent districts, united in one federal union, yet that, in point of fact, the lesser states were each attached to some greater one, of which there were *four;* as at supra, c. 76. we read that Chæronea was attached to Orchomenus; and there would be four of these provinces, it seems, called ξυμμορίαι. It is true that the Thebans claimed a sort of authority over the whole, but they were seldom able to exercise it over more than, perhaps, two neighbouring states." See more in Mueller's Orchomenus, p. 403. referred to by Goeller. Not possessing the work, I know not upon what evidence Mueller rests his assertion that there were four provinces. It should seem that there were

and Copæans, and the rest of those about the lake[7]; the left was occupied by the Thespians, the Tanagræans, and the Archomenians. The cavalry and the light-armed were stationed at either wing. The Thebans were ranged five-and-twenty deep [8], the rest variously, according as it might happen.[9] Such was the plan and arrangement of the Bœotians.

XCIV. As to the Athenians, their heavy infantry were ranged eight deep throughout the whole field [1], being in number not inferior to the enemy. The horse was stationed at either wing. As to light infantry [2], properly equipped,

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at least *six*. The Chæronæans were, we know, ξύμμοροι of the Orchomenians; the Anthedonians, Platæans, and the Parasopii, probably, of the Thebans; and the *Lebadeans* (who, in common with the Anthedonians, are not here mentioned) of the Coronæans. Further than this I would not venture to proceed; but the Tanagræans, Thespians, Copæans, and Haliartians appear to have stood alone, though, from the circumstances which soon followed, it seems that Thebes was exerting itself to hold sway over the Thespians.

7 *The lake.*] Namely, Copais, now called Topolias. Who are meant by the "*others* about the lake," I know not; for the rest around it seem to have been all mentioned.

8 *Five-and-twenty deep.*] It is strange that the commentators should fail to notice the glaring improbability this involves; which, however, struck Mitford, who subjoins, "if we can trust or can understand our copies." Certainly, we *cannot understand* why the Thebans should be ranged twenty-five deep, while the Athenians were only ranged eight. In short, there is, doubtless, a corruption of reading, and I would propose for εἴκοσι to read ἑξ, i. e. in some places five, in others six deep. The mistake might arise from εἴκοσι being written by abbreviation ϟκ, i. e. ἑικ.

9 *As it might happen.*] i. e. as Mitford explains, according to the practice of the several towns, or the opinions of the commanders.

1 *Throughout the whole field.*] Because they were all under the complete command of one general; which the Bœotians, being composed of several almost independent clans, were not. In the same disunited, and, consequently, weak state, *Attica* had formerly been; but that happy union, by which the Athenians were afterwards enabled to act with so much weight in the concerns of disunited Greece, was first brought about by the consummate ability and political skill of Theseus. See supra, l. 2, 15.

2 *As to light infantry, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this perplexed and dark passage, with which the translators have evidently been much puzzled. Nay, even the faint ray of light that had been struck out has been extinguished by the recent editors, who, alleging the authority of MSS., have cancelled the ἐν. The meaning is, that the light infantry, a motley, and, in some degree, unarmed force, might, at that juncture, be said to have been neither in the field nor at home; for, having almost all, a little before, posted off homewards, very few could be collected to take part in the battle. The ἐκ παρασκευῆς imports *regular equipment*. The words οἵπερ γενομένης (though the commentators do not

they were neither then in the field, nor were they in the city (indeed, as to such as had taken part in the irruption, though far more numerous than the enemy, they had followed the army many of them unarmed, inasmuch as there was an universal muster of both citizens and foreigners present); and as they had before pushed off homeward, they were not at hand, except a few. The troops being now drawn up, and the armies [3] about to engage, Hippocrates, their commander, advancing towards [4] the Athenian line, encouraged them in the following address.

XCV. [1] "Athenians, my exhortation to you will, indeed, be brief, but to brave men it will be of equal force with a longer, and, indeed, will serve rather for a reminding than a commanding! [2] Let it not, then, suggest itself to any one of

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perceive it) are parenthetical. Πολλαπλάσιοι (which is *omitted* by Hobbes) is, by Smith, wrongly rendered, "many times more numerous." The thing would be incredible. Besides, the word, though it primarily has that sense, yet seldom means more than *multo* copiosior, &c. See Steph. Thes. and Sturz's Lex. Xen. The very expression occurs in Herod. 7, 48. ὥρμησαν must be taken in a pluperfect sense.*

The ἄοπλοί τε πολλοὶ ἠκολούθησαν is also wrongly rendered by Hobbes and Smith, "most of them had no arms at all." That would be highly improbable. In fact, as there is no article, the sense can only be *many* or *several*. The reason of many being without arms, doubtless, was, that a very short notice had been given, in the orders to take the field, lest the Bœotians should be put on their guard; and, therefore, many would not only be without arms, but could no more meet with any than the virgins in the parable could procure oil. Arms, it must be remembered, were never provided by the government, but always by the individual. The persons thus without arms would, doubtless, chiefly be the Metœci and the foreigners.

[3] *Armies.*] I agree with the Scholiast that we must here subaud ἑκατέρων τῶν στρατῶν.

[4] *Advancing towards.*] In this sense ἐπιπαριέναι is used at l. 7, 76.

[1] The address of Hippocrates is certainly a most pithy, apposite, and soldierlike one.

[2] *Will serve rather for, &c.*] There is much delicacy in the wording of this whole sentence, especially the conclusion. Something very similar to which is found in 2 Pet. 1, 12. "Wherefore I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though ye know them, and be established in the present truth."

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* Mitford has, therefore, greatly misrepresented the sense, by saying, "The Athenian light-armed, whose march, it appears, had been stopped in time, were *more numerous*, but less disciplined and worse appointed; the regular light troops of the republic being mostly on foreign service.

you[3], that we are in a foreign country hazarding a danger that does not concern us: for (be that as it may) in the territory of our enemy will the contest be maintained for our country; and if we gain the victory, never, never will the Peloponnesians again invade you, deprived as they will be of the cavalry of these our foes; but in one battle ye will both acquire *this* country, and effectually free your *own* from future annoyance. Onwards, then, with a spirit worthy both of the state, which each accounting as his country[4], boasts of it as the first in Greece[5], and of your fathers, who conquering these people in battle, under the conduct of Myronides at Œnophyta, became once masters of Bœotia!"

XCVI. Hippocrates thus addressed this exhortation, and had proceeded as far[1] as the middle of the line, but had got no further, when the Bœotians[2] (Pagondas having likewise addressed them with great brevity) shouted out the pæan[3], and rushed down upon them from the hill. The Athenians, on their part, advanced to the charge, and engaged with them at full run.[4] And now the extremities of either line did not come into action, being alike prevented by deep water-gullies[5]

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[3] *Let it not, then, suggest itself to any of you.*] Of this phrase παραστῇ δὲ μηδενὶ, &c. (which is neglected by the commentators), the following illustrations may be not unacceptable: — Dionys. Hal. p. 5, 6. περὶ τῆς πόλεως· παραστῆ φρονεῖν. and 6, 31. ἵνα μὴ τοιαύτη δόξα παραστῇ τισι, κ. τ. λ. Appian 1, 417, 68. μηδὲ τῷ παραστῇ καταγινώσκειν. Dionys. Hal. 1, 163. παραστῆ δὲ μηδενὶ ὑμῶν, κ. τ. λ.

[4] *Which each accounting as his country.*] Hobbes renders, "of his natural city." But that sense is not admitted by the words, which seem to have been used with reference to the Metœci, as well as the citizens; for *they* had Athens *as their* city.

[5] *The first in Greece.*] See l. 2, 41 and 42.

[1] *Proceeded as far, &c.*] It should seem that he addressed his exhortation several times in traversing the line; just as Pagondas addressed his to the battalions separately.

[2] *When the Bœotians, &c.*] Ἐνταῦθα here signifies *by this time, now.* The construction is: καὶ ὡς διὰ ταχέων καὶ Παγώνδου παρακελευσαμένου ἐνταῦθα παιωνίσαντες ἐπῆεσαν.

[3] *Pæan.*] Or hymn sung before any engagement, concluding with the shout, which had formerly constituted the only prelude.

[4] *Advanced, &c.*] According to the usual practice of the age, it being esteemed disadvantageous to remain stationary and receive the onset. (Mitford).

[5] *Water gullies.*] Or water-brooks (as Psalm 41, 2.), or water-courses. So the Schol. ῥεύματα ὑδρηγά. By the aid of this brook (found in the excellent map of Arrowsmith), I would suggest to travellers, it may be easy to

intervening; but the rest of the lines closed in a stout combat, even to pushing of shields [6]; and the left of the Bœotians, and as far as the centre, was defeated by the Athenians, who pressed hard upon [7] the rest in that quarter, and especially the Thespians, who suffered most. For those who were ranged near them having given way before the Athenians, and being surrounded and hemmed up in a small space, those of the Thespians who perished were cut to pieces while bravely standing their ground [8]; nay, even some [9] of the Athenians, thrown into disorder by the evolution of surrounding the enemy, became unknown to one another, and fell by each others' hands. Here, therefore, the line of the Bœotians was worsted, and fell back for refuge upon the part which still maintained its ground. But the right wing, where the Thebans were posted, had the better of the Athenians, and pushing them at first gradually off their ground, followed hard upon them; and on their left being in disorder, it happened that Pagondas, having sent round two squadrons of horse about the hill, and they making their appearance sud-

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discover the site of Delium, which was no more than a mile from thence, and near the sea.

[6] *Pushing of shields.*] So Val. Max. umbonum impulsu. Pausan. 4, 8, 1. ὠθισμῷ χρώμενοι. Procop. 11, 5. ὠθισμῷ χρώμενοι. Arrian E. A. 3, 14, 3. ὠθισμοῖς χρώμενοι. This was usually resorted to in obstinately-maintained engagements (see Lips. de Mil. Rom., referred to by Duker, and Poppo Proleg. p. 2. p. 76.), and for this the shields were not ill-adapted, since the *umbo* or boss was usually drawn out to a point, protruding half a foot from the rest of the shield.

[7] *Pressed hard upon.*] Here I read, from many MSS. with Bekker and Goeller, for the vulg. ἐπῆσαν, ἐπίεσαν. The two words are, indeed, often confounded; yet here ἐπίεσαν is preferable, as being not only supported by superior evidence, but as being more significant and worthy of the author.

[8] *For those who were ranged, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of this obscurely-worded sentence, some of the terms of which may be referred to more than one subject; though the mode of interpretation above adopted seems to be the best founded, and is supported by the most eminent expositors, both antient and modern. Κυκλωθέντων is a vox prægnans, and admits of the double signification having *surrounded and hemmed.*

The historian, however, has not made it quite clear how this disorder befel the Thespians. The circumstances are, with much probability, marked by Mitford as follows: — "With their right wing the Athenians obtained the advantage, so that the extremity of the enemy's left retreated toward their own right. Next in the Bœotian line to the troops which gave way were the Thespians, whose left flank being thus exposed, they were surrounded, and suffered greatly.

[9] *Some.*] Mitford wrongly narrates it of the conquerors in general.

denly, the conquering wing of the Athenians, supposing that another army was coming upon them, were thrown into a panic; and from these united causes, the foregoing circumstance [10], and the impetuosity of the Thebans, who followed hard upon and broke their ranks [11], the whole army of the Athenians took to flight. Some rushed to Delium and the sea coast; others made for Oropus; others again for Mount Parnetha [12], or whichever quarter each might hope to find safety. Night, however, closing upon the slaughter, the body of the fugitives the more easily saved themselves. The day following, both those at Oropus and those at Delium were conveyed back home by sea, after leaving a garrison in the place, which, notwithstanding their defeat, they yet retained.

XCVII. The Bœotians, after erecting a trophy, taking up their own dead for burial, and spoiling [1] those of the enemy,

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[10] *Foregoing circumstance.*] Namely, of their left being taken flank in rear by the two squadrons of horse.

[11] *Broke their ranks.*] Namely, of the wing which had been obliged to give way.

[12] *Parnetha.*] The original form, afterwards altered to Parnethus, as seeming more regular, and thence corrupted to *Parnes*.

This, it might be imagined, would be too far off to be of much service; but it appears by the best recent maps that a spur of the range of Parnes reaches to within three miles of the field of battle. The higher parts of this mountain are exceedingly wild, and tenanted even yet by wolves, bears, and boars.

The circumstance of the two squadrons of horse taking the Athenian right in the rear is mentioned by Herodicus Crat. ap. Athen. p. 215. F. cited by Wasse. From that writer, as also from Plato and Plutarch, it seems certain (notwithstanding the scepticism of Athenæus) that Socrates was present at this battle; though I am inclined to think that on this fact has been erected a superstructure of falsehood; namely, that there Alcibiades saved the life of Socrates, and Socrates that of Xenophon. Strabo has shown that the latter *could* not be true, as Xenophon was, at that time, not old enough to have been in the battle. And the latter is somewhat apocryphal. Nay, Plutarch even says that *Paches* was there; which must have been false, since he had long before slain himself.

The Athenians probably effected their retreat the more easily, as the road to Athens was so excellent and public a one, abounding with accommodations of every kind. So Dicæarchus, p. 11., after saying that it was a day's journey for a light-accoutred walker from Oropus to Athens, subjoins — *ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν καταλυσέων πολυπληθία τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἔχουσαι ἄφθονα καὶ ἀναπαύσεις κωλύει κόπον ἐγγίνεσθαι τοῖς ὁδοιποροῦσιν.*

[1] *Spoiling, &c.*] From the produce of the Athenian spoils the Bœotians (as Diodorus, cited by Wasse, tells us) erected a portico in the agora, and adorned it with brazen statues, probably of the commanders who had dis-

and leaving a guard [2], retired to Tanagra, and took their measures for the storming of Delium. Meanwhile a herald proceeding from the Athenians to request the dead, met a herald from the Bœotians, who turned him back by saying that he would effect nothing until he himself should have returned; and being brought to an audience of the Athenians, he delivered this message from the Bœotians: — "That the Athenians had acted unjustly, having transgressed the common laws and usages [3] of the Greeks, whereby it was customary for all, on any invasion of each other's territories, to abstain from any profanation of the temples therein; whereas the Athenians had fortified the temple of Apollo, and made it an habitation, doing there whatever is done in a profane place; that the water they had drawn for common use [4], which ought not to have been touched even by themselves, except for washing their hands in, previous to the sacred rites.[5] So

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tinguished themselves in the battle. Certainly Pagondas gave eminent proofs of generalship; while Hippocrates seems to have possessed no quality of a commander but personal courage, and a high sense of honour. To have allowed himself to be surprised as he was by the Thebans, whom he had every reason to expect would soon be upon him, was disgraceful in the extreme. Though, indeed, the generals of that early period seem to have been too often deficient in keeping a good look-out, by the use of parties of cavalry and light infantry. No good reason can be imagined why the three hundred horse, before said to have been posted at Delium, should not have made an attack on the Theban rear or left flank. In the almost total absence of any efficient light infantry, and the great deficiency of cavalry, these might have rendered eminent service. As it was, with few cavalry, and fewer light infantry, the Athenians had nothing wherewith to cover their retreat, when overpowered, as they finally were, by the superiority of numbers in the enemy.

By this defeat, as we learn from Xen. 3, 5, 4., the glory of Athens was much humbled, and the courage and bitterness of spirit of the Bœotians towards the Athenians increased.

[2] *A guard.*] Namely, to prevent the enemy from fetching away their dead without treaty, and to guard their own trophy.

[3] *Common laws and usages.*] Which were a sort of common law for Greece at large.

[4] *Drawn for common use.*] Ὑδρεῖσθαι in the middle voice signifies to draw water *for one's use*. Hence *common* is implied.

[5] *Washing their hands, &c.*] Χέρνιψ was the name given to the Pagan *holy water*, which was usually of itself drawn from a sacred spring, and was in addition consecrated for the purification of the participants by having a flaming torch from the fire dipped therein; when all present were sprinkled with it. To the examples adduced by Duker I add Pausan. 1, 34, 3. οὐδὲ ἐπὶ καθαρσίοις ἢ χέρνιβι χρῆσθαι νομίζοντες.

that, both in their own name and that of the gods, the Bœotians, invoking both the dæmons worshipped in common there[6], and Apollo, ordered them to be gone from the temple and clear it of whatever belonged to them."[7]

XCVIII. To this message delivered by the herald, the Athenians replied by their own herald sent to the Bœotians, alleging that they had not been guilty of any thing wrong in regard to the sacred place, nor hereafter would willingly offer any injury to it; for neither had they entered it with any such design, but rather to avenge themselves of those who had injured them.[1] That as to the law of the Greeks, it is that whoever shall hold the dominion of any country, whether it be large or small, theirs also shall be the temples, which are continually to be honoured with such rites, though different from the accustomed ones, as they can bestow.[2] Thus, for example, the Bœotians, and most others, who after expelling[3] any by force, occupy their country, and who, though at first

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[6] *The dæmons worshipped in common there.*] See note on 3, 59. Suidas and Photius say this was a Bœotian expression.

[7] *Clear it of whatever, &c.*] Literally, "to take to themselves (i. e. away) what they had there." The force of the middle voice is here very manifest.

It is truly remarked by Mitford, "that amid the most serious political concerns, with the utmost disregard of all moral obligations, we find such matters of mere religious ceremony often deeply engaging the attention of the Greeks."

[1] *But rather to avenge, &c.*] Here the sense has been strangely misconceived by Smith; and even Hobbes wrongly takes the μᾶλλον with ἀδικοῦντες, though it may be true that the Athenians thought themselves more injured by the Athenians, than they by them. But μᾶλλον must be taken with ἀλλ' ἵνα: and thus the sense will be yet stronger, and imply that the injury was all on the side of the Bœotians.

[2] *To be honoured with, &c.*] Hobbes renders, "and besides the accustomed rites, may superinduce what other they can;" Smith, "which are to be honoured by them with the usual forms, and with what additional ones they may be able to appoint." Such, however, cannot be the sense. That were laying upon *foreigners* the obligation of greater observance to the temples than the inhabitants of the country themselves paid. Besides, this would be the farthest from the present purpose of the Athenians. The sense can be no other than that which I assigned, which is very suitable, and is confirmed by the argument, founded on *necessity*, which it serves to introduce.

[3] *The Bœotians, and most others, who expelling, &c.*] This seems to allude to their occupation of Bœotia, formerly called Cadmeis (see l. 1, 12.), as being a forcible one, and effected by the conquest and expulsion of the old inhabitants.

seizing temples belonging to others, now possess them as their own[4]; and that if they (i. e. the Athenians) should be able to conquer *more* of their land, that they would hold. For the present, as to the part wherein they now are, they would not, with their good-will[5], depart from it, as being their own; and as to making use of[6] the water, they had only done it from necessity, wherein *they* (i. e. the Athenians) had not applied it to an improper use, but the *other party*, who, by first invading their country, had compelled them to use it in avenging themselves of their enemies.[7] That it was also reasonable to suppose that whatever was compulsory in war, or other dire calamity, was regarded as a venial offence even by the god[8]: since for involuntary offences the altars are a refuge[9], and violation of law is imputed only to those who offend without necessity; not to such as are somewhat daring from the pressure of calamity.[10] That the *Bœotians*, who

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[4] *Who though at first, &c.*] Such is clearly the sense, which is misconceived by Hobbes and Smith.

[5] *With their good-will.*] It is strange that Hobbes and Smith should have both been ignorant of the force of the not uncommon phrase ἑκὼν εἶναι, which occurs also at l. 2, 89. and l. 7. 87., as also in Plato and most of the Attic writers, as also Herodotus.

[6] *Making use of.*] Literally, "*meddling with*;" for κινεῖν often signifies, in a general way, to lay hands on what is not one's own, or to put it to a use not intended.

[7] *They had only done it, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of this obscure passage, which has been but imperfectly comprehended by the translators. The version above adopted is required by the antithesis between αὐτοὶ (for αὐτοὺς) and ἐκείνους. The ἦν is for καθ' ἥν. In ὕδρει προσθέσθαι the ὕδ. is for ἐφ' ὕδρει, and that for ἐφ' ὕδριν. And προσθέσθαι, by the force of the middle voice, signifies to apply to one's use. Finally, βιάζεσθαι is to be taken, as often, in an active sense; and ἀμυνόμενοι is for ἀμυνομένους.

[8] *That whatever was compulsory, &c.*] The "even by the god" has reference to the opinion of *men*, among whom the maxim is, as in l. 3, 40. ξύγγνομον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἀκούσιον. which is imitated by Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 47. 32. And here may be compared Phil. Jud. p. 46. εἴ γε τὰ ἀκούσια καὶ τὰ κατ' ἀγνοίαν οὐδὲ ἀδικημάτων λόγον ἔχειν, φᾶσί τινες. and 311. E. ἀληθέστατον ἔκεινο, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀκούσια τῶν ἀδικημάτων, καὶ ἐπιμήκιστα ὄντα, ἀνυπαίτια καὶ καθαρά. Aristot. Rhet. p. 70. ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι τὸ ὑπὸ ἑκόντων τὰ ἄδικα πάσχειν. τὸ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν ὥρισται πρότερον, ἑκούσιον εἶναι. See also Aristot. Eth. p. 237. fin. Soph. Trach. 729. Eurip. Heracl. 976. See also Boissonade on Nicetas l. 9, 9. and my note on St. Luke 12, 47.

[9] *For involuntary offences the altars are a refuge.*] Nay, it should seem that there was no occasion to take refuge at the altars, for even human laws did not punish involuntary offences. So Plato Apol. Socr. p. 60. εἰ δὲ ἄκων διαφθείρω (τοὺς νέους) τῶν τοιούτων καὶ ἀκουσίων ἁμαρτημάτων οὐ δεῦρο νόμος εἰσαγεῖν ἐστιν.

[10] *Violation of law is imputed, &c.*] Literally, "is called such, obtains its

require a restitution of temples, by way of barter for the bodies of the dead, were far more irreligious than those who do not wish to obtain what is unfit to be denied them, at the price of[11] temples. In short, they bid him openly demand that they might take away their dead, not under the condition of departing from the Bœotian country (for that they were not now in their territory, but in that which they had gained by the sword), but, agreeably to the customs of their ancestors, by asking a treaty for that purpose.[12]

XCIX. To this the Bœotians replied, by ordering them, if they were in Bœotia, to[1] take away their baggage, and be

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name, is affirmed of. There is a similar use of ἐπονομάζεσθαι in Plato Phœd., cited by Matth. Gr. Gr. p. 302.

[11] *At the price of.*] Or *for.* Ἱεροῖς is rightly considered by Goeller as an ablative. The passage has been well explained by the Scholiast, who clearly read μὴ, which the recent editors have rightly inserted.

[12] *In short, they bid him openly demand, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of this obscure passage, σαφῶς τε ἐκέλευον — ἀναιρεῖσθαι, which Hobbes renders thus: "And they bade him say plainly, that 'they would not depart out of the Bœotian territory, for that they were not now in it, but in the territory which they had made their own by the sword; and nevertheless required truce according to the ordinances of the country, for the fetching away of the dead.'" The same version, somewhat polished, is given by Smith. And so, indeed, Portus took the passage. But though that sense be plausible, it cannot be shown to be inherent in the words. *Preferable* to the foregoing is Hack's interpretation of the words; but it fails in properly representing the σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, of which the sense that commentator assigns is frigid and inapposite. The most successful attempt to interpret this obscurely-worded sentence is that of Goeller, who takes it to mean:—"jubebant Bœotos sibi aperte permittere, ut tollerent mortuos non abeuntibus sive non cum conditione abeundi, sed fœdere icto." This mode of interpretation is quite agreeable to the context; yet I cannot but object to the sense *jubebant permittere*, which seems harsh. All that seems necessary is to supply ὥστε and σφᾶς (from σφισι) at ἀναιρεῖσθαι.

[1] *If they were in Bœotia, to, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the only sense which this very obscurely-expressed passage will admit. This, however, is not satisfactory, since the words "but if in their own" are not suitable to the words following. It is not clear whether they refer to the *corpses*, or the *men at Delium*. Hobbes adopts the *former* view, as does Mitford, who paraphrases thus: "They said that if Oropia, the district in which the battle was fought and Delium stood, was a Bœotian territory, the Athenians ought to quit what was not theirs, and then their dead should be restored; but if it was an Athenian territory, to ask permission of others for any thing to be done there was superfluous." The words of the original, however, do not admit such a sense. The true meaning of the passage, which is very imperfectly expressed by translators, is, I conceive, represented by Bredow, in the following paraphrase. "Quodsi in Bœotia versari nobis videmini, pactum inter nos componamus, ut vobiscum, quod

gone from the territory; but if in their own land ———, that they (i. e. the Athenians) best know what ought to be done. This they said, accounting Oropia, in which it happened that the dead (the battle being on the borders) then lay, to be the Athenians' by right of subjection, and knowing that they could not fetch them off by force. Neither, indeed, would they make (as they pretended) a treaty for their dead. They thought, too, that the reply for them "to be gone from their land, and receive back what they took," was a very fair and seemly one. With these words the Athenian herald returned, without having effected his purpose.

C. And now the Bœotians, having sent for some darters and slingers from the Melian gulf[1], and two thousand Corinthian heavy infantry, and the Peloponnesian garrison which had evacuated Nisæa, and some Megaræans having arrived after the battle and come to their assistance, they immediately marched against Delium, and made assaults on the fortification; and after attempting it in vain by other methods[2], they at length

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vultis auferatis, dummodo terris nostris excedatis; sin locus, ubi jacent mortui, ditionis est vestræ, agite, si valetis, eos auferte. Quo significare voluerunt, Oropiam quidem, in qua cæsi jacebant, ditionis esse Atticæ; non tamen fore, ut Athenienses (*αὐτοὺς*) se invitis (*βίᾳ σφῶν*) suorum cadaveribus (*αὐτῶν*) potiantur. Bœotii enim custodiam mortuis apposuerunt." It is plain, however, that *εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων* cannot admit the sense above assigned, which yet seems to be demanded by the words following. I cannot, therefore, but suspect that two or three words have slipped out of the text after *ἐκείνων*, namely, *οἱ νεκροί εἰσιν*. The omission may be supposed to have arisen from the homœoteleuton between *εἶνων* and *εἰσίν*.

Finally, the following general illustration of the scope of the whole passage, by Goeller, may not be unacceptable. "Nimirum cupiebant Athenienses Delio cedere. Quod ut assequerentur, non faciemus, inquierunt, inducias, ex quibus nobis ex agro vestro abeundum erit, traditis vestrorum cadaveribus, dum nostro vos insidebitis; sic enim pro vestro agro in damnum nostri inducias facturi essemus."

There may, indeed, still appear some difficulty in the words, but, considering the situation of the Bœotians, this is not surprising. Sophistry and subterfuge (to which they resorted, to escape the imputation of transgressing an acknowledged duty) are necessarily involved in obscurity.

[1] *Darters and slingers.*] A sort of force for which the Bœotians were not famous, while for such the Locrians were especially distinguished.

[2] *Attempting it in vain, &c.*] We learn from the details of sieges remaining from Thucydides, that the Greeks of his age were not only very deficient in the art of attacking fortifications, but that their mechanics were defective, to a degree that we could not readily suppose of those who had carried the arts of masonry and sculpture so high. Fortunate for the people of the

brought to bear upon it an engine (by which it was at length taken) of the following construction. After sawing asunder [3] a large sail-yard, they hollowed out the whole, and fitting it again carefully together, they formed it into a tube, and at the tip end of it they slung by chains a caldron, and an iron blow-pipe from the sail-yard was bent down like a bellows pipe into it [4], and was armed with iron plating for a considerable distance down the rest of the wood-work. They brought it up to the wall from a distance on wains [5], and especially where that was composed of vine-tree wood and stakes; and when it was near, they introduced many great puffs of a bellows to the end of the sail-yard next them. The blast passing under cover [6] through the tube into the caldron,

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age, in the inefficacy of governments to give security to their subjects, that it was so, and that thus those who could find subsistence within a fortification might generally withstand an assault. (Mitford).

[3] *Sawing asunder, &c.*] Not, "*splitting*," as Hobbes renders. The expedient was resorted to for want of instruments for boring.

This passage is imitated by Dionys. Hal. Ant. 265. *βακτηρίαν ξυλίνην — διατρήσας ὅλην ὥσπερ αὐλον.* Polyæn. 6, 17. *πίθον κατασκευάσαντες ἴσον τῷ ὀρύγματι, τρήσαντες αὐτοῦ τὸν πυθμένα, σιδηροῦν αὐλίσκον διέντες, πτίλων πληρώσαντες λεπτῶν, πῦρ ὀλίγον ἐμβαλόντες, πῶμα πλῆρες πρισμάτων ἐπιθέντες, νεύσαντες πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, &c.*

A similar machine, Wasse observes, is described by Apollodorus in his Poliorc. p. 21. Æneæ Tact. 33 and 34. and Julian Afr. c. 44. To which writers may be added Herodian 84, 26. There is little doubt but that those were imitated from the one here described.

[4] *An iron blow-pipe, &c.*] The word *ἀκροφύσιον* is very rare, and, I believe, only occurs elsewhere in Dio Cass. 1337, 8. and Hesych. *ἀκροφύσια. τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ἀσκῶν ἐν οἷς οἱ χαλκεῖς τὸ πῦρ ἐκφυσῶσιν.* where I would cancel the *ἐν*, which seems to have arisen from the *ὧν* preceding. As to the *φῦσα*, vestiges of the use of the antient and *primitive bellows* even yet remain. Dr. Clarke, in his Travels, p. 2. sect. 3. p. 592., mentions the Walachian *gysy goldwashers* as using "a bellows made by fixing an iron air-pipe into the skin of the neck of an animal, by fastening wooden handles to that part of it which covered the feet." Captain Tuckey, in his Travels into Africa, 177., says, "we perceived a blacksmith at work; his bellows was composed of two skin bags." And Captain Lyon, in his Travels into Africa, p. 48. "there is an iron pipe, to which are attached two skins which open at the upper end by means of two sticks having a small leather handle on each: the thumb is passed through one of these, and the fingers through the other; so that the hand easily opens and shuts the skin: the mouth being closed, the skin is pressed down, and throws a strong blast through the pipe."

[5] *On wains.*] Several, it seems, being joined together, and drawn by several horses; for want, it may be supposed, of those long *drays* by which, with us, the largest trees are removed.

[6] *Under cover.*] Not "*secretly*," as Smith renders. The Scholiast well explains the expression *διὰ στεγανοῦ σώματος.*

which had red-hot coals, pitch, and tar, roused a vast flame, and communicated fire to the wall, so that not a man could any longer remain [7], but leaving it, they all took to flight; and in this manner the fort was carried. Of the garrison some were slain, and two hundred were made prisoners. Most of the rest, contriving to get on board the ships [8], were conveyed home.

CI. Thus was Delium taken on the seventeenth day after the battle [1]; and soon after the herald from Athens (though ignorant of the transaction) going again to demand the dead bodies, the Bœotians gave them up, and no longer returned the same answer.[2] In the battle were slain, of the Bœotians, somewhat less than five hundred, of the Athenians, little less than one thousand, together with Hippocrates, their commander; of light-armed and baggage bearers a considerable number fell.[3] No long time after this battle, Demos-

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[7] *So that no, &c.*] This only offers a reason for their abandoning that part of the wall whereto the engine was applied, but not the *rest* of it. Now in a very similar case at Platæa (see l. 2, 77.) the besieged did *not* abandon the rest of the wall, and, consequently, the place was not taken. In the present instance, however, the garrison abandoned the rest of the works, not from fear of the fire, but from knowing that the effect of the fire would, if they were ever so resolute in defending the *rest* of the wall, lay it open to the enemy in the part opposite to the engine, and thus the place would be no longer tenable. Mitford, therefore, is wrong in relating that "during the confusion thus created, the besiegers, choosing their moment for assault, carried the place." It is clear that the garrison deliberately consulted their safety by abandoning the place before any assault was made, otherwise more must have been slain and made prisoners. That a considerable number effected their escape is evident.

[8] *The ships.*] By the use of the article it should seem that an Athenian fleet was off the coast to afford what help it could to the besieged, though no effectual assistance was practicable, as Delium was plainly not on the coast, though but little removed from it.

[1] *On the seventeenth day after the battle.*] Had we not been told, we should never have supposed that so long a period had been consumed in drawing the forces together to Delium, and making the attempts adverted to in the words προσέβαλον τῷ τειχίσματι, ἄλλῳ τε τρόπῳ πειράσαντες (which include both open *assault* and *machination* of every kind).

[2] *No longer returned the same answer.*] Because, having attained the end for which they had resorted to such miserable evasion, they had no reason any longer to incur the guilt and odium of impiety.

[3] *Of the Athenians little less than, &c.*] Smith has here the following excellent note:—"The Athenians received in truth a terrible blow on this occasion. The Bœotians, a people heavy and stupid to a proverb, continued ever after the terror of the Athenians, the politest and most en-

thenes, as on his sailing thither the affair of the delivering up of Siphæ had not succeeded, having on board the ships the army [prepared for that project] of Acarnanians, Agræans [4], and Athenians, consisting of four hundred heavy-armed [5], made a descent on Sicyonia; but before all the ships could come to land, the Sicyonians, assembling for defence, put to flight those who had landed [6], and chased them to the ships, slaying some, and taking prisoners others; and having erected a trophy, they gave up the dead under truce. About the same period with the events at Delium died Sitalces, king of the Odrysæ, who had undertaken an expedition against the Triballi, and was defeated in battle; and Seuthes son of Sparadocus, his nephew by the brother's side, succeeded him in the kingdom of the Odrysians and such of the rest of Thrace as had been subject to him.[7]

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lightened people upon earth. Nay, that gross and stupid people had, this day, well nigh completed the destruction of all that was pre-eminently wise and good at this time upon earth, and done an irreparable mischief to sound reason and good sense for ever after. Upon the whole, brutal strength and mere bodily merit were never so near getting a total conquest over all the light and understanding which human nature hath to boast of, that did not come directly down from heaven." I have suppressed his stories about Socrates and Alcibiades, and Socrates and Xenophon, because the latter *must* be false, and the former is somewhat apocryphal.

I cannot omit to notice a difficulty which seems connected with the great number said to have fallen of light-armed. Now we were before told that there were few such on the field. It may, however, be supposed that the loss of the light-armed in question was almost wholly in the pursuit. For as the battle was of short duration, and the light troops had not long proceeded in their way, the Bœotian horse (which would, doubtless, be despatched in pursuit) would soon overtake them, and cut them down.

[4] *Agræans.*] Thus it appears that the expedition against Salynthius and the Agræans, mentioned at c. 77., had succeeded in bringing that prince over to the Athenian confederacy.

[5] *Four hundred heavy-armed.*] A number smaller than we should have expected from the πολλοὺς mentioned in the above passage. But the Acarnanians had never been very zealous in cooperating by foreign service with the Athenians, since Demosthenes disappointed them in a project to go on his Ætolian expedition. And we may suppose that there were also on board a considerable number of light-armed. One thing may seem strange, that the Messenians of Naupactus are not mentioned as taking any part in the expedition. But, probably, all their disposable force had been sent to Pylus.

[6] *Those who had landed.*] Probably, the four hundred before mentioned, who were, however, it should seem, to be supported by some sailors drafted from the crews.

[7] *Kingdom of the Odrysians, &c.*] The historian is thus circumstantial,

CII. This same winter, Brasidas, in conjunction with the allies in Thrace, undertook an expedition against Amphipolis, the colony[1] of the Athenians on the river Strymon. This place (namely, where the city now is situated) Aristagoras, when he fled from king Darius, had attempted to colonize, but was beaten off and driven away by the Edonians; and thirty-two years[2] after this the Athenians made another attempt, sending out one thousand of their own people, and such others as chose to take part in the colony. These, too, were destroyed by the Thracians at Drabiscus.[3] On the twenty-ninth year after, the Athenians again went thither, and driving out the Edonians, settled this very place (Agnon son of Nicias being leader of the colony), which was called Nineways.[4] They made their approaches from Eion

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in order to show that there was a diminution in the extent of the kingdom of Odrysæ, at the death of Sitalces, which, all things considered, might have been expected.

[1] *The colony.*] The article has here the force called the usus κατ' ἐξοχήν, implying *notoriety*. See Dr. Middlet. on the Gr. Art. p. 47 and 48.

[2] *Thirty-two years.*] See Dodwell's Annales Thucyd.

[3] *Drabiscus.*] On this town* see the note of Wasse and Duker on I. 1, 100. Its site is thought to correspond to the present *Drama* (see Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. 4.), and thus it would be about eighteen or twenty miles N. E. of Amphipolis, and nine or ten west of Philippi. Indeed, the antient name seems to be partly preserved in *Drama;* for it was probably pronounced by the Thracians Δραμισκὸς, β and μ being often interchanged (see Maittaire's Gr. Dial. edit. Sturz.), and the termination being (as usual in after ages) thrown off, almost the very word remains.

On the subject of the disaster in question, Pausanias (in Atticis) says, that the attack was very sudden and unexpected, and that the remnant, after their return, endeavoured to excuse their defeat, by alleging that the army was struck with lightning.

[4] *Settled this, &c.*] See note on I, 100. Some interesting information as to the *mode* by which this third attempt, under Agnon, was successful, the historians might have collected from Polyæn. 6, 53. p. 599., who relates that, on being about to make the attempt with Agnon, the Athenians sent to consult the oracle, which told them that it was fated for them not to succeed before they should bring the Ῥήσου καλάμην from Troy, and deposit it in its parent earth. But that *then* they should accomplish the thing with glory. Agnon was, it seems, acute enough to see that by

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* Wasse and Cellarius, indeed, take it to have been a *field* or *place*, not a town. But in this they are certainly mistaken. It is truly observed by Duker, that it is called a *city* in the Epitome of Strabo, and in Steph. Byz. MSS. Vat., and that such may be inferred from what Appian says of the site of Philippi, where he speaks of a *field* (namely that of the celebrated battle) on the west, as far as Myrcinus and Drabiscus.

(which they held as a commercial mart), at the mouth of the river, and twenty-five stadia from the present city, which Agnon called *Amphipolis*, because, by his encircling it, taking the site off with a long wall from river to river (the Strymon flowing about it on both sides [5]), he so formed it as to be conspicuous both to the landward and to the seaward.

καλάμη, *straw*, was meant (by a beautiful allusion to the body compared with the soul, as the straw to the grain) the *body* of Rhesus. Accordingly he sent persons, who dug up the bones, and enclosing them in a purple robe, brought them to the Strymon, where the barbarians opposing their passage up the river to the place he had pitched on, Agnon contrived to get rid of them by making a truce for three days; and in the course of the succeeding night passed the Strymon, and interred the bones by the river side, on the spot he intended. This done, he cut off and took in a piece of ground, fencing it in by moonlight, not working by day, to escape observation, and avoid (such is the miserable sophistry of superstition) breaking his faith. Thus the whole fortification, we are told, was raised in three nights.

While we censure the craft and bad faith shown in this overreaching procedure, we cannot but notice the adroitness displayed by Agnon in thus contriving, by the aid of superstition, to infuse that courage into the new colonists, without which they probably would not have stood their ground. It is not improbable that the whole, even including the oracle, was a concerted scheme, got up by Agnon and others, to serve a temporary purpose. The *place* selected by Agnon for this inclosure and fortification was, I have no doubt, the angle formed by the river Strymon, there branching out into two. Such a situation was (for an obvious reason) studiously selected by the antients, both Greeks and Romans, and by our Saxon ancestors. Of this numerous examples might be adduced. Thus the names *Confluentes* (or Coblentz), and in our own country *Horncastle* and *Cirencester*. The Saxons called such a place a *cirn*, or *horn*. That this was the site of Amphipolis, is plain from what Thucydides just afterwards says, and from our knowledge of the site of that place, which is now called Eski Kaleh, or *the old castle*.

[5] *Because by his encircling, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of this perplexing passage. The construction is: ὅτι, διὰ τὸ ἀπολαβὼν τείχει μακρῷ ἐκ ποταμοῦ ἐς ποταμὸν, περιέχειν αὐτὴν (ἐπ' ἀμφότερα περιῤῥέοντος του Σ.) ᾤκισε περιφανῆ ἐς θάλασσάν τε καὶ τὴν ἤπειρον. Hence the position of the place is clear; though it is very imperfectly laid down in the best maps. It was situated about two miles from Eion and the mouth of the Strymon, where the river makes a sort of delta, and *there* it would be visible on all sides and round about (ἀμφί).

It is proper to observe, that in the term περιῤῥέοντος we are not too rigidly to interpret the περὶ (which I mention, because it deceived Dr. Clarke). The word is elsewhere used of a city not quite surrounded by water. This use of περιῤῥέω is found in Xen. Anab. 1, 5, 4. Thiem. πόλις περιεῤῥεῖτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Μ. Herodian 8, 2, 16. ποταμός τε περιῤῥεῖ τὸ τεῖχος. Joseph. 5, 40. ποταμοῦ πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς γῆς περιῤῥέοντος. and 827, 24. ἐστι δὲ Ν. πόλις κατὰ τὸν ὠτὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιῤῥοῦν. Indeed, Scymnus Chius speaks in this very manner of Amphipolis, v. 649. Εἶτ' Ἀμφιπόλις, Στρυμὼν δὲ περὶ ταύτην μέγας Ποταμὸς παῤῥαρεῖ, where read περιῤῥει.

CIII. Towards this city, then, Brasidas (moving from Arnæ[1], in the Chalcidæan territory,) proceeded with his army; and about dusk reached Aulon [2], and then Bromiscus [3], where the lake Bolbe disembogues itself into the sea, and taking an early supper, he marched forward by night. The weather was wintry and some snow falling; wherefore he used the more speed[4], being desirous to escape the observation of those in Amphipolis, except such as were to deliver up the place [5]: for of the inhabitants some were Argilians [6] (who are colonists from the Andrians), and others who cooperated in the project, persuaded partly by Perdiccas, and partly by the Chalcidæans [7], but especially by the Argilians, who, dwelling

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This, Mitford remarks, "was the most important place held by the Athenians in Thrace. It lay upon a noble river, which it commanded, and whose banks, with the neighbouring hills, bore a growth scarcely exhaustible of excellent ship-timber. The country around was a rich plain, and the environing mountains had mines of silver and gold: the port of Eion, at the mouth of the river, was but an appendage, yet a valuable appendage of Amphipolis."

[1] *Arnæ.*] The situation of this town (the name of which is sometimes written in the singular) has not yet been determined with any approach to exactness. The name signifies sheep or lambs. So Hesych. ἀρνὰς, πρόβατα. We may compare our names Sheppey, Shepton, &c. &c.

[2] *Aulon.*] There can be little doubt but that this town was situated in a sort of *narrow*, between a chain of hills which crossed the Chalcidean territory from east to west, and the lake of Bolbe, with its outlet into the sea. It might be thought that it was not a town, but merely a place; and the use of the article favours this supposition. And so, indeed, it was taken by Athenæus (as cited by Duker): but a passage of Gallen, referred to by Ortelius ap. Duker, seems to prove that it was a city or town, doubtless so called from its situation. See, however, Gatterus ap. Poppo Proleg. 2, 3, 35., who is decidedly of opinion that it was not a town, but only a place; and he thinks Aulon is the same with the Sileus campus by which Xerxes passed (Herod. 7, 115).

[3] *Bromiscus.*] This was somewhere near the present Bagashan. The lake Bolbe is now called the Beshek.

[4] *Wherefore he used the more speed.*] Not that he might arrive before the bad weather should prevent his purpose, but (as it is added) thinking that he might thereby have the better chance of escaping the observation of the Athenians.

[5] *Such as were, &c.*] Those had been corresponding with him, and had agreed so to do.

[6] *Argilians.*] These, as Mitford observes, had been always disaffected to Athens.

[7] *Others who cooperated in, &c.*] Amphipolis was already populous and flourishing; but the inhabitants were a mixed multitude from various Grecian cities; some connected by blood, or by habit and intercourse, with the revolted Chalcideans; some, by interest, with the king of Macedonia. (Mitford).

near Amphipolis (being ever suspected by the Athenians, and really plotting the downfall of the place, when opportunity offered itself and Brasidas came [8]), had long before [9] contrived with such of their countrymen as dwelt there how the city might be delivered up. These, then, readily received him into the town, and revolting from the Athenians that very night, they conducted [10] his army before break of day to the bridge of the Strymon. Now the city was at some distance from the crossing, and there were not (as now) walls carried down thereto [11], but only a slight guard of troops was posted there; which Brasidas easily forcing, partly by treachery, and partly by reason of the storm and the unexpectedness of his attack, crossed the bridge, and immediately had in his power all the property outside of the city belonging to the Amphipolitans, who dwell up and down the country.[12]

CIV. The passage being to those in the city thus sudden, and those without being many of them taken, and

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[8] *Came.*] Namely, into Thrace.

[9] *Long before.*] i. e. comparatively long, but not before they had reason to expect the Lacedæmonians in Thrace.

[10] *Conducted.*] Literally, "set down." This sense of καθίστημι has before occurred, c. 78.

Argilus is supposed to have occupied nearly the same site as the present Rondino.

[11] *There were not (as now) walls, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of the passage, which has been misunderstood by the translators, and of the commentators alone discerned by Bauer, who renders: "non demissi muri erant ad flumen vel mare brachio;" aptly citing Livy, l. 24, *brachio* muri *demisso* junctam. scil. partem Syracusarum. To which I add Virg. Æn. 3, 535. gemino *demittunt brachia* muro Turriti scopuli. And, what is most to the point, Thucydides himself, l. 5, 52. τείχη καθεῖναι ἐς θάλασσαν. The term καθεῖναι is a vox signata de hac re. So Diod. Sic. l. 2, 8. t. 2, p. 27. εἰς βυθὸν καθίσασα τοὺς κίονας.

With respect to the thing itself, it should seem that the bridge was secured by two walls, commencing at the city (distant about a mile and a half), and terminating at the bridge, where was, doubtless, a *tête du pont* and tower. Now this expedient secured the communication of the place with the sea; for, if the enemy seized the *bridge*, which was below the place, vessels could not pass by to reach it.

[12] *The country.*] By this is, I conceive, meant, the district bounded by the two branches of the Strymon and the sea, and which may be called the *Delta* of the Strymon. Now this (which was about four or five miles long and three broad, formed the proper *district of the city*, and, from its comparative security, was, no doubt, thickly set with hamlets and scattered houses.

some seeking refuge within the wall [1], the Amphipolitans were thrown into great disorder, especially as being objects of suspicion [2] to one another; insomuch that Brasidas, it is said, had he not chosen to allow his army to fall to plunder, but had immediately marched against the city, might, to all appearance, have taken it.[3] But as it was, he posted his army [4], and made incursions upon the property without the city, and when nothing as regarded those within happened according to his expectations, he kept quiet.[5] Indeed, the contrary party to the traitors, being so superior in number as to prevent the gates from being immediately opened, sent, conjointly with Eucles the general, who was there from the Athenians in charge of the place, to the other commander in

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[1] *The wall.*] The singular is used because, in fact, the city had, from its situation, properly but *one* wall, namely, where it fronted the Delta.

[2] *Objects of suspicion.*] Namely, as being a mixed race, part Athenians, part Chalcideans, and others, Thracians and Macedonians; thus having no confidence in each other, for in Greece the ties of country, and especially *race*, were very strong.

[3] *Brasidas, it is said, had he, &c.*] Mitford here ventures to affirm what Thucydides himself only reports as what was *said* by others, being himself too cautious and judicious to offer any opinion. Surely, with the scanty and motley force he commanded, it would have been imprudent in Brasidas to have ventured on attacking a city of so much consequence, strong both by nature and art, especially as he must have left a strong force at the bridge, to secure his retreat to the Argilian territory, should he fail in his attempt. For he might reasonably calculate that the Athenians would otherwise cut off his retreat by the naval armament; and, therefore, this would have been a very unmilitary procedure. Besides, he might hope to produce the effect he desired by working on the self-interest of the Amphilochians, all of whose valuable property, outside of the city, he had in his power. And, as this motive had so completely succeeded at Acanthus, he might very well expect that it should be effectual at Amphipolis; especially since there were, as at Acanthus, a party to set this selfish principle at work, and foment it; and that he depended upon their machinations appears from what follows. It is probable, too, that had Brasidas even wished it, he could not have restrained his Macedonian and Chalcidean allies from falling to plunder. And this, indeed, Mitford allows. Nay, these were the very persons who, at c. 112. fin., are described as being the mob of irregulars, and who, on Brasidas's making an attempt to enter Torone, did not cooperate with the regular troops, but dispersed themselves in various directions for plunder.

[4] *Posted his army.*] It is not said *where*, but we may imagine it was at the *bridge*, since he must either do this, or else leave a strong body behind for that purpose; and certainly the former measure would be preferable. Here then, it seems, his heavy infantry were posted, and the incursions just afterwards mentioned were made by the light infantry and irregulars.

[5] *Kept quiet.*] i. e. did not attempt any assault upon the place.

Thrace, Thucydides son of Olorus (the writer of this history), who was about Thasos (which island is a colony of the Parians [6], distant from Amphipolis about half a day's sail), requiring him to come to their assistance. On receiving this intelligence, he hastily set sail with seven ships which chanced to be at hand; meaning, if possible, in time to secure Amphipolis, or, at least, to pre-occupy Eion.

CV. Meanwhile, Brasidas, fearing the approach of the reinforcement from the ships at Thasus, and learning that Thucydides had the property of the gold mines [1] in that part of Thrace, and from that circumstance possessed a powerful interest with the principal persons of that part of the continent, hastened, if possible to seize the city before he should reach it; lest, on his arrival, the common people [2] of the Amphipolitans, expecting that he would raise a force to assist them, both from the navy and from Thrace, should refuse to capitulate. To this end, too, he offered them moderate conditions of surrender, by making this proclamation: — That "whoever of the Amphipolitans and Athenians within the place should choose, might remain there in the possession of his property, and in the participation of equal civil rights and privileges with the rest; but that whoever should be unwilling to do so might depart, taking with him his property, within five days." [3]

CVI. On hearing this, the greater part of the people began

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[6] *Colony of the Parians.*] Pausanias, indeed, says l. 5, 25., that the inhabitants were of Phœnician extraction, from Tyre and other parts of Thrace. Which may, perhaps, be true of the *early* inhabitants; for the island was, doubtless, peopled before the Parians sent a colony thither. See Bochart's Geogr. Sacr. p. 424. et seq.

[1] *Gold mines.*] These were, we may presume, situated at Mount Pangæus. From them, or others thereabout, Philip chiefly derived those funds which enabled him to conquer Greece.

[2] *Common people.*] This is injudiciously omitted by Smith, since it shows that it was the *common people* who (as usual) supported the Athenian interest (see l. 3, 47.); while the persons who held correspondence with Brasidas were, doubtless, of the higher class, and of aristocratical principles. And as theirs was chiefly the property outside of the city, Brasidas might be sure that they would do their utmost to bring the city to surrender.

[3] *Depart, taking, &c. within five days.*] i. e. so that they did it in five days; for the words πέντε ἡμερῶν contain a *condition*. On this shrewd policy see Polyæn. Strat. 1, 38.

to be somewhat altered [1] in their sentiments, especially as small was the proportion of *Athenians* resident in the place, the inhabitants being mostly a mixed population, and a considerable number of them relatives of those who had been taken prisoners outside of the place.[2] Listening to the suggestions of fear, they regarded the proposals offered in the proclamation as just and reasonable; the *Athenians*, because they would be very glad to get away, as conceiving the danger which threatened them to be greater than what hung over the rest [3], and, moreover, not expecting any speedy assistance. The *rest*, and the great bulk of the people, readily acquiesced, alike [4] as being not deprived of their city [5], and as being unexpectedly freed from the danger: so that those who had held correspondence with Brasidas, seeing even the multitude changed in sentiment, and no longer obedient to the Athenian commander present, were now even openly dilating on the fairness [6] of the proposals, a capitulation was agreed to, and the terms offered by the proclamation were accepted. In this manner the city was surrendered [7], when, on the evening

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1 *Somewhat altered.*] The *comparative* force in ἀλλοιότεροι is here not to be attended to. This, it may be observed, is a very significant term, and the phrase is imitated by Zosim. 1, 12, 3. τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἀλλοιότερος ἦν. where the force of the term is not perceived by Heyne.

2 *Relatives of those, &c.*] These had, doubtless, been seized, to serve as a kind of hostages for the rest. And the cruel usages of war in antient times, which authorised taking the life even of those not found in arms, might warrant such a procedure.

3 *As conceiving the danger, &c.*] They had supposed their persons, their properties, and their families, in the most imminent danger of the worst that could befall them; and the terms were incomparably more favourable than, from the common practice and policy of Grecian commanders, was to be expected. (Mitford).

At οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ εἶναι subaud μέρει or the like. The literal sense is, " were on an equal footing."

4 *Alike.*] Ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ is for ἴσως.

5 *Deprived of their city.*] They might, perhaps, suppose that the Lacedæmonians would adopt the not unusual, though cruel, course of expelling the population, and sending colonists of their own people thither.

6 *Dilating on the fairness, &c.*] The διὰ in διαδικαιόω (a rare word, not easily to be met with out of Thucydides, except in Dio Cass.) seems to denote doing any thing thoroughly, or at length.

7 *In this manner the city was surrendered.*] It is well observed by Mitford, " that to the loss of that city from the Athenian dominion, we seem principally to owe our best information concerning the history of the times

of the very same day, Thucydides and the ships came to land at Eion; and now Brasidas was already in possession of Amphipolis, and was within a night[8] of seizing Eion: for unless their ships had arrived so speedily to its aid, the place would by the *morning* have been occupied.

CVII. After this, Thucydides formed such dispositions at Eion as might render it secure both for the *present* (should Brasidas attack it), and for the *future*; receiving[1] also such as were disposed to come over from the upper town, agreeably to the conditions of the treaty. Brasidas, however, suddenly passing down the river to Eion, with many boats, to try if he could seize the tongue of land which juts out from the wall, and thereby be master of the entrance of the river, also made assaults on the place by land, but was in both attempts beaten back and disappointed. However, he set himself to put affairs at Amphipolis in the best posture; and now Myrcinus[2] revolted to him, a city of Edonia (Pittacus, king

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with which we are engaged, and almost our only means for any accurate acquaintance with the Grecian republics, in that period in which their history is most interesting."

"For this failure Thucydides was deprived of his command, and banished from Attica for twenty years." Yet, notwithstanding the ill-usage he experienced from his countrymen, he has preserved the most dignified temper and moderation, merely in the fifth Book accidentally adverting to the fact, by way of accounting for the information which, by his banishment, he was enabled to procure respecting the Peloponnesians. It is truly observed by Mitford, "that irritated more than instructed by misfortune, the Athenian people vented against their best friends that revenge which they knew not how to vent against their enemies."

[8] *Within a night.*] This sense of παρὰ is remarkable. See l. 3, 49. fin.

[1] *Receiving.*] This term implies all that accommodation and assistance which persons removing their property in the short space of five days would require.

By the use of ἄνωθεν it is plain that Eion was, in some respects, regarded as forming part of Amphipolis, as Piræus of Athens; being, indeed, little more than half that distance.

Here Bekker and Goeller rightly read, from most of the MSS., ἐπιχωρῆσαι. Yet as the signification in question is very rare, the following example may be acceptable: — Arrian E. A. l. 2, 11, 13. ἐπὶ τὴν σκήνην ἐπεχώρει, accessit vel incessit.

[2] *Myrcinus.*] A city situated at a very short distance north of Amphipolis, where the river Strymon runs into the lake Cercinitis. What were then the boundaries of Edonia is very uncertain. It seems that this territory was under regal government, and that the king had been in the

of the Edonians, having been about this time slain by the sons of Goaxis, and his own wife Braures); and not long after Galepsus [3] and Œsume [4] (which are colonies of the Thasians) did the same. And immediately after the capture

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interest of Athens; but at his death, things falling into confusion, Myrcinus, one of the principal towns, went over to the Lacedæmonian confederacy.

[3] *Galepsus.*] Or Gapselus. There are few points more difficult than to determine the true spelling of this name. Now there are many authorities for Gapselus. And to those adduced by the editors for Galepsus, may be added Scylax, Plutarch Æmil. c. 23., Hesych., Steph. Byz., Etym. Mag. 219, 45., Suid. Harpocrat., and Zonaras. It is true that of the authorities on either side there are few which have not the other spelling as a var. lect. Such, however, is not the case with the lexicographers, who can have read nothing but *Galepsus*. Besides Eupolis, referred to by Hesych., has a jest on the term, from which it plainly appears that he read Galepsus, which is also supported by *analogy;* for no Greek word ends in ψηλος, except ὑψηλὸς and ὑπνηλὸς, both derivatives; whereas there are several words which end in ηψος and αψος, though they seldom occur, and are somewhat barbarous. The name Galepsus may have originally been given to the city, from the multitude of weasels or martins there found; or as, according to Hesychius, it was the name of an herb, the town might be thence called from the abundance of that herb, as in the case of Acanthus. Of *Gapselus*, on the other hand, no account can be given. Galepsus, then, I must maintain to be the true spelling; though as metathesis was not unfrequent in Greek words, and especially proper names, it is not improbable that the place was *sometimes* called Gapselus even in the time of Thucydides.

I would observe that the Galepsus mentioned in Herod. 7, 122. is plainly another town of the same name, since it is placed in the peninsula of Sithonia, and near Torone. That there should have been two places of the same name, and situated at scarcely seventy miles from each other, is remarkable, but not unprecedented. Thus it appears from l. 4, 65. that there were two places of the name of Morgantini in Sicily, scarcely forty miles apart. In the present case, however, there would be no confusion, since one place was in Macedonia, and the other in Thrace.

The site of Galepsus is now called Eski Cavalla.

[4] *Æsume.*] There has been no little doubt as to the orthography of this name, which, from its being that of a very obscure and rarely-mentioned town, has been corrupted by the scribes. The reading of two good MSS. ἡ Σύμη, is somewhat countenanced by Scylax, who has ἡ Σύθη, and Diodorus; but the common one is defended by Ptolemy, Pliny, Steph. Byz., Suidas, and Harpocration; and in Diodor. the οι has been absorbed by the αι preceding; an error which Palmer and Wesseling on that writer both acknowledge. Besides, it may be observed that the article is here contrary to rule (see Bp. Middleton on the Greek article). Scylax, indeed, has Σισύμη, but there the O was, doubtless, confounded with the C. Moreover, the common reading is confirmed by the *ratio appellationis.* For the name is plainly derived from the adjective οἴσυμος, and that from οἶσος, *the osier*, q. d. *osiery.* So ἥδυμος from ἧδος, and ἕλυμος (a sort of plant, in Cambridgeshire, called *keck*), from ἕλος; also σκόλυμος, the thistle, from σκῶλος, a prickle or thorn.

of Amphipolis [5], Perdiccas came up [6], and cooperated in measures for establishing and securing the place.

CVIII. Amphipolis being thus in the possession of the enemy, the Athenians were thrown into great alarm, especially as the city was very serviceable to them, both for the furnishing of wood for ship-building [1], and by the payment of evenue, and because, though there had been a passage (by means of the conveyance of the Thessalians) to the Lacedæmonians against their allies, as far as the Strymon, yet if they had not got possession of the *bridge* (the river above for a considerable distance spreading into a large lake [2], and the parts about Eion being guarded by the triremes), they could have proceeded no further. But *now* the passage was supposed to have become easy, and they feared lest their confederates should revolt: for Brasidas, as well in other respects, showed much moderation, and in his words he every where declared that he was sent thither for the liberation of Greece; and the cities subject to the Athenians hearing of the capture of Amphipolis, and what Brasidas engaged to do, and his mildness, felt a strong impulse to change sides, and sent mes-

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[5] *Capture of Amphipolis.*] So, with Portus, Smith, and Gail, I understand μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν, though Hobbes takes the words of *Myrcinus* and *Œsume;* but improperly, since those places were not *taken*, but revolted to the Athenians, as Hobbes himself remarks. Besides, the words ξυγκαθίστη ταῦτα require the above interpretation; for ταῦτα refers to the words τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἐξηρτύετο.

[6] *Perdiccas came up.*] Perdiccas, a prince of much policy and little honour, forgetting his resentment, was desirous of profiting from his connection with such an ally as Brasidas, and condescended to visit him for the purpose of concerting measures for prosecuting the common interest of the confederacy. (Mitford).

[1] *Wood for ship-building.*] By the aid of which Brasidas (as we are told) was meditating to create a fleet on the Strymon. Almost as bold a project as that of Buonaparte to create a navy able to cope with that of England.

[2] *The river above, &c.*] Here the sense is somewhat uncertain. Goeller renders: "quod a superiore pontis parte palus erat longe propter flumen porrecta;" though the words *may*, he says, be rendered, with Portus and Heilman (joining λίμνης τοῦ ποταμοῦ), "quod superne longa palus sive stagnum erat fluminis sive flumen longo spatio stagnabat." But the former mode seems preferable, and is, I believe, supported by facts; for it is not likely that the Strymon should, of itself, form a lake nearly ten miles long, and from two to four broad. It should rather seem that the Strymon runs through it, like the Rhone through the lake of Geneva, to omit many other examples.

sages to him secretly, desiring him to come to them, and each wishing to be the first to revolt; for it seemed to them that they might do it fearlessly; *so far*, indeed, deceived in their estimate of the power of the Athenians compared with that it afterwards showed itself, but still more as judging by uncertain wish rather than by sure forecast; accustomed as men are, in respect to what they *desire*, to indulge inconsiderate hope, but what they *like not*, to put aside with an arbitrary and overbearing kind of reasoning.[3] The Athenians, too, being recently beaten by the Bœotians, and Brasidas using language which was rather attractive than true — as that at Nisæa the Athenians had declined to engage with his army alone — they took confidence, and felt persuaded that not a man of those would venture to advance against them; but chiefly because of the present pleasure which they took in the thing[4], and because they should now experience the Lacedæmonians, for the first time, zealously ardent in the cause[5], they were ready to meet danger in every form. Perceiving this, the Athenians sent out[6] detachments of garrison-troops among the cities as speedily as the shortness of the time and the season of the year (which was winter) would permit. Brasidas, on his part, sent to Lacedæmon, desiring that they would send him an additional force, and of himself

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[3] *Accustomed as men are, &c.*] This sentence is, as the Scholiast observes, exegetical of the preceding. The expression *αὐτοκρατορι λογισμῷ διωθεῖσθαι* has infinite spirit, and yet philosophical accuracy, as having reference to the supreme judge Reason, not acting with the impartiality of a Clarendon or an Eldon, but like a corrupt and domineeringly unjust one, such as a Jefferies.

[4] *Because of the, &c.*] As being a new thing, and since all men naturally long after liberty.

[5] *Because they should now, &c.*] Such is clearly the sense, and not that expressed by Smith. The Lacedæmonians had certainly been hitherto very sluggish, and it seems that their courage was like that of some *individuals*, who do not begin to have any relish for fight till the combat is half over, and then become really formidable.

[6] *Sent out.*] This sense of *ἐφίεσθαι* is rare. In fact, the word properly signifies to give in charge as a commission. So Hom. Il. 23, 82. *ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω καὶ ἐφήσομαι, αἴκε πίθηαι*: the term has reference to the persons who were to deliver the message, or, if it were a letter, to further explain the subject of its contents. This is sufficiently apparent from l. 6, 10. init. *ἥκοντες ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Νικίου, ὅσα τε ἀπὸ γλωσσης εἴρητο αὐτοῖς, εἶπον, καὶ, εἴ τις τι ἠρώτα, ἀπεκρίνοντο· καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπέδοσαν.* And if such was the custom with *Athenians*, how much more would it be with *Lacedæmonians*, the brevity of whose epistles was proverbial.

set about making preparations for the building of triremes in the Strymon. The Lacedæmonians, however, partly through envy conceived by the principal persons, and partly through a desire rather to recover the men taken at the island, and put an end to the war, did not second his wishes.[7]

CIX. This same winter, the Megaræans having taken the long walls formerly belonging to them, which the Athenians had occupied, razed them from the very foundation.[1] And now, after the capture of Amphipolis, Brasidas undertakes an expedition against what is called the *Acte*[2], which is a tract jutting out into the sea from the king's ditch[3], whereby it is

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[7] *Did not second his wishes.*] Not, as Hobbes and Smith render, "refused to furnish (or supply) him," by which version even Mitford has been deceived. The term ὑπηρέτησαν does not import so much; nor is such a sense consistent with facts; for after some delay, the Lacedæmonians sent him a small reinforcement. Though by this delay, and their doling out assistance as they did, they certainly neither met his wishes nor furthered his views; nor was it their intention so to do; and that (as Thucydides remarks) from envy. "Talents so superior," to use the words of Mitford, "in a man not of royal race, not qualified by age for superiority, and distinguished only by his spirit of enterprise, his daring courage, his indefatigable activity, his uncommon prudence, his noble liberality, his amiable temper, and those engaging manners which conciliated the affection of all with whom he conversed, excited envy and apprehension among the cautious elderhood of Sparta."

[1] *Having taken, &c.*] This was a well judged measure, since they were of no use except to the Athenians; for, as we learn from c. 71., the Athenians had broken off the ends of the walls which joined to the city walls of Megara. *They*, no doubt, then, or soon afterwards, built a cross wall at the end where it was broken off. But as the whole of these walls would be so extensive as not to be defensible without a very considerable force, it is no wonder that the Megaræans should have at length taken.

[2] *Acte.*] The commentators suppose both this tract and that of Attica to have been so called from the great proportion of sea-coast. And it may be added that such was the antient name of Peloponnesus, (see Appian t. 2. 661. et seq.), Trœzene and Epidaurus (see Anon. ap. Phot. 5, 90., Scymnus Chius v. 522. and hence may be understood Plut. Demetr. 25.), Saphygia (see Pausan. 2, 26.), Africa (Herod. l. 4, 4. and 38. 9, 177.), Zanchi in Sicily (Diod. Sic. 3, 240.). Numerous errors, from inattention to this use, have been committed, some of them I shall notice in my edition.

Are we, however, to suppose that all those places were really so called from abounding in *sea-coast?* I think not. The word ἄκτη seems to come from ἄγω, and to denote what is *drawn out* to somewhat of a wedge-like form, or, in a general way, a *projection* or promontory: which will apply to all its various uses. Such a situation our ancestors used to call a Cirn, *Corn*, or *Horn*. So *Cornwall*.

[3] *The king's ditch.*] The celebrated canal cut by Xerxes in order to conduct his fleet, without having to double the promontory of Athos. It

cut off from the continent, and Athos, a lofty mountain thereof, terminates in the Ægean sea.[4] Of cities it had Sane[5], a colony of the Andrians on that very ditch, and fronting the sea towards Eubœa; as also Thyssus[6], Cleonæ[7], Acrothoi[8], Olophyxus[9], and Dium[10], which are inhabited by mixed nations of Barbarians, who speak both languages.[11] There is

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is yet to be traced in its whole length, and is thus described by Mr. Walpole, Memoirs, p. 224. "We soon came to the sput of the Isthmus, now called Problakas where Xerxes is said to have cut a canal for his fleet of galleys. This is about a mile and a quarter long, and twenty-five yards across; a measurement not very different from that given by Herodotus of twelve stadia."

[4] *Terminates in the Ægean sea.*] Or, "is its termination to the Ægean sea;" which is really the case. So Herod. 1, 174, 15. Κνιδίη χώρη ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον τελευτᾷ. Livy 44, 11. Eminet namque in altum lingua, in qua sita est: nec minus quam in altum magnitudine. Atho mons, excurrit, obversa in regionem Magnesiæ duobus imparibus promontoriis; quorum majori Posideam est nomen, minori Canastræum.

[5] *Sane.*] Now called Problakas Uranopolis. It should be placed, in the maps, not at the middle of the neck of land, but on the sea-coast of the Singiticus Sinus.

The name is in some MSS. written *Same*. But the common reading is defended by Herod. 7, 22. and other authors referred to by Wasse, this, indeed, is supported by the ratio appellationis: for it seems derived from Σάνη, cognate with Σανίς, *a door;* and may be compared with Thyrea, Thyreum, &c.

[6] *Thyssus.*] At the extremity of the peninsula near the promontory of Nymphæum.

[7] *Cleonæ.*] Of the same name with, and probably called from a city in Argolis. It faced the Sinus Singiticus.

[8] *Acrothoi.*] There is great reason to think that Ἀκραθώους, as conjectured by Palmer and Salmasius, is the true reading; since it was situated near Mount Athos.

[9] *Olophyxus.*] By Scylax, Strabo, and others called Olophyxis. But Olophyxus is defended by all the MSS. and by Herodotus.

This town fronted the Sinus Strymonicus. The name has, perhaps, some reference to an early notion either of the coast or the people being dangerous.

[10] *Dium.*] There were many places of this name (which signifies *divine*, or, as was perhaps intended, *hallowed*). It was bestowed from the same motive as that by which the Roman Catholics have given to so many places the names of saints.

This town also fronted the Sinus Strymonicus, and was situated on the tongue of land projecting into the sea. It is now called Scolo.

All these cities, or rather towns, were on the sea coast: a great number for so small a tract, only about thirty miles in length, and seven miles in breadth. Their names show them to have been Athenian colonies.

[11] *Both languages.*] Namely, Greek and Thracian. δίγλωσσος has here the sense of the Latin *bilinguis*. And Thucydides 8, 85. has πρεσβύτην δίγλωσσον. So Arrian E. A. 3, 6, 7. ὅτι δίγλωσσος ἦν ἐς τὰ βάρβαρα γράμματα. Polyæn. 7, 14, 3. ἐπιστήσας ἑρμήνεας διγλώσσους. Diod. Sic. t. 5. 211, 14. where for δίπλωττοι read δίγλωττοι. All, however, that seems

also some [12] small portion of Chalcidaic race, but the greater part of the population is Pelasgic [13] (of those Tyrrhene tribes that once inhabited Lemnos and Athens), Bisaltian, Crestonian, and Edonian. They dwell in small towns, of which most yielded to Brasidas, but Sane and Dium resisted [14]; wherefore he continued there with his army, and devastated their territory.

CX. Since, however, they would not hearken to terms of surrender, he immediately led his army against Torone [1], in the Chalcidic territory, occupied by the Athenians. Indeed some few persons [2] of the place had invited

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here meant is, that the people in question spoke with their own language a little broken Greek, or that both languages were in use. In this respect they were something like the people of the country districts of Amphilochia, mentioned at l. 2, 68.

[12] *There is also some.*] This passage is almost copied by Dions. H. Ant. p. 20, 7. ἔνι δέ τι καὶ Καλκιδικόν, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Πελασγικόν, τὸν καὶ Λῆμνον πότε καὶ Ἀθήνας οἰκησάντων Τυῤῥηνῶν.

[13] *Pelasgic.*] See note on 2, 17., in addition to which, further information may be gathered from an instructive article in the new edition of Lempriere's dictionary, by the learned Mr. Barker.

[14] *But Sane and Dium resisted.*] The very places which might be expected to hold out; for Sane was a pure Greek colony, and, perhaps, Dium was at least strongly situated, and favourably for receiving assistance from Athens.

[1] *Torone.*] The name of this place is derived by Steph. Byz. from the name of a certain hero. A usual cloak for ignorance. It should rather seem to be for *Taurone*, and to have been given from the fancied resemblance of the promontory near which it is situated, to a bull's head. Many, indeed, are the capes, rocks, and small islands to which this name is given in *modern* geography, of which nine are mentioned in the Edinburgh Gazetteer. That such a word did formerly exist as τόρος for ταῦρος, is clear from the Latin *torvus*, which, notwithstanding what Vossius and Lennep think is *rightly* derived by Festus from *taurus*. In fact, torvus is τορϝος, which exactly suits all its uses; whereas the notion *torquendi*, from which Vossius deduces it, suits *none*. And, as to the proof he appeals to, from the Gloss Vett. torvum, λοξόν, there the true reading is clearly *tortum*. Hesych. also says that Τοροωνς was a word used by the Tarentines. Τορώνη, then, was formed from τορος, as κορώνη from κόρος, i. e. κέρας, *a horn*; κολώνη, from κόλος and καύλος; κροτώνη from κρότος; and many other names. Now Τορωνη, I conceive, signifies the head of an axe, or mallet. So Hesych. explains τόρος, εἰς ὃ ὁ στελεὸς ἐμβάλλεται, namely, the stock of an axe, into which the steel is fixed; so called, doubtless, from its fancied resemblance to a bull's head; as κορώνη and κορόνη, *a club*, to that of a *horn*.

[2] *Some few persons.*] Hobbes renders, "*the* few;" but there is no article; and, from what follows, it would seem that so strong was the democratic interest there, that there was not a sufficient number of the opposite sentiments to form a *party*.

him thither, who were ready to deliver the place up to him. Coming thither while it was yet night, and about the first dawn of day[3], he took post at the temple of the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) which is distant from the city about three stadia. Thus escaping the observation of the other citizens of Torone, and the Athenians in garrison there, they took to them[4] seven light troops, armed with short swords[5] (for only that number out of twenty who were at first appointed to the service, dared venture, and these[6] were commanded by Lysistratus, an Olynthian), and secretly making their way over[7] the wall to the seaward, they went and surprised the

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3 *While it was, &c.*] The time usually chosen for attacks. In the British army troops campaigning are always under arms some time before daybreak.

Here, it may be observed, the sense has been misconceived by Portus and Smith, as if he "arrived when it was night, and sat down when it was break of day." Which is not probable, nor will the second καὶ admit such a sense.

4 *Took to them.*] ἐσκομίζουσι is ill rendered by Hobbes and Smith, *took in, introduced into the place;* for, from what follows, it plainly appears that they did not then introduce them into the place, but took them with them in the attempt they were about to make. So that ἐσκομίζουσι παρ' αὐτοὺς (for such, and not αὐτοὺς, should be read) is equivalent to the kindred expression παραλαμβάνει μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἑπτὰ ἕτερα πνεύματα, in the New Testament, where the words μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ were not necessary to the sense. Thus at Matt. 2, 13. we have παρέλαβε τὸ παιδίον καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ. And, indeed, the words are omitted in the parallel passage of St. Luke, whose Greek is more classical than St. Matthew's.

5 *Short swords.*] Not "daggers," as Smith and Hobbes render; for these ἐγχειρίδια (or hand swords) were not such, but short stout swords, very well adapted for fighting at close quarters, and, therefore (as well as because they admitted of being concealed under the arm-pit), selected for secret and daring enterprises such as this. Thus the foremost party of the Platæans, who escaped from the city (see l. 3. 22.), consisted of twelve light-armed, with short swords, ξὺν ξιφιδίῳ.

The townsmen, it seems, had gone forth in the day, and hidden themselves till night.

6 *And these.*] Literally, "*who,*" meaning both the light-armed and the townsmen; though that is harsh.

7 *Secretly making their way over.*] Such is the sense of διαδύντες διὰ, which term would, indeed, seem more applicable to *getting through any orifice;* but they seem to have got over at some fracture in the wall, which (as we afterwards learn) was in a ruinous state, and then rebuilding.

There ought to be a comma, not after λαθόντες, but after τείχους (though such is not found in the editions of Bekker and Goeller). The whole, however, cannot be perfectly comprehended without some better knowledge than we possess, of the plan of the town.

guard on the highest watch-tower (for the city is on a hill), and putting them to the sword, proceeded to burst open the postern towards the Canastræum.[8]

CXI. Meanwhile Brasidas, with the rest of the army, kept quiet, gradually proceeding, but sent forward a hundred targeteers or middle-armed, in order that, when any of the gates should be opened, and the signal which had been agreed on, be raised, they might rush in first. They, after some time intervening, wondering at the delay, had by degrees advanced close up to the city. Meanwhile the Toronæans within having made all preparation[1] with those who had entered, as soon as the postern was broken open, and the gate leading up to the market-place was opened by cutting through the bar[2], they first brought round, and introduced some of them at the postern[3], in order that thus bringing them in both behind and on either side[4], they might suddenly affright the citizens, who knew nothing of the matter; then they raised the appointed signal of fire[5], and now introduced the rest of the targeteers by the gate leading to the market-place.

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[8] *Canastræum.*] The promontory which terminates the peninsula of Pellene, so graphically described by Livy, 44, 11., above cited. On this promontory see Cellar. and the learned note of Wasse. It seems, I would observe, to have derived its name from the sea shells abounding on its shore. Thus Hesych. explains *κάναστρον* by *ὄστρακον*. And the adjective *κανασταῖος* occurs in the Anthologia Græca. The name will, then, mean Shelly Cape. So Shelly, Shell Island, Shell Key, Shelford, and many other places in modern geography, which may be seen in the Edinburgh Gazetteer.

[1] *Having made all preparation.*] Namely, "by surprising and putting the guard to the sword." It had required (it seems) some time to compass this, as their own force was to be collected, and they to proceed very slowly and silently to surprise the guard.

[2] *Bar.*] On the *μόχλος* see the note on l. 2, 4. No. 11.

[3] *Postern.*] The *πύλις* is here evidently distinguished from the *πύλαι*, as the postern and the gate, like *θυρὶς* and *θύραι*. So Onosand. p. 118, 3. *παρὰ ταὶς πύλαις καὶ πυλίσι μικραῖς*. and 125. *ὑποβάντες γὰρ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, ἢ πύλιδα διέκοψαν, ἢ πύλην ἀνέωξαν*.

[4] *Both behind and on either side.*] This may mean both behind and before, on both sides; for as only *two* points of admission are mentioned, what is written cannot strictly be defended. From what is said we may infer that the gate leading to the market was exactly opposite to the postern, the former fronting the land, the latter the sea.

[5] *Signal of fire.*] It is said the *appointed* signal of fire, because almost all the Grecian signals were of fire. See l. 3, 22.

CXII. And now Brasidas, on seeing the signal, roused up his army, and led them at full run, shouting out all at once [1] and thereby striking an extreme alarm into the citizens. Some of the men immediately burst in at the gates, others got over the wall by some squared beams [2], which happened to be laid against the wall (then fallen and rebuilding) for the raising of stones. Thence Brasidas and the bulk of the forces [3] immediately bent their course to the higher parts of the city, intending to take it completely and thoroughly; the rest, a motley crowd [4] dispersed itself alike through every quarter.

CXIII. At the capture of the city, the bulk of the Toronæans, ignorant of what was in agitation, was in much confusion; while the conspirators, and their abettors or favourers, immediately ranged themselves with those that had entered. As to the Athenians (who to the number of fifty heavy infantry, happened to be sleeping [5] in the market-place) perceiving what had happened, they betook themselves to flight, and some few fell on the spot; of the rest some effected their escape, partly by land, and partly by means of two triremes

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[1] *Shouting out all at once.*] This was usually done, as well as beating the spears and swords on the shields, to strike terror into an enemy. Here, surely, there was no occasion for Poppo to have resorted to conjectural emendation.

[2] *Squared beams.*] Not, "*timber trees,*" as Hobbes renders; "*nor machines,*" as Smith; though there is no doubt but that these beams were used in some of those mechanical contrivances for raising great weights, in which the antients, even of the very early times, far excelled us of the present day. The same expression occurs in Plutarch Agath. Lacon. *οἰκίαν τετραγώνοις ὡροφωμένην δοκοῖς.* and Vit. Anton. 66, 1. *τετραγώνων ξύλων.* Genes. 6, 14. *ποίησον κιβωτὸν ἐκ ξύλων τετραγώνων.*

[3] *The bulk of the forces.*] Not, "tota multitudo," as Portus renders; for this sense the *ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος* forbids. The chief and compact part of the force seems meant.

[4] *Crowd.*] Namely, of irregulars, Macedonians and Thracians who had joined the army in the hope of plunder, and, no doubt, were here intent on nothing else. The same, it may be supposed, that are mentioned at c. 104. as betaking themselves to plunder, after having crossed the bridge of the Strymon.

[5] *Sleeping.*] Not, "*asleep,*" as Hobbes and Smith render. The term only means "couched for rest," as at Acts 12, 6. *ἦν ὁ Πέτρος κοιμώμενος μεταξὺ δύο στρατιωτῶν.* It seems that they had posted themselves in the market-place, to be ready to give assistance whenever it might be requisite; and some few kept guard, while others were couched for sleep. See l. 3, 112.

which lay off at anchor, to the citadel called Lecythus [6], which the Athenians held, and which occupied a height above the city [7] to the seaward, of which the site was cut off from the continent at a narrow isthmus.[8] Thither also took refuge such of the Toronæans as were well-affected to the Athenians.

CXIV. It being now broad day [1], and the city completely occupied, Brasidas makes a public proclamation to the Toronæans[2], who had taken refuge with the Athenians, that whoever chose might return to his property in the city, and

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[6] *Lecythus.*] This fort was, I suspect, so called from the *slope* of the hill on which it was built, as bearing some rude resemblance to an oil flask. So Olpe or Olpa, l. 3, 105 and 6.

[7] *A height above the city.*] Forming a natural acropolis or arx.

[8] *Which occupied, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of this imperfectly expressed and perplexed sentence, which has been misconceived by the translators and Gattarerus, but better understood by Poppo Proleg. 2, 368. thus: "quod tenebant ipsi, occupata extrema urbis (Toronæ) parte, quæ in angusto isthmo in mare (porrecta, et ab reliqua urbe) intercepta erat." Hence this fort appears to be wrongly placed in all the maps which contain it at all. Its site must be at some high promontory very near to where Torone was situated; and as that place occupied the present Toron, Lecythus should be placed at a cape about a mile S. S. E. of it But, in fact, the present Torone occupies the promontory in question; which induced D'Anville and others to place Torone there, and Lecythus N. N. W. of it; certainly an error, as being directly at variance with Thucydides. If the two are made to change places, all will be right. However, Lecythus was evidently quite close to Torone, so that that city seems to have occupied the lower part of that promontorial projection, and Lecythus the crown of it, though separated a little from it, as the rock of Gibraltar from the Spanish coast.

[1] *It being now broad day.*] As may easily be supposed, for a great deal of business had been done; and this compels us to interpret the expression supra, c. 110. νυκτὸς ἔτι καὶ περὶ ὄρθρον of a time further removed from day-light that it would of itself seem to denote; especially as it appears from what follows that there was some delay in the first part of the proceedings. This will serve to show the latitude with which words were used by the antients, and the caution required in the interpretation of their writings, including the Holy Scriptures, which highly partake of the same character.

[2] *Makes a public proclamation, &c.*] i. e. sends a public message to. It is wrongly rendered by some "sends a message by herald:" for that were applicable to the Athenians as enemies; and of them it is immediately after added τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κήρυκα πρόσπεμπει, which shows the difference of the phrases. By sending this public message to the Toronæans, he affected to consider them as not enemies. For to *such* no herald was necessary. So 1, 146. ἐμεμίγνυντο — ἀκηρύκτως μὲν, ἀνυπόπτως δὲ οὐ. So also 1, 53. ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας — ἄνευ κηρυκείου προσπέμψαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. on both which passages see the Schol.

enjoy all civil rights there in security. To the Athenians he sends a herald, bidding them evacuate[3] Lecythus under truce, taking their moveables, as the place belonged to the Chalcidæans. They, however, said that they were not willing to abandon the place, but required that a day's truce might be granted them to remove the dead for burial. He granted them a *two* days' truce[4], during which he himself fortified the neighbouring houses[5], and the Athenians strengthened their defences. Brasidas, too, convoking an assembly of the Toronæans[6], addressed them in similar terms to what he had before done to the Acanthians: — "That it was neither just that those who had negociated with him for the occupation of the city should be therefore thought worse of, or regarded as traitors (not having done it with a view to enslave their country, nor acted from corrupt motives, but rather for its good, and for its freedom), nor that they who had not participated in it, should fancy they were not to reap the same good of it. He was not come, he said, to destroy either the city or any individual therein. That he had made the proclamation he had done to those who had taken refuge with the Athenians, as thinking no worse of them for their attachment to them; ≠ and that if they now felt fear, it was only from want of experience. All of these, too, he earnestly exhorted to prepare to show themselves firm and faithful allies, inasmuch as they would henceforward be held answerable for whatever they might do amiss. As to their former actions (he said) the Lacedæmonians did not hold themselves aggrieved, nay, rather they (i. e. the Toronæans) had been the sufferers[7], at the hands of

≠ a clause omitted here. See Bloomfield's text.

[3] *Bidding them evacuate.*] An authorative summons to surrender, so couched as to imply an offer of their lives and property.

[4] *Granted them a two days' truce.*] A generosity, no doubt, gratifying to the benevolence of his own disposition, and yet perfectly politic, as calculated to conciliate the Toronæans.

[5] *Fortified the neighbouring houses.*] Of this there is another example at 4, 69. καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι τοῦ προαστείου ἐπάλξεις λαμβάνουσαι αὐταὶ ὑπῆχον ἔρυμα. And so infra 115. init. ἠμύναντό τε ἐκ φαύλου τειχίσματος καὶ ἀπ' οἰκιῶν ἐπάλξεις ἐχουσῶν.

[6] *The Toronæans.*] i. e. those who had remained in Torone.

[7] *As to their former actions, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of this difficult passage, which has been *best* understood by Hack.

others their superiors in power. And that if they had, in any respect, shown opposition, it was excusable."

CXV. Having thus spoken, and sustained their sinking spirits, he, on the expiration of the truce, made assaults on Lecythus.[1] These the Athenians withstood from a paltry fortification[2], and from some houses that had battlements[3]; and for one day, indeed, they repelled the attacks, but on the following, when there was about to be brought to bear against them by the enemy an engine from which fire was to be emitted upon the wooden parapets; and when their army was now advancing where they judged they could best bring up the engine and the place was most approachable, the besieged, on their part, fixed up a wooden tower on a building, and conveyed upon it a great number of casks and buckets of water, as also large stones, and many persons had mounted on it. The building, however, receiving a greater weight than it could bear, suddenly broke down; and a great crash ensuing, those, indeed, that were near and saw it (of the Athenians) were rather grieved than terrified[4], while such as were afar off, and especially those at the greatest distance, supposing

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[1] *Made assaults on Lecythus.*] The democratical party remained true to their engagements; "which (Mitford remarks) deserves notice, considering the great scarcity of any enlarged patriotism among the Greeks, as an instance of the firmness with which they often adhered to party principle."

[2] *Paltry fortification.*] From what is added; namely, that the line of fortification was partly made up of houses, and from the name given further on, ξύλινα παραφράγματα, it should seem that this was not a *fort*, but only a strong wood and earth breast-work or rampart across the neck of the peninsula before mentioned, which, from its materials, was a fit subject for the same engine (for such it seems to have been) as was employed on a previous occasion.

The other parts of the rocky peninsula to seaward were, it seems, unapproachable; and thus they had only to defend the entrance. Such was the case with the island of Sphacteria.

[3] *Had battlements.*] It is not probable that the houses had them originally. They had, it should seem, been embattled lately, for further defence to Lecythus. Thus at 4, 69. it is said: αἱ οἰκίαι ἐπάλξεις λαμβάνουσαι ὑπῆρχον ἔρυμα. And this, it may be observed, is a strong proof how near Lecythus was to Torone, forming, indeed, part of the same city; so that the houses adjoining were fortified by the two parties respectively.

[4] *Rather grieved than terrified.*] Hence we may infer the steady courage of the garrison.

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the place to be carried in that quarter, rushed in flight to the sea and the ships.

CXVI. On perceiving that they were leaving the battlements, and seeing what had happened, Brasidas made an attack with his army, and immediately carried the place, putting to the sword such as were found therein. And so the Athenians, having thus abandoned the place, took their passage, partly by boats, and partly by the two ships, to Pallene.[1] Now there was at Lecythus a temple of Minerva[2]; and it chanced that Brasidas, when he was about to assault the place, had proclaimed a reward of thirty minæ of silver to him who should first mount the wall. Conceiving, however, that the place had been taken by other than human means, he paid the thirty minæ to the goddess for the use of the temple; and after destroying Lecythus, and forming it into a τέμενος[3], or sacred close, he consecrated the whole to the

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The description of this fall may be compared with that of Virgil. Æn. 9, 540. "tum pondere turris Procubuit subito, et cœlum tonat omne fragore."

[1] *Pallene.*] On this I have treated at l. 1. Here, however, I must observe that Wasse is wrong in saying that *all* authors from Herodotus to Cantacuzene use the ΛΛ. The single Λ is found in Procop. de Ædif. p. 36, 36. (which passage, indeed, informs us of the *ratio appellationis*).

[2] *At Lecythus a temple.*] As may very well be imagined, since temples were usually built on promontories and other lofty situations.

[3] *Forming it into a τέμενος.*] With the ἀνασκεύασας here the commentators have been not a little perplexed. It is by the Scholiast, Valla, and Portus, taken to mean *rebuilding*. Acacius, Hudson, and Duker, however, not seeing any reason why the castle should be destroyed, and rebuilt previous to its being given up to the goddess, render it *destroyed*. But thus there is a frigid pleonasm. A third interpretation is proposed by Heilman, Kistemacher, and Goeller, who take it to mean "removing the rubbish;" which is preferable to the preceding, and such I for many years myself adopted, and have brought forward in my Recensio Synoptica, on Acts 15, 24. where I have proved that the signification may have place. But I am now inclined to abandon this sense, as somewhat harsh. After all, the antient interpretation (adopted by Abresch, Bauer, and Levesque), with a certain modification, seems to be the true one. It is to take the term as equivalent to *refecit*, not, however, as applied to a *castle*, but a place sacred to the goddess. And here I would observe that as to a *castle*, which the commentators speak of, Lecynthus was not such. The only fortification connected with it seems to have been a strong earth and wood breastwork drawn across the neck of the peninsula, something like the strong post at the island of Sphacteria. Thus there would not be much rubbish to remove. The τέμενος being a close, or piece of ground, it might, indeed, seem that ἀνασκεύασας were not very applicable; but as such places

temple. The rest of the winter he spent in settling and providing for the security of the places which he already held, and in laying plans for the seizure of others. Thus with the end of winter terminated the eighth year of the war.

Jan. 15. 1853.

YEAR IX. B. C. 423.

CXVII. At the commencement of the spring of the following summer, the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made a suspension of arms [1] for a year; having thought with themselves, the *Athenians*, that [2] Brasidas would thus no longer draw over any more of their allies to revolt, before they should have made all preparations, at their leisure, and that *then*, if it seemed expedient, they could treat for a longer period [3]; the *Lacedæmonians*, as supposing that the Athenians, fearing what they did, and tasting the sweets of a respite from misery and trouble, would be still more desirous to come to reconciliation, and, restoring them the prisoners, to form a treaty for a longer time: for they were the more anxious to recover the men while Brasidas yet continued successful; since, should his successes increase [4], and things be put on an

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were always surrounded by a very lofty and strong wall, there would be more of building now than before.

Finally, τέμενος is for εἰς τέμενος, and must be taken with ἀνασκεύασας. At ἅπαν supply χώριον. Ἀνῆκεν is put for ἀνέθηκεν, which is unnecessarily and uncritically conjectured by Poppo.

By thus dedicating so important a spot to religious purposes, Brasidas seems to have meant, in case Torone should be recovered, to prevent all future use of this as a fortress against the Lacedæmonians.

[1] *Suspension of arms.*] Or *armistice;* for such is literally the sense of ἐκεχειρία.

[2] *The Athenians, that, &c.*] The late reverses had a powerful effect in damping the wild ambition, and lowering the unruly haughtiness of the Athenians. It began to be very generally observed and regretted among them, that their leaders, those in whom they most trusted, had advised them ill; and that so favourable an opportunity, for making an advantageous peace, as that which had been proudly rejected by them, might not again recur. (Mitford.)

[3] *A longer period.*] For it scarcely seemed likely that any treaty for an unlimited duration would be entered into.

The *article* here seems to only have reference to the preceding expression τὰ πλείω, where it has plainly little or no force.

[4] *Should his successes increase, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense. But the words of the original are so obscure, that even the antient commentators were divided in opinion as to their sense. Of the two interpretations

equal footing, they would be deprived of those; and having to contend with these (i. e. the Athenians) on equal terms, there would be a hazard even whether they should get the better. A suspension of arms was then agreed to on the following terms: — Oaths omitted

CXVIII. "Concerning the temple[1] and oracle of the Pythian Apollo, it is approved by us, that whoever shall

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brought forward by the Scholiast, the former is greatly preferable; and it is adopted by Steph. and Levesque. Bauer and Hack have long notes on the passage; but the former (as usual) extricates nothing, and proves nothing; the latter utterly fails, by wrongly referring the ἀντίπαλα καταστήσαντος to affairs in *Thrace;* and τοῖς δὲ, to the Thracian allies, as explaining the ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου. He would, moreover, alter κίνδυνειν καὶ κρατήσειν into κινδεῖ κρατήσειαν. Had any change been necessary, κἐι would have been a far milder one; but none is necessary. And he is mistaken in supposing that the Scholiast so read. It is plain that he did *not;* for he would not surely have explained εἰ κρατήσειαν by εἰ κρατήσουσιν: which would be strangely confounding the use of the tenses. This use of the *infinitive future* (after an infinitive present), instead of a finite future with a conjunction, is Thucydidean. Καὶ signifies *even.* The phrase, καὶ ἀντίπαλα καταστήσαντες (which has been misunderstood by all the commentators), is put for καὶ (ἐς) ἀντίπαλα (τὰ πράγματα) καταστήσαντες. The complete phrase occurs at l. 7, 13. ἐπείδη ἐς ἀντίπαλα καθεστηκάμεν.

The Lacedæmonians felt that by the success of Brasidas, and the continuance of the war, they should be for the present deprived of all hope of their relatives, who might even be sacrificed to the sudden rage and passion of the Athenian people; for, from c. 41., we find that they had threatened to put them to death, in case of any invasion of Attica. Secondly, they feared lest, even if things were again placed on an equal footing, and the war as it were commenced anew, they might, as before, fail of success. Mitford has very well expressed the feelings of the Lacedæmonians thus: "The great object of the principal families was, to recover their kinsmen and friends, prisoners in Athens; and while they dreaded a reverse of fortune, that might renew the arrogance of their enemies, they feared also such success as might too much elate their allies."

On this treaty (which is the first of any length or detail preserved to us), it is truly observed by Hack, that, in the first place, the propositions of the Lacedæmonian commissioners are put down; and in the words ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ we have the confirmation and acceptance of the offered conditions on the part of the Athenian people; for which reason (he adds) the ἡμῖν, after δοκεῖ, is to be referred to the Lacedæmonians and their allies, not to the Athenians.

[1] *Concerning the temple, &c.*] It is edifying to observe, in treaties like the present, the most prominent place given to *matters of religion.* To all the Greeks might generally be applied the words of the Apostle, as said of the Athenians, "I perceive that in all things ye are very religious." Certainly, they were religious after their manner, and to a degree which ought to excite the emulation of *Christians.* That their religion was so little operative on their lives and conduct, was no more than might be expected from a false and most corrupt religion: whereas *Christians,* who enjoy

choose, may (so that it be without fraud [2]) have uninterrupted and fearless access thereto, according to the laws and customs of our respective countries.

"By the Lacedæmonians, then, and their allies present, these things are approved; and as to the Bœotians and Phocians [3], they engage to do their utmost to persuade *them* to the same, by sending ambassadors.

"As to the treasures of the god, we engage to do our best to discover those who have sacrilegiously made free with them [4];

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the benefit of a true and most perfect one, can have no such excuse to plead.

[2] *So that it be without fraud.*] Or, "guile." Such is, I conceive, the sense, though it has been missed by the commentators; for ἀδόλως can surely import no more than a *condition*. There seems to be reference to any θεωροὶ going with the evil intention, either of corrupting the priests, or giving a false statement of the answer: both of which abuses had, no doubt, crept in, as leaders of the people found it convenient to have recourse to the powerful aids of superstition. Now the term ἀδόλως is often employed in treaties, sometimes in conjunction with other kindred terms, but seldom in this peculiar sense. We may suppose that the condition in question was introduced by the *Athenian* commissioners, because the oracle had been, from the first, favourable to the Lacedæmonians, through the strong influence which they had at Delphi; though, at the same time, the responses were not (as we have seen) always fairly reported by the Lacedæmonians. Nay, it should seem that, from the influence of Lacedæmonians at Delphi, after the war had commenced, the Athenian θεωροὶ were not permitted by the Delphians to approach the temple. And how hostile the Delphians were to the Athenians, we see by several instances in l. 3.

[3] *Phocians.*] It is somewhat strange that these should be conjoined with the Bœotians as bitter enemies to Athens. They are at l. 2, 8. ranked amongst the allies of Athens, and said to have supplied some auxiliary horse. And even in the sixth year of the war, we find Demosthenes (3, 95.) reckons on them as allies, or, at least, such as might easily be brought over. At 4, 76., too, we find some of them uniting in the scheme to revolutionise Bœotia. Thus we may conclude, that they were of the democratical party. Now, when that failed, it is probable that the opposite party, finding what had been done by the democrats, brought them under, and, especially, after the battle of Dium, formed a close connection with the Bœotians; and, therefore, are mentioned in the way we have seen.

[4] *Those who have sacrilegiously made free with them.*] That the purport of this clause was to enforce the prosecution of persons suspected of sacrilege, by embezzling the sacred treasures, seems to be agreed on by the best commentators, who, however, have not discerned the *drift* of the clause. It was, we may suppose, directed against the abuse of the funds by the Delphians, in countenancing the Lacedæmonians, who, it would seem, shared in the plunder. Thus Pericles, l. 1, 143. seems to have anticipated that the Lacedæmonians would meddle with the sacred treasures at Delphi and Olympia, and seems to regard them as at their disposal.

Now

and that rightly and justly, according to the laws of our respective countries [5], both we and you, and such of the rest as choose.

" On these things, then, it is agreed by the Lacedæmonians and their allies, on condition that [6] the Athenians, on their part, enter into treaty, that each of us shall remain [7] in our territory, holding what we respectively now possess; those who are in Coryphasium keeping within Buphras and Tomeus [8], and those in Cythera not being conjoined in alliance; so that neither we may be opposed to them, nor they to us [9]; those again, in Nisæa and Minoa not passing beyond the road from the gates along by the Nisæum [10] to the Posidonium (or

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Now all that they hoped by procuring the insertion of this article was that the *principle* might be stigmatised, and means taken to prevent the abuse in future.

[5] *According to the laws, &c.*] This was added, to prevent Delphians or Lacedæmonians accused of embezzlement, being prosecuted according to Athenian laws.

[6] *On condition that.*] Literally, "*if.*"

[7] *That each of us shall remain.*] μένειν depends, not upon ἐδόξε, but upon ὥστε or ἐς τό.

[8] *Those who are in Coryphasium. &c.*] The words of the original have been strangely misinterpreted by Portus, Hobbes, Smith, and Gail, who take the τοὺς μὲν to refer to the *Lacedæmonians*, whereas Coryphasium (the name by which the Lacedæmonians called Pylus) (see l. 4, 3.) was in the possession of the *Athenians;* and the only object in view was to keep them within certain limits, and prevent the Messenians settled there from wandering up and down, and infesting the Lacedæmonian territory.

The construction (which the commentators have failed to notice) is this: ὥστε τοὺς (ὄντας) ἐν τῷ κ. μενόντας, for μένειν. Or there may be a kind of accusatives absolute.

What is meant by the Buphras and Tomeus, we are but imperfectly informed. The latter was, as we learn from Steph. Byz., a *mountain*, so called from its resemblance to a pen-knife. We may, therefore, presume the other to have been a mountain also. In Buphras the φρας seems a form equivalent to φράδης; but what the βου designates, it it not easy to see. Of these mountains the *situation* cannot be fixed even on conjecture, without a careful survey of the country. One thing, however, may be considered certain, that they were at a very short distance from Pylus or Coryphasium; and, therefore, Boccage and Arrowsmith seem both wrong in fixing them so far off, and *inland*, whereas they were probably on the *coast*.

[9] *And those in Cythera, &c.*] This passage has been as much misinterpreted as the last. By the τοὺς ἐν Κιθ. are meant, not the *Athenians in* Cythera; for thus the next words will have no sense, or a very absurd one. The expression can only denote the inhabitants themselves, the Cytherians, who, it is provided, shall not be considered as connected by alliance with either party, so as to be compelled to war against the other.

[10] *The Nisæum.*] The original παρὰ τοῦ Νίσου is manifestly corrupt; nor can the version of Portus be defended. For though Wasse suggests

temple of Neptune), and from the Posidonium straight to the bridge [11] leading to Minoa.[12] That neither the Megaræans and their allies pass over this road, and that the island which the Athenians took they shall hold (so, however, that neither party may have any intercourse with the other [13]), and also what they now possess in Trœzene, and as they have agreed with the Argives.[14] Also that either party shall have the

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that it may mean the hill of Nisus, namely that on which Megara stood; yet such an interpretation would imply too close a communication between the Megaræans and Nisæans, which it was the very purpose of this clause to prevent. Seven MSS. read *ἀπὸ* for *παρὰ*, and five, Νεσαίου. But the *ἀπὸ* is plainly ex emendatione, and after all yields no better sense. As to the conjecture of Hack *παρὰ τῷ* Νίσοῦ, it would involve a very harsh ellipsis. The reading Νισαίου, however, points at the true one, which, if I am not mistaken, is *τῷ* Νισείῳ, from Νισεῖον, like Διοσκυρεῖον and a hundred other similar words, all indicating temples of gods or chapels of heroes. Now Nisus was an antient and celebrated King of Megara, and likely to have had an honorary sacellum. Finally, *παρὰ* here signifies, *by the side of, along.*

[11] *Bridge.* On this see l. 3, 52. fin.

[12] *Minoa.*] This, at present, forms part of the continent, and is a promontory called Subazi.

[13] *And that the island which, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense; though it is not easy to reduce the words to any regular construction. The accusatives may be considered as accusatives absolute, *Ἀθηναίους* being supplied at *ἔχοντας*. And we may literally render, the Athenians holding the island which they took, and neither party having, &c.

Upon the whole, however, the Greek throughout this treaty is of a very strange and unusual sort, and bears some resemblance to the kind of English sometimes found in law writings drawn up by illiterate clerks.

[14] *And also what they, &c.*] I have here ventured to deviate from the text of the original, and have recourse to critical conjecture, since, though the commentators perceive it not, the text is undoubtedly corrupt. As it now stands, the words must be referred to the *Megaræans.* But *Ἀθηναῖοι* immediately precedes; and if we go back to *Μεγαρέας*, that has a *μηδὲ*, and is so constructed that it cannot be introduced here. Besides, what possessions had the Megaræans ever in Trœzene, or were likely to have? Or what treaty was ever entered into with the Athenians, or was likely to be entered into. If they had possessions in Trœzene, it was not necessary that they should be confirmed to them in treaty, any more than the possession of their territory of Megara. Besides, the scope of all this part of the treaty is to so regulate the principle of the *uti possidetis*, that the Athenian occupancy may be as little detrimental as possible, especially by any intercourse with the inhabitants.

The words *οἷα ξυνεθεντο*, therefore, must be referred to the *Athenians;* though we shall thus be obliged to alter *Αθηνείδι*, and read (as I conjecture) either *Ἀργείους* or *Λακεδαιμονίους*. And when we consider that the words were generally written in an abbreviated manner *Ἀθ.ᵉˢ* and *Ἀργᵉˢ*. *Λακᵉˢ*. by which they would be very much like each other; and as in this treaty the words *Ἀθηναίους* and *Λακεδαιμονίους* are perpetually occurring it must be granted that the conjecture has great probability. And *Ἀργᵉˢ* and *Αθᵉˢ*. are so like that the mistake might easily occur, especially as the former is of

free use of the sea, so far as regards their own coasts and those of their allies.[15] That the Lacedæmonians and their allies [16] shall not navigate the sea in a long ship [or ship of war], but in any other vessel carrying in measures to the amount of five hundred talents.[17]

"That there shall be free passage both by land and sea for such heralds, ambassadors, and their attendants [18], as shall be thought proper, going and returning to Peloponnesus and

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rare, the latter of frequent occurrence. That the *Athenians* had possessions in Trœzene, we know, namely, the peninsula of Methone, whose occupancy is narrated at 4, 45. This the Athenians yet held; and it was surely to be *expected* that *this* should be mentioned among the other acquisitions of Athens, whose occupancy is recognised. The recognition, however, is coupled with a clause which is meant, I conceive, to regulate the thing, namely οἷα (for καθ' οἷα) ξυνέθεντο πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους or Ἀργείους. It should seem that there was a special agreement entered into, *either* with the Argives, in whose *division* of Peloponnesus Methone was situated, and who, as being common friends to both the Athenians and the Trœzenians, would be likely to negotiate this matter; *or* with the Lacedæmonians, whose interest it was to regulate this matter.

15 *Also that each party, &c.*] Here again there has been much misconception of the sense. The words are usually referred to the *Megarœans;* but it is unlikely that they would be used of *those;* and as to the *Athenians* who were just before mentioned, they are unsuitable to *them.* Hack joins them with the words following. But this method is forbidden by the construction; for the two parts will not amalgamate. It should seem that the words have reference to the ἑκατέρους before occurring; the τοὺς μὲν—πρὸς Λακεδ. being, indeed, in some measure parenthetical. Thus an excellent sense will arise. The two parties were each to have the free use of the sea belonging to their confederation, but *that only,* and not that of the other parts. They were to have no communication with each other.

The ὅσα is, as often, for ὅσα μόνον.

16 *That the Lacedæmonians, &c.*] This clause is meant to *regulate* the former condition. At Λακεδαιμονίους πλεῖν subaud ὥστε, and repeat from the preceding, ἔδοξε.

17 *Five hundred talents.*] According to Arbuthnot, referred to by Mitford, about twelve tons; according to Smith, twenty-five tons. Now the accurate calculations of the French mathematicians, adopted by Barthelemy (Travels of Anacharsis vol. 7. p. 264.) make 500 Attic talents equivalent to 33, 802. English Troy weight. What is the exact amount of the ton in *shipping*, and how far it differs from the ordinary one, I cannot say; but it should seem that the former is by far the more exact. Be that as it may, Salmasius (cited by Duker) says that the magnitude of vessels was estimated by the measures of what their lading consisted of; corn vessels by *modii*, wine vessels by amphoræ, and those of other commodities by talents or quintals." But the talent only weighed about *half* a hundred weight, *avoirdupois*.

18 *And their attendants.*] This, I conceive, belongs only to the ambassadors, and not to the heralds also, as the Scholiast supposes. As they had seldom more to do than deliver a message, there would be no occasion for attendants, besides that their rank was in Greece not such as to authorise any great state.

Athens, for bringing the war to an issue, and for the decision of controverted points.[19]

" That in the mean time they shall not receive deserters or fugitives, whether bond[20] or free.

" That you shall afford the means of judgment to us, and we to you, acceding to the laws of our respective countries; settling and adjusting the doubtful points judicially, without having recourse to war.

" These articles are hereby agreed on by the Lacedæmonians and their allies. But if it seems to you that any thing else would be fairer[21] or more equitable, as to Lacedæmon, inform us thereof: for neither the Lacedæmonians nor their allies will be against any thing just that ye may propose.

" Let, however, those that go have proper authority; as you also require in our case.

" That this truce shall be for a year.

" Approved by the people."[22]

The tribe of Acamis[23] furnished the prytanis [or president

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19 *Controverted points.*] Concerning which the Athenians declared, previous to the commencement of the war, that they were willing to join issue, and be impleaded with the Lacedæmonians.

20 *Bond.*] This has especial reference to the Helots, who had been accustomed to desert their masters, and go over to the Athenians at Pylus.

21 *Fairer.*] Κάλλιον. So Aristoph. Lysist. 76. πολὺ κάλλιον λέγεις. Eurip. Hel. 778. κάλλιον εἶπας. Compare also the Heracl. 785. and Frag. Incert. 173. Aristoph. Orn. 63. οὐδὲ κάλλιον λέγεις. Hence it appears that Bekker *rightly* edited κάλλιον for καλλιώτερον.

22 *The people.*] Namely, of Athens. The Scholiast, indeed, says the *Lacedæmonians;* for which he has been censured by the commentators. But it is probable that for Λακ^{ων}. should be read Ἀθ^{ων}. since it is far more probable that the scribe should have fallen into so easy an error, than that the Scholiast should have made so great a mistake.

23 *Acamis.*] Each of the ten tribes furnished the president in rotation, for thirty-five or thirty-six days each. This president was called the Prytanis. See l. 6, 14. init. and the Schol.

The matter is accurately stated by Schœmann de Comit. Ath. p. 15. ap. Goeller as follows: " Primus Clisthenes populum Atticum in decem tribus descripsit, senatumque multiplicavit, quinquagenis e singulis tribubus senatoribus sortitis, ut universorum numerus efficeretur quingentorum. Quinquageni autem illi unuscujusque tribus senatores decimam anni partem senatui comitiisque præsidebant, Prytanum per id tempus nomine insigniti. Quare cum, quo tempore hoc populiscitum factum est, tribus Acamantis prytanes dedisset, præscriptio hæc est: Ἀκάμαντις ἐπρυτάνευε. Tempus illud, per quod prytanes erant, tricenorum quinorum aut senorum, pro lunaris anni modo, dierum, Prytania dicebatur. Præsidebant autem singulæ senatorum tribus non certo quodam et definito ordine, sed eo, qui sorte

of the assembly]; Phænippus was the secretary[24]; Niciades, the epistates[25] [or chancellor]. Laches made the motion[26]:— "Be it proposed[27] (and may it turn out for good to the people of Athens[28]) that a suspension of arms, on the conditions agreed to by the Lacedæmonians, be concluded."

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evenisset. Sed prytanes ipsi munera sua non simul omnes, sed per vices obibant, in quinas decurias sorte distributi, quarum singulæ septenos dies reliquis omnibus præsidebant, et præsides vel *πρόεδροι* ab re appellabantur. His autem præsidibus ad singulos e septenis dies singuli præerant Epistatæ item sorte ducti, penes quos arcis et ærarii claves erant. Jam vero præsides illi cum Epistata et in senatu et in comitiis res consultandas proponebant, et ubi satis erat disceptatum, senatum populumve in suffragium mittebant. Sed adjuncti iis erant ex reliquis novem tribubus, quarum non erat eo tempore Prytania, singuli viri, ab Epistata sorte ducti, qui et ipsi Proëdri appellabantur, suumque habebant Epistatam, et quorum officium erat, videre ut in ipsa consultatione rite omnia et legitimo ordine fierent."

[24] *Was secretary.*] Or *γραμματεύς*. See 7, 10. Something like our town-clerk. See my note on Acts 19, 35.* The matter is very well stated by that able jurist Schœmann ubi supra, cited by Goeller: "Scribæ erant tum senatus tum populi, tum alii qui *ἀντιγραφεῖς* dicebantur *τῆς βουλῆς* aut *τῆς διοικήσεως*, quos *Conscriptores* latine dixeris. Ex illis unus erat *γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν*, quaque prytania a senatoribus sorte ductus, cujus munus Pollux fuisse dicit, ut psephismata aliasque literas publicas custodiret, ea nimirum, quæ per suam prytaniam scripta essent."

[25] *Epistates.*] Besides Petit and Sigonius, referred to by Duker, see Schœmann ubi supra.

[26] *Laches made the motion.*] Or put the question. Not *pronounced*, as Hobbes and Smith render. So Schœmann ap. Goeller: "Hoc est nomen ejus, qui rogationem tulit, cujusque rogatu populus inducias faciendas decrevit."

That the above were the terms made use of in treaties, is quite clear; and the present passage is, I find, adverted to and *parodied* by the wit Aristophanes, Thesmoph. 373, 6. *ἔδοξε τῇ Βούλῃ τάδε Τῇ τῶν γυναικῶν· Τιμόκλει' ἐπεστάτει· Λύσιλλ' ἐγραμματεύεν· εἶπε Σωστράτη.*

The Laches here mentioned was probably the Laches who was commander of the Athenian forces in Sicily. See 3, 86, 115 and 116. and 6, 1, 6, and 75.

[27] *Be it proposed.*] This or something similar is necessary, since a verb must be supplied at *ποιεῖσθαι*. To insert "is granted" or "concluded" in the course of the sentence, as is done by Hobbes and Smith, is quite contrary to the nature of the thing, since the words only contain a *motion* or *proposition*, as, indeed, appears by the words following; for until the people had pronounced their consent, the thing was not concluded.

[28] *May it turn out, &c.*] This was a usual form, as Hack observes, "bene ominandi causa," put at the top of writings containing treaties, or promulgating proclamations; and exactly like our "God save the King," affixed to the *end* of our royal proclamations.

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* It was, as I have there shown, not a very honourable office; and this I can further prove from Polyæn. 5, 2, 2. *Συρακουσίοις ὑπηρετοῦντος καὶ γραμματέων τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ γραμματέων τοῖς στρατηγοῖς.*

And those in the assembly of the people agreed "That there should be a suspension of arms for a year; to commence on this very day, the 14th of the month Elaphæbolion.[29]

"That during this interval, ambassadors and heralds shall pass backwards and forwards, and enter into discussions, that so there may be a termination of the war.[30]

"That on the Strategi[31] and Prytanes convoking an assembly, the Athenians shall first consult on the peace, and consider how the embassy for the termination of the war may be received.[32]

"That the respective ambassadors present do immediately, in the presence of the people, solemnly swear that they will verily abide by this treaty for the year aforesaid."

CXIX. These things the Lacedæmonians agreed to[1] (the allies giving their consent), with the Athenians and their

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[29] *The fourteenth of the month Elaphæbolion.*] i. e. (says Dodwell) the twenty-second of March, A. C. 423. Goeller, however, has the following objection: "Sed pugnant hæc cum verbis cap. 119. *μηνὸς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Γεραστίου δωδεκάτῃ.* Transponenda censet Dodwell, Annal. Thucyd. ad annum 9. belli Peloponnesiaci et dissert. 8, 10. ut hic legatur *δωδεκάτῃ*, ibi *τετράδι ἐπὶ δέκα.* Sed vereor, ut hoc in usu fuerit Atticis, ita dies mensium numerare. Malim altero loco scribere *ἑκκαιδεκάτῃ*; cum alii numeri facile confunduntur, tum *ιβ'* et *ιε'*. Non tamen satis certum, an ab illo die mensis Gerastii induciæ fuerint inchoandæ."

[30] *That during this interval, &c.*] This is merely a repetition of what went before; yet it seems to be repeated in order to lay greater stress upon the thing.

[31] *Strategi.*] The state-generals, or prætors, ten in number. See Potter's Antiq.

[32] *And consider how, &c.*] Such seems to be the literal sense of the words *βουλεύσασθαι καθ' ὅτι — πολέμου*, which may be more plainly expressed by, "to consider whether and on what terms an embassy for peace may be admitted.

Καθ' ὅτι does not signify *prout*, but quomodo; qua ratione. So in a kindred passage at 8, 67. *γνώμην ἐσενεγκεῖν ἐς τὸν δῆμον καθ' ὅτι ἄριστα ἡ πόλις οἰκήσεται.* and 6, 8. *ἐκκλησία αὖθις ἐγίνετο, καθ' ὅτι χρή*, &c.

[1] *Agreed to.*] Some MSS. add *καὶ ὤμοσαν*, "and swore to." But that seems to be from the margin, and is not very agreeable to the words following, *καὶ ὡμολόγησαν.*

This sentence seems to contain a description of the *ratification* at Lacedæmon of the above truce concluded at Athens; at least if the words *ἐν Λακεδαίμονι* be rightly taken by the interpreters. I have sometimes thought they might stand for the adjective, and the sense be, on the twelfth of the Lacedæmonian, or which is at Lacedæmon called the Gerastium. On this month see Cragius, Meursius, and the other writers on Lacedæmonian antiquities.

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allies, at Lacedæmon, on the 12th day of Gerastium. Those that thus agreed and sacrificed thereupon [2] were the following: — Taurus son of Echetemidas, Athenæus son of Pericleidas [3], Philocharidas [4] son of Eryxidaidas (or Eryxilaidas); of the Corinthians, Æneas son of Ocytos, and Euphamidas [5] son of Aristonymus; of the Sicyonians, Damotimus son of Naucrates, and Onasimus son of Megacles; of the Megaræans, Nicasus son of Cecalus [6], and Menacrates son of Amphidorus; of the Epidaurians, Amphius son of Eupædas; of the Athenians, Nicostratus [7] son of Diotrophus, Nicias [8] son of Niceratus, and Autocles [9] son of Tolmæus — all of them

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From the Schol. on Aristoph Equit. 791. it appears that the Lacedæmonians whose signatures follow, were *ambassadors*. Consequently the writing must have been executed at *Athens*, as, indeed, is plain from what follows.

The force of the words καὶ ὡμολόγησαν, which are parenthetical, is illustrated by c. 4, 20. ἡμῶν γὰρ καὶ ὑμῶν ταὐτὰ λεγόντων, τὸ γε ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν — τὰ μέγιστα τιμήσει.

[2] *Sacrificed thereupon.*] i. e. celebrated the sacrifices at which the oaths were taken; sacrifices being (as Hobbes says) made at entering into treaties between cities.

[3] *Athenæus son of Periclidas.*] Both these names seem to have been bestowed from attachment to Athens and the family of Pericles. On which custom I have before treated.

The names of these, as also that of Nicias, we should of course expect to find among the members of subscribing signatures; since it was by the exertions of such moderates, in both countries, that the pacification was brought about; insomuch that it was called the peace of Nicias.

[4] *Philocharidas.*] A person, it should seem, of considerable consequence, since he appears afterwards in similar lists at l. 5, 19. 24. and 44.

[5] *Euphamidas.*] The commander of the Corinthian forces sent to the western parts of Greece, of whom mention is made at l. 2, 33.

[6] *Cecalus.*] It is strange that the critics should make no remark on this name, which has in it something barbarous, and, as far as I can recollect, wholly unusual. I should conjecture Καίκαλος or Κώκαλος, both of which names occur.

[7] *Nicostratus.*] The truly worthy commander of the expedition to Corcyra (c. 3, 75.), and the colleague with Nicias in the expedition to Cythera.

[8] *Nicias.*] The chief mover of the whole affair; insomuch that it was called the peace of Nicias.

[9] *Autocles.*] Colleague with Nicias and Nicostratus in the expedition to Cythera (see 4, 53), and probably a younger brother of the celebrated Tolmides.

Of these signatures, we may observe, those from Lacedæmon and Athens were each three. The number from the other Lacedæmonian allies is proportionate to their consequence. From the Corinthians, Megaræans, and Sicyonians, two. From the Epidaurians, one. It may appear strange that there should have been none from the other Peloponnesian allies, as Elis, Achæa, the parts of Arcadia, as also Trœzene and Hermione. They,

strategi, or state generals. These, then, were the conditions on which the suspension of arms was agreed on; in the course of which throughout, they entered into conferences for concluding a treaty of a longer duration.

CXX. About the very time when they (i. e. the Lacedæmonians) went (on the above business[1]), Scione[2], a city in Pallene[3], revolted from the Athenians to Brasidas. Now these Scioneans of Pallene say that they were Palleneans from Peloponnesus[4], and that their ancestors, when sailing from Troy, were driven to this place in the storm which befell the Achæans, and there settled.[5] Upon their revolt, Brasidas passed over[6] by night to Scione, with a trireme belonging[7] to

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it should seem, acquiesced in what was thus done by the majority of the allies.

[1] *About the very time, &c.*] The translators take ἡμέρας ταύτας of the time when those conferences for peace were held. But those, it is said, were continued nearly the whole time. And, therefore, that interpretation will not be suitable; for some specific time is required, and that must have been nearly at the same time with the treaty. Certainly it could not have been long after, otherwise Brasidas would have received notice to desist from hostilities.

[2] *Scione.*] It is plain that Brasidas was carrying forward the insurrection from the western of the Athenian colonies and dependencies in Thrace to the eastern.

[3] *Pallene.*] Such is, doubtless, the true reading, as the word not only invariably occurs with *a*, in other authors, from Herodotus down to Procopius, but elsewhere in Thucydides. See Poppo Proleg. 2, 370. The place seems to have derived its name from its being a shady embowered spot. Σκιώνη is formed from σκία, as Σικυώνη from σικύα, and many such. All authors are agreed that this place was colonised by some Achæan Greeks, on their return from Troy.

[4] *Say that they were, &c.*] This tradition tended to establish among the Scionæans a general partiality for the Peloponnesian connection, to which those of higher rank would otherwise incline; and a party among them communicated to Brasidas their desire to reject the dominion of Athens, and to be received under his protection. (Mitford).

[5] *Settled.*] Perhaps for οἰκῆσαι we should read οἰκίσαι.

[6] *Passed over.*] Namely, it should seem, from Torone. It is truly observed by Mitford, that Brasidas chose always to depend upon his own address rather than that of any deputies, and refused no danger in the prosecution of the great objects of his command.

[7] *With a trireme, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of φίλια. Gail renders "of the Scionæans." But as a translation this is naught; and as an interpretation it is utterly ill-founded: for, as Mitford observes, "to correspond concerning the proposal was not easy; since not only the Athenians commanded by sea, but, by the possession of Potidæa on the isthmus, they

those of his own party sailing first, and himself following aloof[8] in a cock-boat (or packet), in order that, if he should meet any vessel larger than the boat, the trireme might assist him; and supposing that if another trireme of equal force should come up, it would not turn its attention to the lesser vessel, but to the ship, and in the meantime he should save himself.[9] Having effected his passage, and convoked an assembly of the Scionæans, he addressed them, as he had done those of Acanthus and Torone; and further remarked that "they were worthy of all commendation[10], who, though Pallene was cut off from the continent at the isthmus by the Athenians holding Potidæa; and though they were nought else but islanders, yet voluntarily aimed at liberty[11], and did not wait like cowards to be spurred on by necessity in a matter clearly for their own private benefit; that it was a plain proof they would manfully undergo any thing else of the greatest peril and difficulty[12], in order to accomplish the object in view. Finally, that he should verily account them the most faithful and assured friends to the Lacedæmonians, and would in all respects be ready to show honour to their worth."

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completely commanded also the communication by land." The trireme was, doubtless, one which he had contrived to procure among his friends the revolted Thracians.

[8] *Aloof.*] ἄποθεν always signifies *apart from;* though sometimes, as here, the distance meant is but short.

[9] *In order that if, &c.*] A very shrewd device of Brasidas, which is deservedly inserted by Polyænus in his Stratagems, l. 1, 38., where for νυκτὸς ἐπιπλέων Σκίωνη, Casaubon would read παραπλέων. That, however, is forbidden by the term in Thucydides διέπλευσε. Yet as ἐπιπλέων is not very suitable, I would read ἔτι πλέων.

For the κελητίῳ here Polyænus has ὑπηρετικῷ, "an attendant boat;" which confirms my version, "a cock-boat," which is yet more supported by Xen. Hist. 1, 7, 37. τῷ δ' Ἐτεονίκῳ ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς κέλης πάντα ἐξήγγειλε.

[10] *That they were highly, &c.*] He was large in praise of the Scionæan people, "who, notwithstanding the peculiar danger to which their situation, inclosed within a peninsula, exposed them, in revolting against that tyrannical power which at present commanded the seas, had nevertheless not waited till freedom should be forced upon them through the prevalence of the Peloponnesian arms, but had been forward to assert it; and he concluded with assurances of his readiness to give all protection, and his wish to do all honour to a people who, he was confident, would prove themselves among the most meritorious allies of Lacedæmon. (Mitford).

[11] *Aimed at.*] Literally, "made for."

[12] *Any thing else of, &c.*] Namely, such as they must expect in conquering their freedom. The ἄλλο has little or no force.

CXXI. At these words the Scionæans were elevated; and all being alike confident[1] (even those to whom the business had been before not very agreeable[2]), were determined to carry on the war[3] with vigour and alacrity; and besides other marks of honour with which they received Brasidas, he was particularly invested by the state with a golden crown[4], as *the Deliverer of Greece;* private persons, too, decked him with garlands[5], and saluted him with all the honours shown

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[1] *Elevated, and being, &c.*] With the ἐπήρθησαν and θαρσήσαντες may be compared c. 1, 20. ἐπαιρόμενος θράσει, "being elevated with confidence."

[2] *Even those to whom, &c.*] Those who were well inclined to the Athenians, and were otherwise of the democratical party.

[3] *Carry on the war.*] Namely, in which they were engaged, for the establishment of their independence. The οἴσειν is not well rendered by Hobbes and Smith *sustain.* It stands for διοίσειν. So 6, 54. διοίσειν τοὺς πολέμους, carry forward.

[4] *He was invested, &c.*] i. e. a golden crown was, by the public assembly, voted to be presented to him. These words are well illustrated by Pind. Pyth. 9. 218. Πολλά μιν κεῖνοι δίκον Φύλλ' ἔπι καὶ στεφάνους. Eurip. Elect. 162. οὐ μίτρας σε γυνὴ δέξατ', οὐδ' ἐπὶ στεφάνοις. Diog. Laert. 7, 6. χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ τιμῆσαι καὶ χαλκῇ εἰκόνι.

In succeeding ages it became very common for cities to vote crowns to the powerful Romans, whether emperors or others: so that at length *golden crown* came to be an expression used metaphorically to denote *honorarium,* as Apoc. 4, 4. "and they have on their heads golden crowns," or even an *honorary reward,* as 2 Tim. 4, 8. "a crown of righteousness." 1 Pet. 5, 11. "crown of glory." So also in Hebr. (from Psalm 5, 13.) "thou hast crowned him with glory and honour." The New Testament writers probably derived the metaphor from the Hebrew and Oriental usage.

The *crown,* we may suppose, originally (i. e. before it became a regal ornament) was an *honorary present* from the people to some public benefactor, who had, by his bravery or other virtues, deserved well of the state; and probably the circular form of such was meant to be emblematical of the *perpetuity* of the obligation. So Thucyd. 1, 129. κείσεταί σοι εὐεργεσία — ὡς ἀεὶ ἀνάγραπτος. Indeed, the *ring* in marriage seems to contain the same emblematical reference.

[5] *Decked him with garlands.*] As the commentators have neglected to notice this term ἐταινίουν, the following illustrations may be not unacceptable. Aristoph. Ran. 393. νικήσαντα ταινιοῦσθαι. Xen. Hist. 5, 1. ὁ μὲν ἐστεφανωσεν, ὁ δὲ ἐταινιώσεν. Diod. Sic. 7, 461. ταινιούμενος. Appian Cir. l. 2. ἀνθοβολοῦντες ὥσπερ ἀθλητήν. Dio Cass. 108, 29. ταινιώσας τῷ ἀναδήματι. Empedocles ap. Diog. Laert. 8, 62. πολεῦμαι μετὰ πᾶσι τετιμημένος, ὥσπερ ἔοικε, Ταινίαις τε περιστρέπτος στέφεσιν τε θαλείης. Philostr. Imag. 5. φοιτῶσιν ἐπὶ τὰς θυρὰς τοῦ σοφοῦ, Ταινίας αὐτὸν ἀναδήσοντες, καὶ στεφανώσοντες αὐτὸν θάλλου στεφάνῳ. Plutarch Cæs. 30. οἱ δὲ καὶ στέφανους ἐπ' αὐτὸν, ὥστερ ἀθλητήν, ἀνθοβολοῦντες ἠφίεσαν. Pausan. 4, 16, 4. So frequent, it seems, was the custom, that at length ταινιόω came to be used metaphorically, as we have seen was στέφανος. So Dio Cass. 202, 84. ἄλλως τε μεγάλως ταινιουμένῳ. And Hesych. ταινιουμένῳ. κοσμουμένῳ.

to a victor at the public games.[6] Having for the present left them some troops as garrison, he passed forth again, and not long after sent them over a greater force, intending with them to make an attempt on Mende and Potidæa; for he supposed that the Athenians would soon send an armament thither, as to an island, and he was desirous to be beforehand with them.[7] There had also been some correspondence held by him with those cities respecting their being put into his hands.[8] And thus he was about to make attempts on these cities.

CXXII. In the meantime, however, arrived thither in a trireme those who went round to announce the suspension of arms, namely, on the part of Athens, Aristonymus; and, on that of the Lacedæmonians, Athenæus.[1] Whereupon the army passed back again to Torone, and they communicated to him the articles of the treaty, and all the allies of the Lacedæmonians in Thrace acquiesced in[2] what was done.

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[6] *The public games.*] By these are meant, not the Olympic games only, as Muret. and Hack suppose, but *any*.

[7] *Intending with them, &c.*] This is meant to assign a reason why he sent them a greater force, and with speed; namely, because he meant with them to attack Mende and Potidæa; and because he knew the Athenians would lose no time in sending forces to Pallene, since, that being in a manner an island, there was more encouragement to attempt its preservation, and thus, too, the inhabitants seemed, as it were, natural subjects of the mistress of the seas. See infra, c. 122.

[8] *There had also been some, &c.*] This is very ill rendered by Smith, "he had already formed an intelligence to the prejudice of those cities, to get them betrayed." Indeed, προδιδόναι and προδοσία are never well translated *betray* and *treachery*, as respects the *Lacedæmonians*, who would only mean thereby *deliver up*. On the contrary, to the *Athenians* such a sense would be very suitable.

[1] *Athenæus.*] This person (as I before observed) seems to have been so called, from a sort of hereditary attachment of his family to the Athenians, as Athenæus, son of Cimon, was named *Lacedæmonius*. See 1, 45.

This Athenæus was, perhaps, the greatest promoter of the treaty, and is one of the three whose signatures were affixed. That he was a person of celebrity, and his memory venerated, appears from the manner in which he is mentioned by Pausan. 3, 16, 4. Ἀθηναίῳ ἥρωι.*

[2] *Acquiesced in.*] Nay, to them the intelligence must have been extremely welcome, "since," as Mitford observes, "the terms of the treaty removed at once all the peril of the situation in which they had placed themselves."

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* Where Amas. very ill renders *Atheniensis*. A similar error is noticed by Valckn. on Herod. l. 5, 46.

As to Aristonymus, he was well satisfied with every thing else; but finding, by a reckoning of the days, that the Scionæans had revolted *after* the conclusion of the treaty, he denied that they were comprehended therein.[3] Brasidas, on the contrary, urged many arguments to prove that it had revolted *before* the treaty[4], and refused to give up the city.[5] As soon as Aristonymus had transmitted intelligence of this affair to Athens, the Athenians were instantly resolved to send an expedition against Scione. But the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, urging that this would be an infraction of the treaty, and relying on the representations of Brasidas, made a counter-claim to the city, as of right theirs. They were, however, they said, ready to have the matter submitted to judicial determination.[6] But the Athenians were not disposed to run the hazard of judicial process, but resolved as speedily as possible to send off the armament, — incensed that even their own islands, relying on the land force of the Lacedæmonians, which could so little avail them[7], should now take upon them to revolt from their government! The truth, too, of the matter respecting the revolt was rather as the Athenians re-

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[3] *Comprehended therein.*] i. e. should be held by the Lacedæmonians under the conditions of that treaty. This sense of ἔνσπονδος is, perhaps, unprecedented.

[4] *Urged many arguments, &c.*] The construction is ἀντέλεγε (κατὰ) πολλὰ, ὡς πρότερον ἀφεστήκει.

There was, it seems, a period when it could not be said to hold its allegiance to Athens, and yet had not actually cast it off. This, therefore, afforded room for casuistry.

[5] *Refused to give up the city.*] This he might do, not only as little liking to be checked in the full career of success, but out of regard to the Lacedæmonian affairs, now more promising than ever; as also from motives of humanity towards the Scionæans, who had been drawn over by his representations, and who, if abandoned to the Athenians, might expect much severity at their hands.

With the whole passage the historian may with advantage consult a passage of Philochorus, cited by the Schol. on Aristoph. p. 444. Bisit.

[6] *Judicial determination.*] None of the commentators or writers on Greek antiquities or jurisprudence say a word on these suits between contending states, and how they were carried on. Who, it may be enquired, were the *judges* in such a case? Generally, we may suppose, some other state likely to make an impartial award, but sometimes a synod formed of the jurisconsults of both states.

[7] *Relying on the, &c.*] This may bring to mind the words of 2 Kings, 18, 21. "Now, behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt, on which if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it."

presented; for the Scionæans revolted two days after the treaty. They then immediately, instigated by the counsels of Cleon, made a decree, that the Scionæans should be reduced by force, and put to death [8]; and keeping quiet in regard to any other operations, they set themselves to prepare for *this*.

CXXIII. In the meantime, also revolted Mende [1], a city in Pallene, a colony of the Eretrians. [2] And Brasidas admitted them into the confederacy, conceiving that he did no wrong, as they openly and voluntarily went over during the suspension of arms. There were, too, some points in which he accused the Athenians of infringing the treaty. [3] Wherefore, also, the Mendæans had been the more bold in venturing on this step, perceiving that the mind of Brasidas was well disposed towards them; and taking example, too, from the affair of Scione, that as he had not abandoned *that* city, he would not *theirs*; and, moreover, *the few* amongst them having contrived the revolt, who, though delaying it for a time, yet never gave up the measure; but, from their fears of a discovery, had now carried it into effect, though contrary to the wishes of *the many*. [4] The Athenians, on hearing of

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[8] *Reduced by force and put to death.*] At the very time when this passionate act of democratical despotism was passing, an event occurred respecting Mende which might have taught the Athenians, if a mob could be taught, the superiority of the generous policy of Brasidas to their illiberal and inhuman proceedings. (Mitford).

[1] *Mende.*] A city by some called *Menda*, namely, Doricè; and sometimes, if we may rely on Apollodorus ap. Steph. Byz. and Livy, *Mendis*. But *Mende* is confirmed by Diod. Sic. and Demosthenes ap. Harpoc. The name is plainly not of Grecian origin, but, probably, was that by which the Thracians called it when the Greeks colonised it.

This place was famous for its wine.

[2] *Eretrians.*] So also Pomp. Mela 2, 2. and Harpocration. Pausanias, however, 1, 4, 27. thus writes: Μενδαίοις δὲ αὐτοῖς γένος τε Ἑλληνικὸν, καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας ἐστιν· οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω τῆς πρὸς Αἴνῳ πόλει. where Palmer rightly emends πρὸς Σάνῃ πόλει. That passage, it may be observed, is of great importance, as being the only one that enables us to fix the situation of Mende, which was not, as our maps make it, a seaport, but an inland town, a little up the country from Sane.

[3] *There were, too, some, &c.*] Thus he played off on the Athenians the same arts they had practised at Pylus, where they refused to give back the Lacedæmonians, on account of some matters in which they pretended the treaty had been infringed.

[4] *And, moreover, the few, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of this too briefly expressed and awkwardly worded sentence, καὶ ἅμα — πόλλους. The

this, were yet more enraged, and immediately made preparations against *both* cities. Expecting their armament would soon arrive, Brasidas removed the wives and children of the Scionæans and Mendæans to Olynthus; and sends over thither[5] five hundred heavy infantry, and three hundred Chalcidean targetteers, under the command of Polydamidas. And those in Scione and Mende, jointly with them, set themselves to put things in order, as expecting that the Athenians would soon be with them.

CXXIV. In the meantime, Brasidas and Perdiccas make a joint expedition for the second time against Arrhibæus[1]; the latter of whom had with him the forces of the Macedonians, and some heavy infantry of the Grecians who dwelt among them; the latter, besides the remnant of the Peloponnesians, some Chalcideans, Acanthians, and the rest of the allies, according to their respective ability. The total number of heavy infantry of Grecians amounted to about three thousand. Of cavalry there were, of Macedonians together

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τότε refers to the time when the truce was announced. At ἀνέντων subaud πρᾶγμα. The τὸ καταδῆλον is an expression of rare occurrence. See, however, Dio Cass. 142, 95. 846, 14. 902, 24.

[5] *Thither.*] Literally, "to them," i. e. "the people of Scione and Mende." Smith very ill renders, "had them escorted thither by five hundred heavy-armed Peloponnesians, and three hundred Chalcidic targetteers:" as if so large an escort would be necessary. Besides, he forgot that no land forces could escort them thither, since they could not pass Potidæa. The wives and children were, doubtless, removed by *sea* in the same vessels which brought the reinforcements; the Athenians, it seems, having, by a strange want of judgment, no naval force there.

[1] *In the meantime, Brasidas, &c.*] How it happened that Brasidas was so soon engaged in hostilities against that prince with whom he had so lately formed an amicable connection, Thucydides does not inform us. Mitford skilfully introduces the narration of the expedition as follows: "In the arduous and complex business in which Brasidas was engaged, in his quality of commander-in-chief of the Peloponnesian forces, and superintendent of the Peloponnesian affairs in Thrace, while, among Grecian towns, his negotiations succeeded beyond hope, he found insuperable difficulty in managing his interests with the ambitious, haughty, capricious, and faithless king of Macedonia. Whether Arrhibæus had contravened or deserted his engagements, or whether Brasidas thought it of so much importance to preserve the friendship of Perdiccas as to be induced himself to break with Arrhibæus, Thucydides does not inform us; but the Spartan general and the Macedonian king, with united forces, invaded Lyncestis." Perhaps the truth might lie *between* the two reasons suggested.

with Chalcideans, near unto [2] one thousand; the rest of the multitude, which was considerable, consisted of Barbarians. [3] Having made an irruption into the territory of Arrhibæus, and found the Lyncestians drawn up ready to receive them, they themselves took post over against them. And the infantry of either party occupied a hill, and the intermediate space being a plain point, the cavalry of either galloped down, and came to an engagement. Then Brasidas and Perdiccas, on the Lyncestian heavy infantry having advanced from the hill with the cavalry, and being prepared for battle, also themselves advanced against them, and charging, put them to the rout, and slew many; the rest, flying for refuge to the high ground, there kept quiet. After this, the victors erected a trophy, and stopped two or three days on the spot; waiting for some Illyrians, who were to join with Perdiccas for pay. Then Perdiccas was desirous to proceed against the villages [4] of Arrhibæus, and no longer to keep inactive; but Brasidas being solicitous about Mende, and apprehensive lest, if the Athenian expedition should first arrive, it might suffer some disaster; and, moreover, as the Illyrians came not up, did not relish that project, but rather inclined to retreat. [5]

CXXV. Meanwhile, as they were disputing on the point, word was brought that the Illyrians having betrayed their en-

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[2] *Near unto.*] Such seems to be the literal sense of the anomalous phrase ὀλίγῳ (or ὀλίγου) ἐς χιλίους.

[3] *Barbarians.*] Mostly, we may suppose, Thracians, but partly of the barbarous independent tribes between Macedonia and Odrysia, mentioned at l. 2, 98.

[4] *The villages.*] By this it seems that there was no place in Lyncestis (except, perhaps, the capital) that could be called even a *town*. Yet by their having regular heavy-armed infantry, it should seem that they were far more civilized than their neighbours the Illyrians and Thracians.

Mitford narrates as if the word κώμας imported or implied plain country. But there is every reason to think that Lyncestis consisted almost wholly of hilly country, much like Ætolia; and Brasidas, aware by the case of Demosthenes in Ætolia, of the danger of a campaign in a hilly country, might well not relish the scheme, and, at least, wish for the Illyrians.

[5] *But Brasidas being, &c.*] It is plain that Perdiccas and Brasidas had their separate and, in some respects, opposite interests. It was the interest of Brasidas to attend to his important concerns in Chalcidice; and it was equally his interest that Arrhibæus should be only humbled, not destroyed.

gagement with Perdiccas, had ranged themselves on the side of Arrhibæus. So that it was indeed now determined by both to retreat, from their apprehension of the accession to the enemy, especially as the men were warlike; but, from the disagreement between them, nothing was decided as to the time or mode of their retreat[1]; and, night coming on, the Macedonians and the bulk of the Barbarians (as it is usual for[2] numerous armies to be terrified at vague rumours), taking alarm, and fancying the number advancing against them to be much greater than it really was, and that they were all but at hand, betook themselves to sudden flight, and made for home; and Perdiccas, who at first was not aware of[3] their movement, they compelled, when he did know of it, to depart without communicating with Brasidas[4], for, indeed, their forces had encamped at a distance from each other.[5] As to Brasidas, when he found, at the dawn of day, that the Ma-

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[1] *As to the time, &c.*] In the original, indeed, nothing answering to "the manner" is *expressed;* but it is *implied;* for as the whole force was so considerable, and of so motley a character, it was impossible that all should move together; and it was proper that some plan should be contrived as to their order, and, consequently, the time in which the different corps should file off.

[2] *As it is usual for, &c.*] Goeller remarks, that the construction is here as at l. 3, 12., the relative ὃ being referred to the whole of the preceding sentence, by apposition. And he compares an apposition of the infinitive at l. 8, 22. 5, 6. Xen. Anab. 1, 1, 7. Thucyd. 8, 24. 7, 80. οἷον φιλεῖ καὶ πᾶσι στρατοπέδοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις, φόβος καὶ δείματα ἐγγίγνεσθαι. Finally, he remarks that ποιεῖν, or παθεῖν, is not to be supplied at ὅπερ, though the former is added at l. 5, 70.

[3] *Was not aware, &c.*] Perdiccas, whatever he might be as a politician, seems to have had little of the foresight, vigilance, or decision of a general. He, it appears, laid himself down to rest without forming any plan for the morrow, in circumstances which, with so motley a force as his own, were not a little critical. That an army thus left without orders should have taken measures for its own preservation is not strange.

[4] *Communicating with Brasidas.*] The recent commentators take ἰδεῖν for *colloqui*, Atticè. And Steph. cites examples from Lucian Dial. Deor. 9. and St. Luke 8, 20. But I rather agree with Duker that there is no *Atticism* at all; not, indeed, so much for the reason he assigns, namely, that "here (as in ἐντυγχάνειν) there is a figure, the antecedent for the consequent," as because this sense is found in most languages. So the Latin *visere*, and our verb *to see*.

[5] *Encamped at a distance from each other.*] This was usual with armies of different countries, of which we have several instances in Xenophon's Anabasis and the third book of Thucydides' History. Besides, as the whole forces were so numerous, it would have been otherwise impossible to have procured food or forage for them.

cedonians were gone forward, and that the Illyrians and Arrhibæans were about to advance against him, he determined [6] to draw together his heavy infantry into a hollow square [7], and, putting the crowd of light-armed in the middle, so to retreat: he also stationed some of the youngest [8] to sally forth at whatever quarter the enemy should charge upon them; while he himself determined to occupy the rear [9] with three hundred chosen troops, in order to withstand, in his retreat, the rear of the enemy, which might press upon them. And before the enemy were approached near, he, as far as the time would permit, inspirited his troops by the following hortatory address.

CXXVI. "Unless, Peloponnesians, I had suspected that, by reason of your being abandoned by your allies, and because those who are advancing upon us are Barbarians and numerous, you might be thrown into some terror, I should not have thus addressed you in the language of brief remembrance and exhortation. [1] But now, upon [2] this desertion of

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[6] *Determined.*] Or "*decided.*" Not "*intended,*" as Hobbes and Smith render. The situation in which Brasidas was placed is well stated by Mitford in these words: "The superiority of the enemy's force, and his want of means for subsistence, left no choice but of hasty retreat."

[7] *A hollow square.*] The form was, no doubt, that of a long parallelogram.

[8] *Stationed some of the youngest.*] These, perhaps, were placed in the front rank; which is more probable than to suppose, with Mitford, that they formed a body by themselves, to act as a reserve; for then they could not have been ready for any point. Perhaps they formed several small bodies. See 6, 127.

[9] *The rear.*] Thus choosing the most difficult and arduous post, on maintaining which depended the safety of the whole army. So Onosand. 34. *τὴν οὐραγίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐρρωμενεστάτων καὶ ἀνδρειοτάτων συνιστάσθω.* and 84, 1. *Ἔχέτω δὲ που καὶ στρατιώτας λογάδας, ἰδίᾳ τεταγμένους ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, ὥσπερ ἐφέδρους τοῦ πολέμου, πρὸς τὰ καταπονούμενα μέρη τῆς δυνάμεως, ἵν' ἐξ ἑτοίμου τοὺς ἐπικουρήσαντας ἐπάγῃ· καὶ ἄλλως οὐκ ὀλίγον ὤνησαν ἀκμῆτες ἐπελθόντες ἤδη κεκοπιακόσι.*

In modern warfare the rear-guard is always put under the command of some officer of approved merit. Of what consequence this post was thought in the earliest ages, we may judge from the words of the Prophet Isaiah 52, 12. "the God of Israel will be your rere-ward." So also in the Psalms and elsewhere.

[1] Here we have a truly soldier-like address, destitute, indeed, of rhetorical art, but admirably adapted to the purpose intended, and very much like the harangues which Napoleon used, at critical times, to address to his men. It may be observed that there is a strong resemblance between

our allies, and considering the numbers of the enemy, I shall do my best, by a brief remembrance and exhortation, to impress on your minds considerations of the greatest moment.

" On you, then [3], comrades, it is highly incumbent to [4] approve your bravery in warlike affairs, not by reason of the continual presence of allies, but from your own innate and hereditary valour; and to feel fear at *no* multitude of *others* [5], especially since ye come not from [6] such sort of governments

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this and the oration of Phormio, l. 2, 89. Indeed, the circumstances were the same.

Brief remembrance and exhortation.] This passage seems to have been in the mind of Dionys. Hal. 1, 346, 40. *βραχείᾳ διδαχῇ — μᾶλλον δὲ ἀναμνήσει.* So it is said at 1, 88. that Phormio wished *θαρσῦναι τε καὶ παραίνεσιν ποιήσασθαι.* also *ὑμόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ θαρσεῖν.*

[2] *Upon.*] The sense of *προς* is not here *quod attinet ad* (as Portus and Hack take it to be), but *super.*

[3] *Then.*] The *γὰρ* is here *inchoative,* not *causal.*

[4] *It is highly incumbent to, &c.*] The best commentary on, and illustration of, the sense of *προσῆκει* is to be found at 2, 89. where Phormio thus speaks of the Lacedæmonians: *ᾧ μάλιστα πιστεύοντες προσέρχονται, ὡς προσῆκον σφίσιν ἀνδρείοις εἶναι.*

[5] *To feel fear at no multitude of others.*] There is a kindred sentiment at 2, 88. *οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκ πολλοῦ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀξίωσιν ταύτην εἰλήφεσαν, μηδένα ὄχλον Ἀθηναῖοι ὄντες Πελοποννησίων νεῶν ὑποχωρεῖν.* And so Tyrtæus Frag. 2, 3. *μηδ' ἀνδρῶν πληθὸν δειμαίνετε, μηδὲ φοβεῖσθε.*

By *ἑτέρους* is meant *ἀλλοφύλους.*

[6] *Since ye come not from, &c.*] Such is clearly the sense of the passage, which has much perplexed the commentators. The endeavours of Abresch to justify and explain the common reading are fruitless. And Kistemacher's attempt to remove the difficulty by taking *μηδὲ* in the sense *numquid,* and converting the sentence into an interrogative one, involves something so violent and anomalous as to merit no attention. Stephens's conjecture *οἱ* for *οὐ,* mild as it is, is inadmissible. For as none of the three other adjectives have the article, why should this? It is preferable, with Goeller, to suppose that the *οὐ* was inserted from negligence; for similar instances of which that commentator refers to Reisig on Aristoph. t. 1. p. 30. And if the passage came from the author as it stands, such is, doubtless, the true light in which to regard it; but until other examples of such *negligence* can be adduced from Thucydides, I must hesitate to recúr to a principle at all times precarious, and against whose adoption in the New Testament I have every where protested in my Recensio Synoptica. It seems to me that Abresch's conjecture (too timidly proposed) contains the truth; namely, for *οὐ* to read *οὗ,* and cancel *ἐν αἷς* as its gloss.

The force of the argument has been correctly indicated by Acacius thus: " Remember ye come from a state in which not many govern few, but few many; therefore ye ought not to decline engaging few against many." The argument is, indeed, not very forcible, indeed somewhat frigid; but exactly the same may be said of a few others to be found in the orations of that time.

in which many govern few; but rather the smaller number the greater, and have acquired your power by no other means than by fighting till you conquer! [7] But as to *Barbarians*, whom now, from inexperience of them, we fear, you should learn, from your former contest against them with the Macedonians [8] (as well as from what I conjecture or know by the report of others), that they will not prove formidable. And truly, such points of an enemy as, being really weak, have a show of strength, tend, on the true knowledge of them, so much the more to embolden their opponents: whereas with respect to those who securely possess any advantage, they alone who know it not beforehand will very courageously engage with *them*. [9] As to those now before you, their impending impetus [10] may, indeed, strike terror into the inexperienced; for they seem formidable by the numerosity of their appear-

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7 *Fighting till you conquer.*] Or, by conquering in battle; μαχόμενοι being for ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι. There is, as Hack observes, an allusion to the acquirement of Peloponnesus by the Anactoridæ through arms.

8 *From your former contest with, &c.*] Such seems to be the simplest and best founded sense that can be assigned; though the whole passage is not without difficulty, and has been variously interpreted. Portus, Bredow., and Hack take τοῖς Μακεδόσιν as a dativus commodi, signifying, "for the sake of the Macedonians." Which *may* be the sense; but it seems somewhat frigid and forced. Hack would refer the αὐτῶν to ὧν, and renders, "ex iis ipsis." But this is, I conceive, at variance with the *norma loquendi*. The same commentator and Goeller refer the αὐτῶν to βαρβάρων, and regard it as put for αὐτῶν οὖσιν, "who are barbarians;" namely, the Macedonians, not of Perdiccas, but of Arrhibæus. And they maintain that the Macedonians were not then regarded as Greeks. A more forced interpretation, however, than this it is scarcely possible to conceive. As to the Macedonians, though they were not then, strictly speaking, regarded as *Greeks*, neither, however, were they esteemed *Barbarians*. Upon the whole, the construction seems to be this: ἐξ ὧν (ἀγώνων καθ' οὕς) προηγώνισθε (κατ') αὐτῶν (σὺν) τοῖς Μακ. The ellipsis of κατὰ is by no means rare, and that of σὺν frequent.

9 *He alone who, &c.*] An acutè dictum, in which μόνον is to be *understood*.

10 *Impending impetus.*] Such seems to be the sense of the τὴν μέλλησιν, in which there is a more than lyric boldness, not to say harshness. Or, perhaps, it may be simply rendered, "their coming on, as they are about to come on." Goeller, indeed, interprets it *minas*, and refers to the union of the word with ἀπειλαῖς at the end of the chapter, and to a similar use at 1, 69. But to expound a word by another with which it has not the most remote connection, is not so much *interpretation* as the *substitution* of a plain word for a recondite term. And, as to the use of the word at the end of the chapter, it can have no such sense there, but must have that above assigned. Finally, as to the passage at l. 1, 69., the word there signifies *cunctatio*. See the note in loc.

ance [11], and insupportable by the loudness of the shouts. The vain and empty brandishing aloft of their weapons [12] has some show of threatening; but in actual engagement with such as endure their terrors, they are not answerable to their show: for having no regular order of battle, they will not be ashamed to quit the place assigned them [13] when hard pressed; and both their flight and their onset having equal credit [14] and

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[11] *Numerosity of their appearance.*] Heyne on Homer, t. 7. p. 244. takes the expression πλήθος ὄψεως for ὄψις πλήθους. And such is the light in which I have always myself viewed it. Coray and Poppo suppose we have here a substantive for an adjective; which comes to much the same thing. But, in fact, the use of the words, as they stand, is not foreign to our own language. At least, it is not necessary to adopt the conjecture of Lipsius, πλήξει, which is, indeed, a vox nihili. If *any* conjecture be necessary, I would propose one struck out by me many years ago, τῷ ἀηθεῖ. How easily ΤΩΑΗΘΕΙ and ΠΑΗΘΕΙ might be confounded, is obvious. Indeed, such seems to have been *read* by Arrian, who, in his E. A. 1, 9, 7., imitates the passage thus: τῷ ἀηθεῖ τῆς ὄψεως. And also, if I am not mistaken, by Dionys. Hal. 367, 6. ὄψεως δεινότητι. And Herodian, 2, 11, 10. has ἐταράττοντο τῷ ἀηθεῖ τοῦ πράγματος. Acacius ap. Duker aptly compares Liv. l. 37, 17. To which may be added Xen. Anab. 1, 7, 4. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος πολὺ, καὶ πολλῇ ἐπίασιν· ἂν δὲ ταῦτα ἀνάσχησθε. Onosand. p. 93. καὶ γὰρ ὄψις, καὶ βοή, καὶ πάταγος ὅπλων. where read βοῇ and πατάγῳ. Herod. 7. 211, 13. οἱ βάρβαροι βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ ἐπήϊσαν.

[12] *Empty brandishing aloft of their weapons.*] This and the shouting is noticed of the Greeks in the passage of Livy just cited, to which may be added, 21, 28. moris sui, quatientes scuta super capita, vibrantesque dextris tela; and 7, 10. exultatio armorumque agitatio vana.

This word ἐπανάσεισις I have nowhere met with but in Thucydides; though the *verb* ἐπανασείειν is used by Joseph. 849, 30. δημαρχικὴν ἐπανασείοντας ἐξουσίαν. Diod. Sic. t. 3, 310, 12. (of the Greeks) προανασείοντες τὰ ὅπλα καὶ καταπληττόμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους. Perhaps Diodorus and Livy followed in common some antient authority.

The student will remark the use of the adverbial phrase διὰ κενῆς for an adjective. It seems to have been imitated by Dionys. Hal. Ant. 163, 10. ἢ διὰ κενῆς προδοσίας δόκησις.

The Schol. on Aristoph. p. 459. cites a proverb, πολλῶν ἐγὼ Θρίων ψόφους ἀκήκοα (since leaves, when burnt, make a crackling, but produce no great fire). So (he subjoins) it is said, ἐπὶ τῶν δι' ἀπειλῆς θόρυβον καὶ κόμπον ἐμποιούντων διακενῆς. Of a very similar kind is the adage of Ecclesiastes, 7, 6. "As the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is laughter." (For such is the sense of the passage).

[13] *Quit the place assigned them.*] This, it was always in the Greek armies thought a point of honour to maintain. So Cnemus, in his address to his soldiers, 2, 87., says: τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἔπεσθε. χώραν μὴ λείποντες ᾗ ἂν τις προσταχθῇ.

[14] *Both their flight and, &c.*] Goeller thinks there is here an allusion to the custom of the Barbarians to fight flying, and launch darts at their enemy; comparing Horat. Od. 1. 19, 11. versis animosum equis Parthum. and Virg. Georg. 3, 31. fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis. Strictly speaking, however, there is no such allusion; nor is it clear that

honour, even bravery, hath no test whereby it can be tried.[15] Besides, a battle carried on by each combatant at his own will, and without direction, will at least afford to any one a handsome excuse to provide for his own safety. Besides, they esteem it safer to affright us without danger to themselves rather than fairly come to blows; for otherwise they would have taken this course in preference to that: and you see clearly, that whatever at first seemed terrible from them is in fact trivial, and only meant to strike terror into you, by the sight and the hearing[16]; which if you endure when assailed by it, and again, as opportunity shall serve, draw off[17] with exact order and array, you will sooner arrive at a place of security[18]; and you will henceforward know, that such *rabbles* to those who sustain their first onset, boast forth their courage *at a distance*[19], with threats only, and with prudent delay; but as to those who give way to them, they are keen enough (in security), to show forth their courage by chasing them hard at their heels[20], and running them down."

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this was practised by the *western* Barbarians. If such were the case, it can only seem to account for onset and retreat being equally honourable.

15 *Even bravery hath, &c.*] This sense the context plainly requires; and the words surely admit it. That of Hobbes, "their valours are never called in question" (formed on the version of Portus), is incorrect; and that of Smith, "by such things is their valour established and rescued from reproach," is any thing but the true sense.

Ἀνεξέλεγκτος is a rare word; but I have met with it in Xen. κ. 13, 7. Dio Cass. 714, 11. 972, 91. Diod. Sic. 1, 49, 300. Joseph. 135.

16 *Only meant to, &c.*] The sense is here missed by Hobbes; for καταστέρχω does not signify to frighten *away*; the κατὰ being only intensive, like our *out* in *tire out*. The word καταστέρχω is indeed rare; but it occurs in Dio Cass. 292. 30. Joseph. 1161.

Ὄψει and ἀκοῇ seem used to denote the *senses* of sight and hearing.

17 *Draw off.*] Not "draw *back*," as Smith renders. In the sense *gradually retreat* the word is used by most of the historians and military writers; as Plutarch Anton. 49. ὑπαγόντων δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν τῶν πρώτων. Procop. 23, 15. τις ἐκινήθη στρατόπεδα — Περσῶν μὲν εἰς ὑπαγωγήν.

Thus Brasidas meant to retreat like the lion at bay.

18 *Place of security.*] Namely, over the borders of Lyncestis, and into Macedonia.

19 *Boast forth, &c.*] The passage is imitated by Dio Cass. p. 213, 40. ἐν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς πᾶν τὸ φόβερον διακενῆς ἐπικόμπουσιν.

20 *They are keen enough, &c.*] On this passage the commentators are not agreed. *Duker* seems to have been most successful; but it is strange he should not have cited what may be considered the best commentary on the passage, 3, 98. πολλοὺς κατὰ πόδας αἱροῦντες ἀνδρώποι ποδώκεις. Xen. Cyr. 1, 6, 40. τὸ κατὰ πόδας αἱρεῖν.

CXXVII. After this exhortation, Brasidas drew off his army; on seeing which, the Barbarians, supposing him to have fled, fell upon them with a mighty shout and hurly-burly, intending to overtake and cut them off; but when the parties of outrunners [1], wherever they charged, met their attacks, and Brasidas with the chosen bands withstood their charges, and both at the first onset they unexpectedly opposed them, and afterwards received and repulsed their charges, and when they kept quiet, themselves retreated; then, indeed, the greater part of the Barbarians drew off from the Greeks with Brasidas in the open country, and having left a certain party to follow and annoy them, the rest went off at full speed against the flying Macedonians; and such as they met with they slew; then, pushing on, they began to preoccupy [2] *the pass* [3] (which, towards the country of Arrhibæus,

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[1] *But when the parties of outrunners, &c.*] Namely, the ἔκδρομοι mentioned at c. 125. These terms seem to have been appellatives regularly bestowed on certain corps of light-armed, often used with cavalry. So Xen. Hist. 4, 5, 16. οἱ ἱππεῖς — σὺν τοῖς ἐκδρόμοις καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐπέστρεφον. Yet Sturz has shown that they were not the same with the ἄμιπποι, or certain select parties of heavy-armed drafted out of the *morœ*, in order to pursue a flying enemy." The troops, however, *here* mentioned (and, probably, those in Xenophon) were, if not *heavy-armed*, at least *peltastæ* or *middle-armed*. In later ages, the ἔκδρομοι were light *horse*, as appears from Dio Cass. 516, 56. ἐκπέμποντες δ' ἱππέας ἐκδρόμους ὅπη παρείκοι.

The term ἐκδρομὴ in this sense is very rare; though I have observed it in Joseph. p. 599, 38. ἀνέστελλε τὰς ἐκδρομάς. Plutarch Anton. c. 41. δι' αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ σφενδονηταῖς ἐκδρομὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους παρασκευάζοντας.

This circumstance is well narrated by Mitford thus: "They attacked: and, to their astonishment, were repulsed with loss; they repeated the attempt with no better success; and presently deterred by the firm countenance of the retreating army, with its readiness for efficacious resistance in every part, they drew off."

[2] *Began to preoccupy.*] Such is the sense of προκατέλαβον, and not *prepossessed:* for had that been the case, Brasidas would never have sent a *small detachment* to dispossess them; nay, it is probable that he would scarcely have been able to do this with his whole force. But in fact the imperfect, and sometimes the second aorist, is used of *action begun but not completed*, or what is *attempted* and *aimed at;* which is plainly the sense here.

[3] *The pass.*] Namely, from Lyncestis into Macedonia, or the contrary. As this signification of ἐσβολὴ is neglected by the commentators, and little noticed by the philologists or lexicographers, the following illustrations may be not unacceptable. Pausan. 1, 7, 2. τὴν ἐσβολὴν φραξάμενος. and 8, 6. αἱ ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν ἐσβολαί. Herod. 3, 4. ἐσβολαὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. 5, 15, 7. τὴν πρὸς Θαλάσσης ἐσβολήν. and 7, 175, 5. τὴν ἐν Θερμοπύλησι ἐσβολὴν φυλάξαι. More I shall adduce in my edition.

is a narrow way between two hills), knowing that there was no other outlet of retreat for Brasidas. And as he was now advancing to the difficult part of the road, they gathered around, intending to cut off his retreat.

CXXVIII. On perceiving this, he gave orders to the three hundred of his own corps to run at full speed, without preserving any ranks, and make towards that one of the hills which he thought they would most easily seize[1], and endeavour to push off the Barbarians, who were now advancing to it, before the greater part of the enemy, now encircling his forces, should advance thither.[2] Accordingly, they attacked and mastered those upon the hill; by which the other and major part of the Grecians now the more easily advanced towards it. For the Barbarians, on their men being routed and driven from the hill, stood in some awe, and followed them no further[3], reckoning them to be now on the borders, and escaped out of their reach. As to Brasidas, as soon as he had reached the height, he passed on in greater security;

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[1] *That one of the hills, &c.*] Mitford has here been led into error (as it should seem, by Hobbes), in making Brasidas direct the men to seize which of the hills they could most easily approach. So vague and indeterminate a direction neither Brasidas nor any other prudent general would have given. It is certainly to be understood that he *selected* that hill which was nearest to him, and most practicable.

Here infinite credit was due to Brasidas, not only for this masterly retreat, but for the military eye with which he perceived the measure aimed at by the enemy, before they had, in fact, commenced its execution.

[2] *Before the greater part, &c.*] Such appears to be the sense of this clause, which is very imperfectly represented by the translators, though it was perceived by the Scholiast. There was no necessity for Poppo to conjecture for ἐπίοντας, ἐπόντας: for though, when Brasidas sent his men off, they might only be advancing towards the hill, yet on perceiving what the party of outrunners aimed at, they, no doubt, some of them reached the top, but not in sufficient numbers to maintain the post.

Certainly there was much want of judgment in the enemy's closing partly, not, it seems, *entirely* around them, before they reached the hill. They should have secured the hill first, and then annoyed and gradually closed round the Greeks.

[3] *Followed them no further.*] They had had a proof of their courage that morning, and as they were now in the level country of Macedonia, and might soon be in communication with the forces of Perdiccas, there was no chance of fighting them to advantage. As to the other hill, it seems they had at first not been able to reach *that*, and Brasidas came so quickly up that they had no time to seize it.

and the same day he arrived at Arnissa [4], the first town in the territory of Perdiccas. The soldiers, irritated at the Macedonians for retreating without them, whenever they met by the way with any teams of oxen [5] belonging to them, or chanced on any furniture which had fallen off (as was likely to happen in a nocturnal retreat, and one full of consternation [6]), the former they unyoked and cut them to pieces. [7] From this Perdiccas first began to regard Brasidas as an enemy, and henceforward he conceived a hatred of the Peloponnesians which, by reason of the dislike he bore the Athenians, was unusual to him. [8] And, impelled by the urgent exigencies of his private interests [9], he contrived in

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[4] *Arnissa.*] Of this town (only mentioned by Thucydides and Ptolemy) the situation cannot be accurately fixed. It is said by Wasse and others to have been on the river Erigon; though that would seem somewhat too far for Brasidas to have reached that day. The *pass* was, probably, near a place now called *Vizani*, which is, I believe, the only practicable way across the chain of hills which, it seems, skirted the whole of Lyncestis on the east.

[5] *Teams of oxen.*] Namely, waggons drawn by oxen, which conveyed the baggage, stores, and other necessaries; not, "*yokes of oxen*," as Smith renders. So Etym. Mag. ζεῦγος. οὐ μόνον τὸ ἐκ δυοῖν τινῶν ζευγνύμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκ πλειόνων. Indeed, the very expression βοεικὰ ζεύγη occurs in Xen. Anab. 7, 5, 1 and 2.

[6] *As was likely, &c.*] So Livy 10, 32. Strage rerum in trepidatione nocturna possim relictarum.

[7] *Unyoked and cut them to pieces.*] For *food*, it should seem; as probably they were driven to great straits; for among the antients the regulations for the supply of an army were very imperfect, and it was left very much to what could be collected from the country where the army happened to be.

It is strange that Mitford should represent them as turning the oxen loose. Still more so that Smith should render the οἰκείωσιν ἐποιοῦντο, "secreted them as lawful plunder."

Mitford relates as if they made free with the *lading* of the teams: but that does not appear.

[8] *And henceforward, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of the words of the original, which have been misunderstood by Smith and Hobbes. The view I have taken is supported by the opinion of Goeller, who rightly observes that γνώμῃ depends upon οὐ ξυνηθεί.

[9] *Impelled by the urgent, &c.*] On the sense of the difficult phrase, τῶν δὲ ἀναγκαίων ξυμφόρων διαναστὰς, translators and commentators are divided in opinion. Some render "propter sua necessaria commoda alienatus." And so Smith, Bauer, and Hack: but for this sense of διανάσται I know no authority; nor is the ellipsis of ἕνεκα *here* without some harshness. So that although this interpretation is supported by the authority of the Scholiast, I see not how it is admissible. Greatly preferable is the version of Smith, "prevailed on by the exigencies of his own affairs;" from which my own (formed, however, independently of his) does not materially differ.

what way he might the soonest come to a pacification with the one, and get rid of the other.

CXXIX. Brasidas, having retreated from Macedonia to Torone, finds the Athenians already in possession of Mende; and, as he did not conceive himself now able to pass over to the assistance of Pallene, he kept quiet where he was, and maintained a careful watch over Torone. For about the same time with the events at Lyncestis, the Athenians had set sail against Mende and Scione (as they had been preparing to do), with fifty ships, whereof ten were Chian, and one thousand heavy infantry, and six hundred bowmen of national troops; of Thracian mercenaries, one thousand, and some others raised from their allies of those parts [1], as peltastæ (or middle armed). These forces were commanded by Nicias son of Niceratus, and Nicostratus son of Diotrephes. Having weighed anchor with the fleet from Potidæa, and touched at the temple of Neptune, they marched again to the Mendæans. But they and three hundred Scionæans who had gone to their assistance, and the Peloponnesian auxiliaries, in all to the number of seven hundred heavy infantry, commanded by Polydamidas, had formed a camp [2] on a strong

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I have, however, sometimes thought that *τῶν ἀναγκαίων ξυμφερῶν* might mean *compulsory calamities*, or such as admit no other course but one. So 3, 82. *ἐν μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν αἵ τε πόλεις καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται ἀμείνους γνώμας ἔχουσι, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ἀκουσίους ἀνάγκας πίπτειν· ὁ δὲ πόλεμος, ὑφελὼν τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν, βίαιος διδάσκαλος, καὶ πρὸς τα παρόντα τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοιοῖ.*

As to what Hack and Goeller here say, that Perdiccas was instigated by political motives to make peace with those whom he had always hated, and to separate himself from those to whom he had always been attached, that seems to be too subtle reasoning. Perdiccas was a crafty and heartless prince, who had little regard for either party except so far as he could make it subservient to his own views. And as to its being his interest that the Athenians should be expelled from Thrace, it was scarcely less his *interest* that the Lacedæmonians should have no footing. At all events, it was his *present* interest to break with the Lacedæmonians, and associate himself with the Athenians; and such a motive, however trifling its object, was always powerful enough to guide the counsels and plans of Perdiccas. And as to sudden tergiversation, he could scarcely contract greater disgrace than he had already done.

[1] *Of those parts.*] i. e. the parts of Thrace. The expression, *οἱ αὐτόθεν*, to denote "the inhabitants of the country," occurs also at 3, 7. and 7, 71.

[2] *Formed a camp.*] *Ἐκστρατοπεδεύεσθαι* (a rare word, which I have no

hill outside of the city. And Nicias, endeavouring with one hundred and twenty Methonæan [3] light infantry, and sixty select heavy-armed, and all the bowmen, to come at them [4] by a certain path up the hill, and being wounded in the attempt, was unable to force the ascent. Nicostratus, too, attempting with the whole of the rest of the army to scale the hill (which was very difficult of access) by another way [5] further about, and his troops being thrown into disorder [6], the whole Athenian army was within a little of sustaining a total discomfiture. And, for this day, as the Mendæans and their allies would not yield, the Athenians retired and encamped, and on the approach of night the Mendæans withdrew to the city.

CXXX. On the day following, the Athenians having sailed about [1] to that part of the city which is opposite to Scione [2], and taking the suburb, they ravaged the country for the whole day, no sally being made to hinder them. For

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where else noticed except in Xen. Cyr. 6, 3.) signifies to *encamp away from*.

This expedient of forming a camp out of the site of a city was sometimes adopted when the city was either not very strong, or too extensive to be defended by the forces.

[3] *Methonæan.*] Namely, of Methone in Thrace; in the siege of which Philip of Macedon lost an eye.

[4] *Come at them.*] Literally, "mount up to them." Whether this was an open attempt to mount the height in front of the enemy, or a secret one to scale the height at some unperceived point in their rear, is not said; but the latter seems the more probable, since the attempt was made by a *detachment* only of the light infantry and archers.

This was, perhaps, suggested by the method adopted in the case of Sphacteria, where the strong position of the Lacedæmonians was carried by the Messenians and others fetching a compass about, and scaling the cliff in the rear of the Lacedæmonians.

[5] *By another way.*] Or approach. So Herodian, 6, 5, 5. οὕτω γὰρ ᾠετο διαφόροις ἐφόδοις ἀφυλάκτως αὐτοῖς ἐπελεύσεσθαι.

[6] *Thrown into disorder.*] So Plutarch ap. Steph. Thes. ὁρῶν τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐκ ἀτρεμοῦν, ἀλλὰ κυμαῖνον, ἀπειρίᾳ καὶ θορυβουμένον.

[1] *Sailed about.*] For there is a sort of headland between Mende and Scione.

[2] *That part, &c.*] It seems that by doubling the above headland, they were brought thither, and, entering by an indentation of the coast thereabout, were then at the side of Mende, fronting Scione. It is plain, as I before observed, that our maps assign a wrong situation to Mende.

Mitford has here fallen into error by narrating, that "they went to *Scione*, and took the suburbs." It was plainly *Mende*.

there was, too, somewhat of faction in the city [3]; and during the succeeding night the three hundred Scionæan auxiliaries retired home. The next day Nicias, with half of the forces, proceeding to the borders of the Scionæans, devastated their territory; while Nicostratus, with the remainder, took post before the city at the upper gate [4], by the road leading to Potidæa.[5] Whereupon Polydamidas (for it happened that in that quarter, and within the wall [6], was situated the military station of the Mendæans and the auxiliaries) makes dispositions for battle, and advises the Mendæans to make a sally. And, upon a certain person of the democratical party contradicting him in a factious spirit, and declaring that "they would not go forth, nor was there any occasion for fighting;" and on this objector being seized hold of by him and shaken [7], the people (or the democratical party) enraged, immediately

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[3] *For there was, &c.*] A party favouring them within the place, not powerful enough to put it into their hands, was, nevertheless, powerful enough to deter the ruling party from quitting their walls to protect their fields. Next day, therefore, the army was divided. (Mitford).

[4] *The upper gate.*] Namely, the gate towards the *inland* country; for such is the sense of the ἄνω.

Mitford remarks, "that the text of Thucydides appears here evidently deficient, and neither the antient Scholiast, nor the modern annotators, give any assistance." I cannot, however, see wherein consists the deficiency or difficulty. Both are surely of that historian's own making, and proceeded from the very wrong view which (as it has been above pointed out) he took of the foregoing passage.

[5] *By the road leading to Potidæa.*] And, therefore, nearly on the contrary side to that which fronted Scione.

[6] *For it happened that, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of the awkward clause ἔτυχε—κείμενα, which has been misconceived by the translators. Τὰ ὅπλα, in the sense *castra, statio militaris*, occurs perpetually in the historians, especially Xenophon. And our Schol. on l. 8. thus writes: ὅπλα. τόπον ἐφ' ᾧ οἱ στρατιῶται φυλακὰς ἔχουσιν ὡπλισμένοι.

Within the wall is said in opposition to the post which they had before occupied *without*.

[7] *Seized hold of and shaken.*] Such seems to be the sense of ἐπισπασθέντος τῇ χεῖρι καὶ θορυβηθέντος. Now ἐπισπασάσθαι here signifies to *lay hold of*, and *drag* (where the ἐπὶ seems to have the sense of ἐπιλαμβανέσθαι: the verb being a sort of vox prægnans). This use is of very rare occurrence; but an example is found in Suidas: Ἐπισπασάμενος τῆς κόμης τοῦτον. where the lexicographer explains it ἐφελκύσας. And so Lucian ap. Steph. Thes. ἕλκει — πάνυ βιαίως ἐπισπώμενος. So that the expression answers to our *collared*.

As to θορυβηθέντος, it seems to be used in the primitive sense *shaken*; q. d. collared and shaken. Or it may be taken in a metaphorical sense, as we say "put in bodily fear."

ran to arms, and made towards the Peloponnesians and those of the contrary party who sided with them, and falling upon them, they put them to the rout, partly by the suddenness of the attack, and partly by their fear that the gates would be opened for the Athenians; for they supposed that the attempt had been made from some previously-concerted plan. Thus *those* (such of them as were not slain on the spot), fled for refuge to the citadel which they had previously occupied. But the *Athenians* (for by this time Nicias, too, had returned and was at the gates) rushed into the city [8] with their whole force, and, inasmuch as it was not opened to them on any terms of treaty [9], plundered it, as if they had taken it by storm; and with great difficulty did the commanders hinder them from putting the inhabitants to the sword. After the tumult was composed [10], they directed [11] the Mendæans to follow the same form of government that they had been accustomed to, and themselves hold judicial inquisition upon such as had been promoters of the revolt. [12] They then set themselves to blockade those in the citadel by a work drawn either way to the sea [13], and established a force to guard the lines. Having thus occupied Mende, they marched against Scione.

CXXXI. Now the inhabitants of that place, both them-

It is plain that Polydamidas meant to apprehend him, not to drag him out of the assembly, as Mitford relates.

[8] *Rushed into the city.*] Either the gate was opened, or no opposition was made to their entrance.

[9] *Inasmuch as, &c.*] Hobbes renders, "not as opened unto them by agreement, but as taken by force;" which supposes that there *was* an agreement, contrary to fact.

[10] *After the tumult was composed.*] Such is plainly meant by the μετὰ ταῦτα. By *they* must be understood the commanders.

[11] *Directed.*] Namely, as Mitford thinks, in an assembly of the people convoked at the forum.

[12] *And themselves hold, &c.*] This what Mitford calls "politic liberality of themselves making no enquiry about the past," was certainly worthy of the benevolence and philanthropy of those excellent men Nicias and Nicostratus, who, wherever they went, diminished the horrors of war, and dispensed blessings all around.

[13] *A work drawn either way to the sea.*] By this it is plain that Mende was not very *far* from the sea; though we may suppose that the citadel was situated nearest to it.

selves and the Peloponnesians, were posted at a strong hill [1] before the city, without taking which there could be no line of circumvallation drawn. But the Athenians assaulting them vigorously, and forcing away the defenders, themselves encamped there; and, after setting up a trophy, prepared to draw a wall of circumvallation. Not long after, as they were engaged on the work, the auxiliaries besieged in the citadel of Mende, having forced the guards of the sea, came to the camp, near Scione, and most of them safely effected their entrance into the city.

CXXXII. During the progress of the circumvallation of Scione, Perdiccas sends a message by herald to the Athenian commanders, concluding a treaty of peace with the Athenians. To this he was induced by the hatred he conceived against Brasidas, for what happened in the retreat from Lyncestis, having then first begun to negotiate the matter. Now it happened that at this very time Ischagoras, the Lacedæmonian, was meditating to transport a body of forces by land to Brasidas. But Perdiccas, at the request of Nicias, who wished him, as he had entered into a treaty with the Athenians, to thus exhibit some token to them of his stability therein; and partly because [2] he no longer wished the Peloponnesians to come into his territory, contrived measures with his hosts in Thessaly (being ever united in ties of hospitality with the first persons in that country), whereby he threw such hindrances in the way of the army, and all preparations for the passage, that they did not even *try* the Thessalians. Ischagoras, however, and Aminias, and Aristeus themselves went

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[1] *Posted at a strong hill.*] Imitating the method of the Mendæan forces, which had been successful. The "strong hill," in either case, seems to have been a part of the ridge which runs down the middle of Pallene, from Potidæa to the Canastræum.

[2] *And partly because, &c.*] The whole passage is thus paraphrased by Mitford: "Being desirous to give proof of his sincerity in his revived engagement with Athens, and otherwise little willing that his dominion should become a common road of communication for troops between Peloponnesus and Thrace, he prevailed, with his Thessalian friends, to interfere so effectually, that the Lacedæmonian government desisted from their purpose."

on to Brasidas, the Lacedæmonians having sent them to inspect the state of affairs, and brought some young men whom they had taken from Sparta in order to establish them [3], contrary to law [4], as governors of the cities, and not to continue them in the trust of such as might happen to have charge of them. And Clearidas son of Cleonymus he placed over Amphipolis, and Epitalidas son of Hegesander at Torone.

CXXXIII. This same summer, the Thebans demolished the wall of the Thespians, accusing them of Atticism.[1] This they had all along intended; but there was a readier opportunity for effecting their purpose, since, in the battle against the Athenians, the flower of their population had perished.[2]

Also this same summer, the temple of Juno at Argos was burnt down[3]; Chrysis, the high priestess, having placed a lighted lamp near some chaplets [4], and falling immediately

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[3] *In order to establish them.*] i. e. in order to their being established, namely, by Brasidas, as appears from what follows; for the *commissioners*, it seems, had not the power, but the governor-general, as we should say. Hobbes and Smith have, therefore, erred by representing that *they* established them; whereas Thucydides expressly writes καθίστησι, which, indeed, Kistem. understands of Ischagoras, but that is very harsh.

[4] *Contrary to law.*] This refers to the young men being, by the Spartan institutions, under the age required for governing.

[1] *Accusing them of Atticism.*] Or inclination to alliance with Athens. To all appearance, a very unfounded charge. The real reason was, that the Thebans wished to subject *this* district of the Bœotian confederation, as they had done some others.

[2] *The flower of, &c.*] As this expression τὸ ἄνθος αὐτῶν ἀπολώλει is neglected by the commentators, the following illustrations may be not unacceptable: — Æschyl. Pers. 252. τὸ Περσῶν ἄνθος οἴχεται. Eurip. Herc. Fur. 875. ἀποκείρεται σον ἄνθος. Dio Cass. 473, 31. πᾶν ὅ, τι περ ἄνθος αὐτῶν ἐφθείραν. Joseph. 856. 12. ὅ, τι καὶ ἄνθος ἦν ἀπώλετο. Themist. 61. E. καὶ ὅ, τι ἄνθος Ἑλλήνων.

[3] *The temple of Juno, &c.*] This circumstance is thus related by Pausan. 2, 17, 7. κατεκαύθη δὲ, τὴν ἱέρειαν τῆς Ἥρας Χρυσηΐδα ὕπνου καταλαβόντος, ὅτε ὁ λύχνος πρὸ τῶν στεφανωμάτων ἥπτετο.

[4] *Having placed a lighted lamp, &c.*] It should seem that she had not placed the lamp so near that it would of itself, and immediately, have set fire to the chaplets, but that, on some puff of wind having arisen, the flame caught them.

Ἐπικαταδαρθάνω signifies to *doze over.* As this Chrysis was then in the fifty-fifth year of her office (see Meurs. de Archont. Athen. 3, 6.), the slumbering or dozing seems to have arisen from the lethargy of extreme old age.

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into a slumber; so that the whole took fire and were in a flame before she was aware. And Chrysis, immediately that same night, fearing the resentment of the Argives, fled to Phlius; whereupon they, according to the law in that case provided [5], created another as priestess, by name Phaënis. Now Chrysis had reached unto the eighth and the half of the ninth year of this war when she fled. At the close of this summer, Scione was now completely circumvallated, and the Athenians, having stationed a guard there, retired home with the rest of the forces.

CXXXIV. In the subsequent winter, on account of the suspension of arms, matters were quiet with the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. But the Mantinæans and Tegæans, accompanied by their respective allies, came to an engagement [1] in the plain of Laodicium [2], in the territory of Orestis, and the victory was undecided. For each party routing the wing opposite to it [3], both erected trophies [4], and sent spoils to

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On the fire in question Gell, in his Morea, 391. remarks: "How this was contrived remains one of the most puzzling riddles of antiquity; for if it be said that this temple was of wood (which I have no doubt it was not), how was the temple of Diana at Ephesus consumed, where the columns were nine or ten feet in diameter?"

[5] *According to the law, &c.*] The law, it should seem, was, that if any one abandoned her sacred office, and went out of the country, it should be considered void.

[1] *But the Mantinæans and Tegæans, &c.*] This, Mitford thinks, arose from the want of a superintending authority in Arcadia. In which respect (it may be added) Arcadia was altogether different from Bœotia, but, perhaps, not more happily circumstanced.

[2] *Laodicium.*] Such has been determined by Duker and others, on critical principles, to be the true reading, and not *Laodicea*, which, being more familiar to the scribes, would easily arise.

This *plain* (for such it is) is mentioned by Polybius as part of the territory of Megalopolis, of which the *Orestis*, just afterwards mentioned, was (as we find from Steph. Byz.) the *half*.

[3] *Each party routing the wing opposite to it.*] Hack conjectures that this happened by the auxiliaries being placed respectively in one of the wings, so that they were defeated by the principals. But *such*, it may be answered, were seldom placed there, at least so as to terminate the line; but usually in the *centre*, with a strong corps de reserve behind. The victorious wings here mentioned were, probably, the *right* wings, which, as having almost always the best troops, usually carried off the victory.

[4] *Both erected trophies, &c.*] Each claimed the victory; each raised its trophy; and both being disabled for farther immediate exertion

Delphi. Many, however, being slain on either side, and the battle being nearly ended, and night breaking off the engagement, the Tegæans encamped on the field, and immediately set up a trophy; while the Mantinæans retreated to Bucolion, and afterwards set up a counter-trophy.

CXXXV. At the close of this same winter, and when the spring was almost come, Brasidas made an attempt upon Potidæa. He approached by night, and set up a ladder; and thus far escaped observation. For when the bell had been carried past, the ladder was immediately planted at the vacant space, before he that had delivered it had returned.[1]

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in the field, both endeavoured to gain the favour of the deity for future occasions, by presenting at Delphi the spoils collected in the battle. (Mitford).

[1] *For when the bell, &c.*] This custom of carrying a watch-bell is excellently illustrated by Casaub. on Æn. Poliorc. The most apposite passage he cites is from Plutarch Arat. 7. *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συνέμιξαν τε τῷ τείχει, καὶ προσήρεισαν τὰς κλίμακας ἀσφαλῶς. ἀναβαινόντων δὲ τῶν πρώτων, ὁ τὴν ἐωθινὴν φυλακὴν παραδιδοὺς ἐφώδευε κώδωνι, καὶ φῶτα πολλὰ καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τῶν ἐπιπορευομένων. οἱ δ', ὥσπερ εἶχον, αὐτοῦ πτήξαντες ἐπὶ τῶν κλιμάκων, τούτους μὲν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐλαθον. ἄλλης δὲ φυλακῆς ἐναντίας ταύτῃ προσερχομένης εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον κίνδυνον ἦλθον. ὡς δὲ κἀκείνην διεφυγον παρέλθοῦσαν, εὐθὺς ἀνέβαινον.* the sense of which passage has not been ill represented by Langhorne, except that it would have been better to have rendered the words *ὁ τὴν ἐωθινὴν — κώδωνι*, not "the officer who was to be relieved, passed that night *at* the sound of the bell," but, "the officer who was to set the morning guard came up with the bell sounding. Thus the words following, *ἄλλης δὲ φυλακῆς ἐναντίας ταύτῃ προσερχομένης*, should be rendered, not "the other which was to relieve it came up," but "the other watch (i. e. the one which had been just relieved) approaching by the contrary way."

The best explanation given by the *antients* of this custom is that of the Schol. on Aristoph. 580 *a*. B. *οἱ περίπολοι τὰς φυλακὰς περισκοποῦντες ἐρχόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς φύλακας, κώδωνας εἶχον, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐψόφουν, πειράζοντες τὸν καθεύδοντα. καὶ ἵνα οἱ φυλάττοντες ἀντιφθέγγωνται.* To which may be added Etym. Mag. in *διεκωδώνισεν: ἡ δὲ μεταφορὰ ἀπὸ τῶν περιπολοῦντων τοῖς κώδωσι τὰς φυλακὰς νυκτός.* Goeller aptly cites Hesych. *κωδωνοφορῶν — οἱ περιπολάρχαι ἐπὶ τοὺς φύλακας ἐρχόμενοι κώδωνα διεσείον καὶ οὕτως ἐξεπείραζον τὸν καθεύδοντα.* and Photius on the same word: *καὶ ἐψόφουν πειράζοντες*, &c. He also observes that in Soph. Aj. 17. the word *κώδων* is used to denote (as we say) the *bell-end* of a trumpet; by which it would be applicable to the broad end of any other wind instrument antient or modern. Finally, he adds, from the *sound* of a bell, a garrulous person was called by the Greeks *κώδων*, by the Romans *tintinnabulum;* and that *κωδωνίζειν* signifies to *din*. Thus the Scottish Theocritus says, "a *clapper* tongue wad deave a miller."

With respect to the *τὸ διάκενον*, the Scholiast has endeavoured to explain it in two ways; but seems to have failed in both; nor have the com-

Immediately afterwards, however, before they could mount, being discovered, he straightway led off his forces in haste, without waiting till it was day. And thus closed the winter and the ninth year of the war, which Thucydides hath written.

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mentators cleared up the point. The truth is, the expression has the same sense here as that assigned to it by the Schol. on l. 5, 71., namely τὸ μέσον κενόν. Bauer has happened upon the truth in explaining it "locum inter custodes et circuitores transeuntes vacuum." It signifies the space unoccupied by the passing guard.

Jan 31, 1853.

BOOK V.

I. At the commencement of spring the truce for a year expired, about the time of[1] the Pythian games. In the course of the suspension of arms, the Athenians removed[2] the Delians from Delus, reckoning that, though held sacred[3], yet, by reason of some certain crime committed of old, they were not *pure*[4]; and, moreover that *this* was wanting to

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[1] *About the time of.*] This is not the literal sense of μεχρὶ; but, in fact, there is, in the sentence, a blending of two constructions, and the full sense would be, "which was to continue until the Pythia, then expired." And the same view, I find, was formerly taken by Goeller, who compares 1, 71. μεχρὶ τοῦδε ὡρίσθω ὑμῶν ἡ βραδύτης. and 3, 108. After, however, stating various difficulties connected with the above view (which yet is preferable to the common one), he approves of the interpretation of Heilman, "The next summer the year's compact up to the Pythian games was considered as disannulled:" and Muller, "The year's truce was disannulled, there was war again, up to the Pythian games." "Thus," he subjoins, "the force of the pluperfect διελέλυντο may be expressed by αἱ σπονδαὶ διελύθησαν καὶ πόλεμος αὖθις ἦν μεχρὶ Πυθίων. For on the solemn festivals common to all the Greeks, all war was intermitted from the day of their proclamation." Vide l. 5, 49. He concludes by laying down the following as the sense: "Inde a mense Martio Ol. 89, 2, induciæ finitæ erant, rursus bellum geri poterat usque ad Pythia Ol. 89, 3. Hinc rursus per breve Pythiorum spatium induciæ."

Between these two interpretations the learned reader will decide for himself. Certainly the latter is countenanced by the words καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ. According to the common interpretation, we should probably have had ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ.

[2] *Removed.*] Or "*expelled.*" The word always implies *compulsion* (see 4, 54, 6, 4. 1, 12. 7, 50.), and no care to provide the expelled persons with fresh situations.

[3] *Though held sacred.*] Smith renders, "though performing divine service to the god." All the Delians, however, were not priests, but only comparatively few. The translators have failed to advert to that distinction between ἱεροῦσθαι and ἱερᾶσθαι which the antient lexicographers and grammarians have remarked, and which is confirmed by the opinion of the best modern critics. See the learned notes of Duker and Goeller.

[4] *By reason of some, &c.*] They had not, it seems, to object to them any present criminality, as if they could have addressed them in the words of the prophet Micah (6, 11.) "Shall I count them pure with the wicked balances, and with the bag of deceitful weights?"

"The Athenians now (says Mitford) offered a remarkable instance of popular superstition. Ever looking up to a superior cause for the direction of the events of this world, they did not attribute the reverse of for-

them for its purification, namely, wherein, by digging up the coffins of the dead (as has been before related), they thought they did well.[5] And these Delians found a residence at Atramittion in Asia, which was granted to them by Pharnaces[6], according as each felt an inclination to accept the offer.[7]

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tune, which they were beginning to experience, to the wretched constitution of their government, now so altered from that which Solon had established, nor to their own insufficiency for deciding on public measures, nor to the folly which, making them dupes to the boisterous eloquence of the ignoble and ignorant Cleon, led them to commit the administration of public affairs principally to his direction. Nor did they conceive themselves obnoxious to divine anger for all their unjust violence to their allies, and all their shocking cruelties to those whom they called rebellious subjects; yet they did attribute their misfortunes to the indignation of the deity. The fancy arose that the purification of the sacred island of Delos had been deficiently performed, and it was proposed to secure the favour of the god by a new act of cruel injustice."

[5] *And moreover that this, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of the awkwardly moulded sentence καὶ ἅμα—πεισῆσαι.

The air of the sentence shows that the historian regarded the action of digging up the coffins as an abomination. Yet, strange to say, he seems not to be sensible * how much *more* abominable was their *present* conduct, in thus inhumanly expelling faithful subjects who had every right by law, divine and human, to protection from the government to which they had rendered due allegiance. This is certainly one of the most cold-blooded acts of inhuman oppression recorded of a nation which boasted of the highest civilization, and such as extorted the charitable sympathy even of *barbarians*. And all this while pretending to acquire greater holiness with the divinity by acts of mere ceremonial worship! Well might they need an Apostle to proclaim to them from the *true* God, "I WILL HAVE MERCY and not sacrifice;" and to teach them to imitate the perfections of that Being whose *tender mercies* are over *all* his works, and whose sun shineth alike on the *evil* and on the good.

[6] *Which was granted to them by Pharnaces.*] It is not clear whether Pharnaces is to be understood as giving them the city, or permitting them to reside there. The *former* is supported by a kindred passage of l. 2, 27., to which might be added two or three others. But what, it may be asked, then became of the inhabitants? were they expelled? Of this we know no more than what became of the inhabitants of Thyrea. Probably, in the present case, the Delians were only made *joint possessors* of the city and lands.

Atramyttion, it may be observed, on the authority of Aristotle in his Polit. (referred to by Steph. Byz.), obtained its name from Atramytus, a son of Alyattes and brother of Crœsus. It is called in the Turkish histories Adramettiy. Certainly the spelling with τ is more antient than that with δ, since harsher consonants are by time softened into smoother.

[7] *According as each, &c.*] By which it is meant, that none were obliged

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* I would not, however, willingly do injustice to the great historic instructor, and I am ready to admit that his detestation of their present conduct might sharpen his indignation at their *former*; and the one is probably implied in the other.

II. Immediately after the expiration of the truce, Cleon [1] set sail to the parts of Thrace, having persuaded the Athenians to send him thither. He had with him of Athenians, one thousand two hundred heavy-armed, and three hundred horse; of allies, a greater number; of ships, thirty. And having touched first at Scione, which was yet besieged, and taking on board some heavy infantry from the besieging force, he brought to at the port of the Colophonians [2], which is not far distant from the city of Torone. From thence [3] (having learnt by deserters that Brasidas was not in Torone, and that the forces within the place were not sufficient to make any effectual resistance), he marched with his land forces against Torone; and of his ships, he sends ten to cruise around the port. And first he comes to the fortified wall which Brasidas had drawn round the city, for the purpose of including the suburb, who thus, by pulling down part of the old wall, and the erection of a new one, made it one city.[4]

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to go. Such is, I conceive, the sense, and not that assigned by Portus, "prout unusquisque eo profiscebatur," or, as Goeller renders, "prout singuli venerunt," or properabant, as Hack, a sense which seems frigid and useless; and hence the words have been passed over by Hobbes and Smith. The signification which I have assigned to ὥρμητο is of frequent occurrence in Thucydides. And so 6, 78. ἐπὶ ταῦτα ὁρμ., to be so inclined.

[1] *Cleon.*] On the present state of mind of this thorough demagogue, see the note of Smith, and especially the able illustrations of Mitford, vol. 3. pp. 326—329.

[2] *Port of the Colophonians.*] This has been most erroneously placed by D'Anville on the peninsula of *Pallene*. And what Mitford can have been thinking of to say it was at the *neighbouring* peninsula of Sithonia, I know not. It is plain that it was in the intermediate vicinity of Torone, and either N.W. or S.E. of it. For Torone seems to have been situated on a promontorial projection, on each side of which were two indentations of the coast, one forming the port *proper* of Torone, the other what was called the port of the Colophonians, which was, in some measure, also a port of Torone. Those two ports were situated nearly as the *Port of the agora*, and the *Hyllaic port* at Corcyra.

[3] *From thence.*] Not, "*whereat*," as Hobbes and Smith, after Portus, render.

[4] *The fortified wall which, &c.*] Such appears to be the sense of this imperfectly expressed sentence ὃ προσπεριέβαλε — πόλιν. At τοῦ παλαιοῦ τείχους we must subaud μέρος. And under διελὼν τοῦ παλαίου is *implied* the next words, which I have *expressed*. See the excellent exposition of the Scholiast.

III. But Pasitelidas, the Lacedæmonian governor [1], and the garrison present advanced to maintain the wall [2], and withstood the assaults of the Athenians. When, however, they were obliged to give way, and the ships, too, that were sent round, had entered the harbour, Pasitelidas, fearing both lest the ships should find the city destitute of defence, and take it, before he could proceed to its defence; and also that, on the storming of the wall, he himself should be hemmed in by both, abandons the walls, and marches at full speed to the city. But the Athenians, from the fleet having taken the city before he arrived, and their land forces following hard at his rear, broke into the place with them at the breach which had been made into the old wall; and part of the Lacedæmonians and Toronæans they slew in combat, and part they took prisoners, including Pasitelidas the governor. Brasidas was, indeed, advancing to the relief of the town, but having heard by the way that it was already taken, he retreated, though only forty stadia short of arriving and pre-

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[1] *Pasitelidas, the Lacedæmonian governor.*] Yet at 4, 132. we learn that Brasidas had appointed *Epitelidas* as governor of Torone. To this difficulty I know not what can be replied, except that probably Pasitelidas was the *old* governor, and Epitelidas, the newly-appointed one, had not taken possession of his government. Be that as it may, the reverses now experienced in Thrace by the Lacedæmonians may be fairly attributed to the narrow, sordid, and selfish policy of their administration, who could scarcely let Brasidas finish his conquests before they sent their creatures to take possession of them; though it appears that they were persons unable to *hold* what he had gained.

And as to their sending *commissioners* of *inspection*, that must have been a measure very unacceptable to Brasidas, as implying distrust in his judgment or honour; and their power must have, in some degree, interfered with his. In fact, they were treating him in the same ungrateful manner as the Spaniards did the man who gained them a new world, and an empire on which the sun never set. Had Brasidas lived, it is not improbable that the *Scytale* would have been sent for *his* recal, and chains and a dungeon been *his* reward. But the ingratitude and base rapacity of Lacedæmon soon proved the ruin of its foreign empire, which they lost exactly as, in after times, the *Dutch* (a people who, in their colonial proceedings, have strongly resembled them) lost the empire of Brasil; those narrow-minded republicans and grovelling traders sending over as governors of the Capitanias, persons wholly unqualified for their posts. And this, together with the paltry system (so peculiar to republics) of curtailing the expenses necessary for the government and defence of the country, soon lost them an empire acquired with immense blood and treasure.

[2] *Maintain the wall.*] i. e. the new wall, which had lately been built, and which, Mitford thinks, was not yet completed.

venting its capture.[3] And now Cleon and the Athenians raised two trophies[4], one at the port, and the other at the fortified wall; and the women and children of the Toronæans they sold for slaves[5]; but the men, and the Peloponnesians, and whatever Chalcidæans there were (in all to the number of seven hundred), they sent off as prisoners to Athens. Afterwards, the Peloponnesians were, by a subsequent treaty, dismissed; as to the remainder, they were fetched away by the Olynthians[6], man being exchanged for man.

About the same time, too, the Bœotians took by treachery Panactum[7], a fort of the Athenians, on the borders of the two countries. Cleon, after placing a garrison in Torone, set sail and doubled the promontory of Athos, as bound for Amphipolis.

IV. About the same time, Phæax son of Erasistratus, accompanied by two colleagues, set sail with two ships, being sent by the Athenians in quality of ambassador, to Italy and

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[3] *Though only forty stadia short of, &c.*] Literally, "though distant only forty stadia, so as not to be able to arrive and prevent its capture."

[4] *Two trophies.*] Namely, one to celebrate the victory of the fleet, the other that of the land force.

[5] *Sold for slaves.*] This would seem to be a severe measure, especially as then the men were not put to death, but sent prisoners to Athens. Probably, however, when they were sent, it was uncertain to what fate they might be doomed. And, perhaps, Nicias and Nicostratus were compelled to accede to the demands of the army, whose craving for spoil was not, it seems, satisfied by the plunder of the city, and who regarded the people as a part of the spoil to be disposed of for their advantage. Probably, the mercy the Toronæans met with at Athens was owing to the interposition of Nicias and Nicostratus as at Cythera. And certainly the bulk of the Toronæans might be considered as having shown signal fidelity to Athens.

[6] *They were fetched away by the Olynthians.*] How the Olynthians came to have so many Athenian prisoners, it is not easy to see. Certainly their kindness to the Toronæans was remarkable. And it is not improbable that, with a view to their release, many of the wives and children had been purchased by the Olynthians (who were rich), in order that they might be restored to one another.

[7] *Panactum.*] Or Panactus, as some even of the early writers spell it. This was only a fort, not, it seems, a town. Why it was so called is not clear. Berkley says it was from the abundance of *marjoram* growing there, since Hesych. explains Panactus by ὀρίγανον. That, however, were an odd name to give to a *fort.* The very reverse would seem more probable. Possibly it was so called from its situation on a wedge-like (ἄκτη) rock of Mount Parnes. That it was on that mountain-range is certain.

Sicily. For the Leontines, on the departure of the Athenians from Sicily after the treaty, had created many new citizens, and the common people had a plan in agitation for a division of the lands.[1] The higher ranks, on hearing of this, call in the assistance of the Syracusans, and expel the populace. These then wandered up and down, as each could find refuge; while the higher classes, having formed a treaty with the Syracusans, by virtue of which they[2] abandoned and desolated the city, went and inhabited Syracuse with the privileges of citizenship.[3] Afterwards, however, some of them, unsatisfied with their condition, having forsaken Syracuse, took possession of Phocææ[4] (a quarter so called in the city of the Leontines), and Bricinniæ[5], which

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[1] *A division of the lands.*] The plan was exactly of the same nature with that which we read of so often in the Roman history, under the name of Agrarian law. Some, indeed, would here understand a fresh distribution of the lands; but that is implied in the other sense. The lands were, it seems, to be regarded as common, and division to take place *viritim*. At this project it is no wonder that the present proprietors should take alarm.

[2] *By virtue of which they, &c.*] It is not surprising that they should adopt this expedient, seeing that their property was so daringly violated that they could not remain with any personal safety in their own country. The violence of the Roman Catholic party in Ireland tends to produce the very same effects in that wretched country. Though as to the *absenteeism* of these *Leontine* proprietors, it was evidently forced by the violence of a sort of *sans-culottes* faction. It is equally observable and lamentable, in all history, antient and modern, that no party supposing itself possessed of power knows where to stop. Did not observation show that though *individuals* often profit by the experience of the past, yet *communities* seldom do, we should wonder that history (even such as the present, which is *philosophy teaching by example*) should have produced so little benefit. Let us, however, hope, though the notions of *perfectability* have been proved mere delusions, that some advantage may be made of these lessons, in an age when the violence of party spirit should be diminished by the increase of intellectual cultivation, and when those gross deceits of the multitude which characterised the dark ages, are no longer practicable.

[3] *With the privileges of citizenship.*] Literally, "on condition of having," &c.; for ἐπὶ has often that sense.

[4] *Phocææ.*] Not, Phoceæ. I have here followed the reading edited by Bekker and Goeller, from some of the best MSS.

This may have been a suburb of Leontini, or rather, as Cluverius thinks, the fortress or Acropolis of the city of Leontini. Though, if so, one cannot but wonder that it was not occupied by the Syracusans.

[5] *Bricinniæ.*] The situation of this fortress (which seems to have derived its name from an herb called βρικίννη, mentioned by Hesych.) we are not able to determine; but from what follows it appears to have been much further inland than Leontini.

was a fort in the territory of Leontini. The greater part of the expelled populace then went to them, and being posted there, carried on a war from their strong holds.[6] On hearing of which, the Athenians send Phæax, to try whether they could persuade their allies there, and, if possible, the rest of the Siceliots, to make a *joint* expedition against the Syracusans, as having become powerful, and thus preserve the common people of the Leontines. On his arrival, Phæax prevails on the Camarinæans and Acragantines[7]; but on the business experiencing some hindrance at Gela[8], he went not forward to the rest, perceiving that he should not persuade them; but retiring through the country of the Siculi to Catania, and having, by the way, gone also to Bricinniæ and encouraged the people there, he made sail homeward.

V. In the course of his voyage to Sicily, and again on his return, he held communication with certain cities on the subject of forming a friendly connection with the Athenians. He also met by the way with some colonists of the Locri[1], who having once settled at Messene, had now been expelled thence; and who, after the general peace of the Siceliots, on the Messenians falling into faction, and one of the parties

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[6] *Their strong holds.*] Namely, Phocææ and Bricinniæ. Hobbes and Smith render, "*these* strong holds." But the article cannot so well have that sense as the pronoun possessive; on which see Middleton on the Greek article.

Thus Phocææ seems clearly to have been a *fort.*

[7] *Prevails on the Camarinæans and Acragantines.*] And no wonder, for they were in the *last* war the especial foes of Syracuse.

[8] *Hindrance at Gela.*] This might have been expected; for as the Camarinæans and Geloans had before taken opposite sides, they would be likely to do the same again. As to the rest, he was not likely to succeed, since they were excited by a particular animosity to Syracuse, as were the Camarinæans.

[1] *He also met by the way, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of this somewhat obscurely worded passage, the best illustration of which may be found in the details of Sicilian affairs to be found in l. 4. Messene, it appears, had been harassed by two factions, a Syracusan, or aristocratical one (which was in league with the Locrians), and a democratical one, which had formerly held communication with the Athenians. At present, it seems, the Locrian party had grown weak, and, consequently, the Locrian colonists, who (according to the universal practice of both Greece and Rome) had been sent to keep the citizens in awe, were ejected.

having called in the Locrians, had been sent thither as settlers; and thus Messene was for a time in the possession of the Locri. With these, then, Phæax meeting, as they were on their way home, offered them no molestation[2]; for there had been some agreement entered into with him respecting[3] a pacification with the Athenians, [which was necessary,[4]] since when the Siceliots had come to a mutual pacification, they alone of the allies had not made any peace with the Athenians; nor, indeed, would they have now done it, had they not been hampered by a war with the Itonæans and Melæans, who were their neighbours, and colonists from them. After this Phæax returned to Athens.

VI. Cleon, having then left Torone, and sailed round[5] to Amphipolis, proceeded from Eion, which he made his central post[6], and attacked Stagirus (a colony of the Andrians), but took it not; while Galepsus (the colony of the Thasians[7]) he carried by assault. Then, having sent ambassadors to Perdiccas to request him to repair thither with an auxiliary force, according to the terms of the alliance, and others to Polles, king of the Odomantians[8], to bring up as many Thracians, to be taken into pay as possible, he himself kept quiet, waiting the arrival of the above forces at Eion.

But Brasidas, on hearing of these events, on his part took post at the Cerdylium.[9] Now this place is in the territory

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2 *Offered them no molestation.*] Though such might have been expected, as the Locrians had, in the former war, been the decided enemies of the Athenians, and there had, it seems, been no actual treaty of peace between the Athenians and Locrians.

3 *Agreement entered into with him respecting.*] What we call the preliminaries, or protocol.

4 *Which was necessary.*] This clause must be supplied, in order to complete the sense; because, though not expressed, it is alluded to in the γάρ.

5 *Having left Torone and sailed round.*] I have supplied the participle which must be understood at ἀπὸ τῆς Τορ.

6 *Proceeded from Eion, which, &c.*] All this sense is included in ὁρμώμενος. And so the word is elsewhere used.

7 *The colony of the Thasians.*] The force of the article here seems to be that of *renewed mention*, on which see Middleton, p. 45.

8 *Odomantians.*] This tribe of Thracians inhabited somewhere to the side of the Strymon next to Thrace, and towards the north. See 2, 101. It is reckoned among the mountain-tribes independent of Odrysia.

9 *Cerdylium.*] Not, as some call it, a town, but only a hill; which is

of the Argilians, on a height on the other side of the river, and not far distant from Amphipolis, and from thence were seen all Cleon's motions; so that he could not, without being discovered, advance upon the place, which he thought he would do, and, in contempt of his small number, go up against Amphipolis with his present forces.[10] He had also provided himself with one thousand five hundered Thracian mercenaries, and had called upon all the Edonians, both middle-armed and horse; he had, too, one thousand middle-armed of Myrcinians and Chalcidæans, besides those in Amphipolis.[11] The heavy infantry drawn together, amounted in the whole to about two thousand, and three hundred Grecian horse.[12] With a body of about one thousand five hundred out of these forces, Brasidas had taken post at Cerdylium: the rest were arranged under the command of Clearidas at Amphipolis.

VII. As to Cleon, he had hitherto remained inactive[1], but now he was compelled to do what Brasidas expected he would:

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confirmed by the presence of the article, that being usual in names of mountains, with the subaudition of ὄρος. This was a place in the territory of the Argilians, to the *west* of the Strymon, and not far from Amphipolis, and, as appears from what follows, on very high ground. It was, I conceive, about five or six miles from Amphipolis; for a mountain is placed in this direction, and at that distance in the best modern maps of Turkey in Europe. The communication of Brasidas with that city was by the bridge before mentioned, l. 4, 103.; and, doubtless, it was secured by a strong guard.

With respect to the *appellation*, it seems to have reference to a military use; being, it should seem, derived from κερδύλιος, and that from κέρδυλος, and that again from κέρδος: for adjectives in υλιος always come from those in υλος, and those from substantives in —ος — η, &c. Thus it will denote "*the vantage ground.*"

[10] *And in contempt of his, &c.*] It is truly observed by Goeller that the words ἐπὶ τὴν, Αμφ. — ἀναβήσεσθαι are an epexegesis on ὅπερ.

[11] *Besides those in Amphipolis.*] This mode of expression seems to show that Brasidas did not place much dependence upon *them.* "Their strength," Mitford observes, "was uncertain, on account of the difference in political sentiments among so mixed a people." Besides, the inhabitants of cities are usually more inclined to talk than to fight.

[12] *Grecian horse.*] "A valuable accession," Mitford observes. From what quarter these could have come it is difficult to tell. For reinforcements had already arrived, and those Peloponnesians brought by Brasidas were heavy infantry. They must, therefore, have been Greek settlers in Thrace.

[1] *Remained inactive.*] Mitford here remarks, that "Cleon, whose business was offensive operation, rested some time in total inaction, through mere ignorance how to proceed." But though Cleon's business was offensive

for the soldiers being chagrined at the delay, and reflecting on the generalship of their commander, and considering, with alarm, what ignorance and cowardice on the one side, were matched against consummate skill and bravery on the other, and how unwillingly they had come out with him from home; he, perceiving their murmuring, and unwilling that they should be annoyed by too long remaining in the same place, drew forth and led them forward.[2] And herein he took the course, which, as it had been successful at Pylus, he was persuaded had in it something masterly.[3] For, indeed, he never expected that any soul would venture forth to battle with him; but he was going up, he said, rather to make observations on[4] the place, and would wait till he had a greater force, not with the intention of overpowering the enemy in security, should he be compelled to fight; but with the view of beleaguering the city around, and taking it by storm.[5]

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operation, yet as he expected powerful reinforcements, he did right in waiting for them. Certainly this delay could not be attributed to *ignorance*, for Cleon's natural sagacity would point out to him that delay was here advantageous. His ignorance was only shown by being induced to put himself in motion without knowing what to do.

[2] *Drew forth and led them forward.*] This has been usually found the cure for a factious and mutinous spirit, as in the case of Sir John Moore's army in Spain; but if the general be, as in the present instance, unskilful, the remedy is worse than the disease.

[3] *Which, as it had been, &c.*] Or, "by which, as, &c. he thought himself very clever." Either of these modes may be supported by the usage of the best Greek writers.

What particular course or method is here alluded to, it is not easy to say. The Scholiast and others understand the course of rushing forward without reflection, and trusting to luck, and what we call the chapter of accidents. But Cleon did *not* so act at Pylus, where, indeed, he was guided by the wisdom of Demosthenes. Hack takes the words of *manners*, not action, and renders: "Cleo iis moribus utebatur, quibus cum adversus Pylum rem feliciter gessisset, aliquid se sapere opinabatur." A sense, however, jejune and frigid. It should rather seem that the words have reference to the threatening display of his whole troops in various separate corps, on the disembarkation at Pylus, which was meant to strike alarm into the enemy.

[4] *Make observations on.*] Or, as we say, reconnoitre. With the phrase ἐπὶ θέαν, I would compare Isaiah 27, 11. γυναῖκες ἐρχόμενοι ἀπὸ θέας δεῦτε.

[5] *Not with the intention of, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of the perplexing words ἀλλ' ὡς— πόλιν, in the interpretation of which the Scholiast has been more successful than the modern commentators. Heilman ap. Goeller gives the following metaphrasis: οὐ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς περιβλεπόμενος, ᾧ δύναιτ' ἄν, εἰ ἀναγκάζοιτο, περιέχων σωθῆναι. And Goeller assigns the following as the sense: "without troubling himself as to how, in case of a

With this intent he went, and (posting his army upon a stony hill before Amphipolis) himself surveyed the marshy tract [6] of the Strymon, and the situation which the city had towards Thrace [7]; supposing he should be able, at his own option, to retire without fighting; for not a soul either appeared upon the wall, or issued out at the gates, which were all closed: insomuch, that it seemed to him an error that he had come without engines [8], as otherwise he might have taken the place, through mere destitution of defenders.[9]

VIII. [1] But Brasidas, as soon as he saw the Athenians in motion, himself descended [2] from the Cerdylium, and entered

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vigorous attack, he might place himself in a state of security." But I see not how this sense can be elicited from the words. That above assigned is far simpler and more apposite, and is agreeable to the words, in which the modern commentators have failed to see that τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ is put for ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ, which occurs supra, 4, 126. τὸ εὔψυχον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ὀξεῖς ἐνδείκνυνται. and 1, 137. ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐμοὶ ἡ ἀποκομιδὴ ἐγένετο.

6 *The marshy tract.*] Usually described as a *lake*, and which is, no doubt, encircled by much marshy ground, like our lake of Whittelsea mere, or the lake in the east fen near Wainfleet in Lincolnshire.

"On one side," Mitford observes, "was presented a view of the Strymon expanding into a lake as it approached the sea, on the other, of the varied ground through which its waters flowed from the inland country."

7 *Surveyed — the situation, &c.*] Perhaps he surveyed the situation of the place with respect to *Thrace*, with a view to the reinforcements which he expected from that quarter, and in order to contrive means for their junction with his army.

8 *Come without engines.*] Not from Eion to this post, as Hobbes and Smith understand (for κατῆλθεν will not admit such a sense), rather from Athens. Even thus, however, κατῆλθεν is not suitable. And therefore, as four MSS. have οὐκ ἀπῆλθον, I must acquiesce in the conjecture of Bekker (or rather Hack) received into the text by Goeller, ἀνῆλθον. I had myself conjectured ἐπῆλθον, which is milder and, perhaps, not less effectual.

9 *Through mere destitution of defenders.*] Cleon was, doubtless, informed that Brasidas, with a considerable force, had gone forth and encamped on the Cerdylium; and he, we may suppose, thought the force to be greater than it really was. The error was certainly natural, since the Lacedæmonians were very averse to be hemmed up in fortified places (of which we have an instance in 4, 57.), by which they had, on various occasions, suffered in the course of the present war. Cleon, therefore, supposed that Brasidas (as lately in the case of Mende) distrusted the strength of the place, and had withdrawn nearly all his own troops from it.

A similar stratagem, of concealing the garrison of a place, is narrated by Procop. p. 71, 24. seqq.

1 The conduct of Brasidas in this closing scene of his brilliant career is well described by Frontin. Stratag. l. 1, 5. 23. and Polyæn. 1. 38., and is adverted to by Isocrat. Arch. p. 192.

2 *Descended, &c.*] Anxious to bring Cleon to battle before the arrival of the reinforcements. We are, I conceive, to understand that Brasidas

into Amphipolis. He, however, made no sally, nor drew up any array, distrusting [3] his own forces, and accounting them inferior to the enemy, not indeed in *number* (for the armies were about equal), but in *quality* [4] (as the Athenians that had embarked in this expedition were the very flower [5] of the Athenians, and the élite of the Lemmians and Imbrians); and, therefore, he contrived measures for attacking them by stratagem. For (he thought), if he should show the enemy the real number of his forces, and the modes (sorry enough [6]) in which they were armed and accoutred, he should be less likely to overcome them, than if not previously seen, and without the contempt which must arise from the sight of its actual state.[7] Having therefore himself, selected one hundred

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took with him the force from the Cerdylium, or a great part of it; for otherwise he would surely not have thought of engaging with the Athenian army. Indeed this is certain from what follows.

[3] *Distrusting.*] Literally, "fearing." Brasidas was as remarkable for prudent caution, as for daring valour: he knew when to adventure, and when to put nothing to hazard.

[4] *Quality.*] Namely, in respect of arms, discipline, experience, &c.

[5] *Flower.* What the French call the *élite*. As this phrase τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ στρατοῦ is neglected by the commentators, the following illustrations may be not unacceptable. Herod. 1, 211. Περσέων τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ — λειφθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρηίου. and 4, 136. συν τῷ καθαρῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ. Dio. Cass. 297, 17. τοῦ πολιτικου τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ καθαρώτατον. Onosand p. 29. τὰς δυνάμεις — καθαράς. Procop. 254, 37. εἴ τι ἐν Γοτθοις καθαρὸν ἦν. Appian 1, 469, 38. καθαροῦ δὲ στρατοῦ γενομένου. Joseph. 858, 34. οἱ περὶ τὸ στρατηγικὸν καλούμενον, ὅπερ ἐστι τῆς στρατιᾶς καθαρώτατον, κ. τ. λ. See also p. 94, 6. and 173, 4.

[6] *Sorry enough.*] Literally "*make-shifty*," such as is compelled by necessity: not, as the Scholiast, Bauer, and Goeller explain, "hardly sufficient to the necessity." As to the passage cited by Goeller in support of this sense, it is οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόννυσον. More to the purpose are, I conceive, the following: Suid. ἀναγκαία τράπεζα. ἡ εὐτελὴς καὶ πενιχρά. Hom. Od. ω. 498. Καὶ πολίοι περ ἐόντες ἀναγκαῖοι πολεμισταί. Porphyr. de Abstin. ἀφθονίαν εἰ τῆς τροφῆς πάντα (scil. animalia) ἐκέκτητο, οὔτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔσχον ἂν ἀγρίως. ταύτης γὰρ χάριν, καίτοι ἀναγκαίας καὶ εὐτέλους οὔσης, αἱ τε ἐχθραὶ καὶ αἱ φιλίαι, καὶ τόπου ἕνεκα. where the words καὶ τόπου are, with reason, considered by the editor as corrupt; though he attempts not to remove the corruption. If I am not mistaken, the author wrote κόν τρόπου ἕνεκα. Now καὶ and κὸν, and τρόπος and τόπος are not unfrequently interchanged; ex. gr. Polyb. 4, 70, 9. 5, 60, 8. 7, 15, 5. 8, 27, 2. 9, 13, 8. Hence may be emended Eurip. Iph. Aul. 724. καλῶς τ' ἀναγκαίως τε, συνέ-νεγκαι δ' ὅμως. where I would read κακῶς γ' ἀναγκαίως τε. The κακῶς signifies *incommodè*, of which sense examples are adduced by Markland, and others may be found in Thucydides. The γε may be rendered *scilicet*. Moreover, for συνένεγκαι read συνενέγκοι, which emendation is confirmed by a kindred passage of Thucyd. 6, 20. ξυνενέγκοι μὲν ταῦτα ὡς βουλόμεθα.

[7] *Than if not previously, &c.*] The sense here has been imperfectly ex-

and fifty heavy-armed [8], and placed the rest under the conduct of Clearidas [9]; he took his measures to make a sudden attack before the Athenians should depart [10], thinking that he should never again take them so alone and separate, if the reinforcements arrived. [11] He, therefore, called together all the soldiers, and, being desirous to animate their courage, and develope his own intentions, addressed them thus: —

IX. [1] "Peloponnesians, let this brief remembrance suffice to you for a stimulus — from what a country we are descended [2] (ever free by our bravery), and that we are about to combat Dorians with Ionians, over whom we have ever been accustomed to prevail. Now as to the attack, and the mode in which I intend to conduct it [3], my address is meant to give

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pressed by Hobbes, who does not appear to have been aware that Brasidas proceeded on the principle contained in the dict of Tacitus, "omne ignotum pro magnifico est."

With the τοῦ ὄντος Goeller compares 6, 34. τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς δυνάμει. And he remarks that the complete sentiment would be this: μᾶλλον γὰρ ἡγεῖτο περιγενέσθαι ἄνευ προόψεως καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος οὔσης καταφρονήσεως, ἢ εἰ δείξειε τὸ τε πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ὕπλισιν ἀναγκαίαν οὖσην τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, &c.

Προόψις is a very rare word, which I have not met with any where else but in Pollux, who has this passage in view.

[8] *One hundred and fifty heavy-armed.*] Mitford thinks there must be some mistake in the number, as too small. But this suspicion seems very groundless, as Brasidas only intended to throw the enemy into confusion.

[9] *Clearidas.*] The lately appointed governor of Amphipolis.

[10] *Before the Athenians should depart.*] He guessed that Cleon never meant to fight.

[11] *Thinking that he, &c.*] By a sudden attack, without that perfect order of battle to which the Greeks generally attached great importance, he expected to gain two points: first, to throw the enemy into a confusion, which might reduce their troops to a level with his own; and then to prevent the encouragement which they would derive from the observation, if he allowed them means for it, of the small proportion which his regular heavy-armed bore to its total numbers. (Mitford.)

[1] This spirited address may be compared with the other of Brasidas, delivered at Pylus, 4, 9.

[2] *From what a country, &c.*] The best commentary on this passage is to be found in the words of Archidamus l. 1, 84. καὶ ἅμα ἐλευθέραν — τοῦτο scil. ἐλευθέρα εἶναι. Goeller remarks that while the Ionians studied the arts of peace, elegance, and luxury, the Dorians made it their boast and pride that they were superior in courage. See 1, 124. and 6, 77.

[3] *Now as to the attack, &c.*] It may seem strange to us that a general should condescend to explain his plans and objects to his army; though of this there are several examples in the orations of Thucydides. We are, however, to bear in mind that the persons addressed were not *mercenaries* but *citizens* who served without pay, and who were on an equality of natural rank with the speaker and members of that national assembly to which the

you information, lest my thus adventuring by a small detachment, and not with all the force, seeming insufficient for the purpose in view, should dishearten you. Our enemies, then [4], I conjecture, have ascended to the post they occupy, through contempt of us, and (intent on viewing the landscape) are now in disorderly negligence; confident in fancied security, as not expecting that any one will go forth to contend with them. Now he who [5] most acutely discerns such errors in his enemy, and withal, at his own ability [6], makes his attack, not so much openly, and in set combat, as when it is most for his present advantage, such a leader will, for the most part, attain success. Those stratagems [7], too, obtain the greatest reputation, whereby we may most deceive our enemies, and most benefit our friends. Thus, then, whilst these our foes are yet unpreparedly confident [8], and, as far as I can see [9], have a greater mind to make off than to stay where they are [10], (I say) in this unfixedness of their resolves, and before their minds are thoroughly made up, I and my band will do our best to be beforehand with them; and, by a rapid

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general was bound to render an "account of his stewardship." Besides, in the present case, the address was chiefly intended for the small band of heroes whom he was about to take with him on this adventurous attempt, almost as daring a one as some of Swedish Charles's, of whom our British Juvenal has sung:

> "A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,
> No dangers fright him, and no labours tire."

To persons whose safety he put to such imminent hazard he was bound in justice to give some account of his plans; and not only justice demanded, but prudence suggested, this.

[4] *Then.*] The γὰρ is here not *causal*, but *inchoative*, on which use see Hoogev. on the Greek particles.

[5] *Now he who, &c.*] This military gnome is imitated by Polyb. l. 3, 81, 10. *διόπερ εἴ τις δυναίτο συννοεῖν τὰ περὶ τοὺς πέλας ἁμάρτημα, καὶ τῇ δὲ που προσιέναι τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, ᾗ μάλιστα καὶ δι' ὧν εὐχειρώτος ἐσται ὁ προέστως τῶν πολεμίων τάχιστ' ἂν τῶν ὅλων κατακρατοίη.* See also a kindred passage at 2, 30.

[6] *At his own ability.*] Or "having respect to," &c. So *πρὸς καίρον.*

[7] *Stratagems.*] Literally, "*thefts*," i. e. advantage taken from the enemy. So the Latin writers say *furta belli.* In this sense κλέπτω and its derivatives are frequently used; as Onosand. passim.

[8] *Unpreparedly confident.*] i. e. confident and without making any preparation.

[9] *As far as I can see.*] Literally, "from what they seem to me to meditate."

[10] *Have a greater mind, &c.*] So Dionys. Hal. Antiq. p. 16, 5. *φυγῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀλκῆς προνοουμένους.*

movement, fall upon the centre of their forces.[11] And you, Clearidas[12], when you see that I have closed with them, and, as is likely, have thrown them into alarm, do you take with you the Amphipolitans and the rest of the allies; and, suddenly throwing open the gates, rush out upon them, and advance with all possible speed to the charge. For thus there is the greatest hope that they may be terrified; a subsequently attacking force being always more the object of alarm to an enemy than one at present engaging with them.[13] As for yourself, act, as becomes a Spartan, the part of a brave man. And you, confederates, follow manfully, and bear in mind, that of honourable soldiership, the principal parts are these, a *zeal for the service*, a *sensibility to shame*, and *obedience to orders*. Remember, too, that this day it is in your power, by approving yourselves as brave men, to gain the appellation of *Lacedæmonian allies*, or else that of *slaves of the Athenians* (even if ye be so fortunate as to escape without slavery or death[14]), and receive a bondage more grievous than ye previously bore; and also to become hinderers of liberty to the rest of the Greeks. Now then, shrink not from the combat, seeing how much is at stake: for my part, I shall show that I am a person not more ready to exhort others, than myself to do my duty in action!"

X. Having thus spoken, Brasidas himself made preparations for[1] his departure, and stationed the rest of the forces

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[11] *Fall upon the centre of their forces.*] So as effectually to throw them into disorder, and give an opportunity for Clearidas to attack them with advantage. This manœuvre was something in the manner of Napoleon.

[12] *And you, Clearidas, &c.*] There are similar apostrophes in Xenoph. Cyr. 2, 4, 24. 5, 3, 42. 5, 4, 19. 6, 3, 33. Pausan. 4, 21, 7. σὺ δὲ σώζειν μὲν, δυνάμεως ἥκεις Μεσσηνίους, σώζειν σαυτόν. Herod. 8, 62.

[13] *A subsequently attacking force, &c.*] A most pithy and true military maxim. "Hence (as Duker observes) Æneas borrowed his admonition, Poliorc. c. 38. Τὸ γὰρ ἔπιον μᾶλλον οἱ πολέμιοι φοβοῦνται τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος καὶ παρόντος ἤδη. Similar sentiments, too, occur more than once in Onosander. And history, both antient and modern, would supply many illustrations of the maxim. It may suffice to advert to the defeat of King Richard the Third's army, in Bosworth field, by the troops of the Stanleys coming up and falling on his army.

[14] *If ye be so fortunate as, &c.*] Something very similar occurs at 4, 63. sub. fin.

[1] *Made preparations for.*] It is not easy to conceive that much of preparation would be necessary. What is here *chiefly* adverted to is, I con-

with Clearidas, at what are called the Thracian gates [2], there to be ready to make the sally directed. And now, Brasidas having been seen to descend from the Cerdylium, and in the city (which was plain under their view) to be sacrificing at the temple of Minerva, word is brought of what is doing to Cleon (who was then gone forward to make observations), that the whole of the army is plainly to be seen in the city; and that many horses' hoofs and feet of men are discernible under the gates [3], as if ready to sally forth. On hearing this, he advanced to the place, and when he saw it to be true, being yet loath to come to any decisive engagement, before his allies should come up, and thinking that he might be able to get off, before he should be molested [4], he at the same time directed that the signal for retreat should be raised, and gave orders to the retreaters to draw off to Eion, moving on their left wing, which, indeed, was the only practicable method. [5] As,

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ceive, the offering of the accustomed sacrifice previous to battle, which required the presence of the general himself. See Potter's Antiquities. That such a sacrifice was, in the *present* case, offered, we find from what follows; though, had we not been told this, we should scarcely have thought of it as forming part of Brasidas's preparations. Whether Brasidas was, like Nicias, "in all things very religious," we are not enabled to say; but his possession of the moral virtues would lead us to suppose so, and his conduct in the present instance gives countenance to this. For if ever urgent necessity might be pleaded for an omission of that ceremony, surely it might *now*. Perhaps, therefore, Mitford scarcely does justice to Brasidas, when he says that he could not *prudently* omit those ceremonies which the Grecian religion prescribes as preparations for battle.

[2] *The Thracian gates.*] Namely, those leading to Thrace, and towards the S. E. At least Goeller is wrong in saying that these gates were to the *west*.

[3] *Are discernible under the gates.*] "So near (remarks Mitford) might the antient fortifications be approached for the purpose of observation." We are not, however, to suppose that any *body* of men was allowed to come so near. It may be imagined that some persons contrived to approach the wall, and then crept along close to its base, and peeped under the gates.

[4] *Thinking that he might, &c.*] Here I read, from five MSS. for ὀφθήσεσθαι, φθήσεσθαι, which has been received by Bekker and Goeller, at the suggestion of Valckn., who compares 7, 15. τὰ μὲν λήσουσιν ὑμᾶς. τὰ δὲ φθήσονται: besides, this reading is required by the *sense*; for that Cleon should have resolved to retreat, though he knew he must be seen, were to suppose him more foolish than he really was. And moreover, as Amphipolis lay low, his retreat would not, at first, be perceptible.

[5] *Gave orders to the retreaters, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of the words, which, however, are not without difficulty. The older commentators joined ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας with τοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν: while Goeller thinks they should be taken with ὑπάγειν. Yet they appear as little to

however, it seemed to him that there was a delay and tar-

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belong to the latter as to the former. It rather seems to me that they depend upon some participle of a verb of motion.

Goeller offers the following version: "he commanded the retreaters to draw off on the left wing, in the direction of Eion; as that, indeed, was alone practicable:" which does not materially differ from that which I have adopted. At all events, Smith is wrong in rendering, "he gave orders that the left wing should file off first." That would have been separating the left wing from the rest of the army, and have unnecessarily hindered the movement. The fact is, that the army had been drawn in line fronting the city, to make a great show and terrify the Amphipolitans. Now, when such an army has to retreat in the direction of either of its wings, the *line of battle* becomes a *column of march*, by all simultaneously turning to the right-about-face, or to the left-about-face, when the whole column steps together, and marches either on its former left, or right. See l. 2, 90., and the notes. In the present case, the *left-about* was the only practicable direction; for that led to Eion. These movements, however, in a very long column were perilous, as giving an enemy the power of attacking on the *right*, which was the unguarded side of Grecian soldiers. In the present case, indeed, there seems to have been some cause of delay, which would involve *additional* danger. From the nature of the ground, it should seem (the route being very narrow) that the line could not be readily formed into a marching column, but had first to be broken up, and drawn off in narrow files; an operation which occasioned the *delay* noticed by Cleon, but of which his ignorance did not enable him to know the cause. Under these circumstances, he adopted an expedient for *hastening* forward his left; namely, by turning his right wing, in the manner above mentioned, i. e. *to the left-about-face*, which consequently made the right hands of his men front the enemy.

On this movement, it is remarked by Mitford, "that had he been in concert with the enemy to expose his army to certain defeat, he could scarcely have taken measures more effectual for the purpose. The evolution not only broke, for the time, that compact arrangement whence arose the security and strength of the Grecian phalanx, but exposed the soldier's right side, unprotected by his shield, to the enemy's weapons." Certainly Cleon was wrong in making the movement; but that was only from making it at an *improper time;* since he thereby discovered his retreat, and exposed his line sooner than he need have done. Ere long he must have made it.

As to what Mitford calls *wheeling*, there was, in fact, none such at all.* A column is not said to *wheel* when the men turn to the right or left a face. Wheeling was quite another thing, and was commenced by the πρωτοστάται, followed up by their παραστάται, and so on, according to a method too long for detail. Indeed, wheeling round the right would have served no purpose whatever towards the retreat, which was all that Cleon thought of, who, though unskilled in military affairs, was no fool.

Into this error the historian above mentioned would not have fallen had he attended less to the translations of Hobbes and Smith, and more to the original. Ἐπιστρέφω is used in the same sense at l. 2, 90., where of a line of ships moving on one of its wings, it is said, ἀπὸ σημείου ἑνὸς ἄφνω ἐπισρέψαντες τὰς ναῦς μετωπηδὸν ἔπλεον. The contrary movement here directed by Cleon, is called in Polyb. l. 11, 22, 11. ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ δόρυ. In

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* Nor is his *evolution* a very proper term; the ἐπιστροφαὶ and the ἐξελεγμοὶ being discriminated by Arrian Tact. p. 81.

diness [on the left], he himself turned about the right [6] wing (thus exposing his unguarded side to the enemy [7]), and drew off his army. Meanwhile Brasidas, perceiving that now was the opportunity, and that the Athenian army was in motion, exclaims to those with him [8], and to the rest of the forces, "So, then, the men stay not for us; that is plain from the shaking of their spears and the motion of their heads [9], for those that shuffle about in that manner do not mean to stand their ground. So, then, some one open me the gates [10], and let us boldly out upon them with all haste." He, then, issuing out at the gate towards the entrenchment or pali-

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fact, both in Ælian and Arrian Tact. we have frequently the term ἐπιστροφή: sometimes δεξιὰ ἐπιστροφή: at others, ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἐπιστροφή. There was also another movement called the ὁ παντελὴς ἐπιστροφή, which was a complete face-about. See Arrian Tact. p. 84. Ed. Blancard.

Finally, as to the *phalanx* of which Mitford speaks, there was here none at all, but only a common *line;* nor was "the compact arrangement of the troops broken."

But it may be asked, Does not Thucydides impute some blame to Cleon for turning his unguarded side to the enemy? That is not certain. Cleon did wrong in making the movement *too soon;* and, perhaps, he might almost have avoided making it at all; for it appears from Arrian and Ælian, that there were methods of *sidling off*, so as not to expose the *right*. But for that effect great skill, coolness, and time were requisite. Here every thing was adverse.

6 *The right.*] Where, it seems, he was posted.

7 *Exposing his unguarded, &c.*] With this expression τὰ γυμνὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δοὺς I would compare Lesbonax, p. 172, 20. τὰ γυμνὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις δείξαι, ἐν οἷς τιτρώσκεσθαι — ἀνάγκη.

8 *Those with him.*] i. e. the one hundred and fifty.

9 *The shaking, &c.*] These words have reference to the earliest appearance which the enemy's retiring line would assume, from the great distance at which they were viewed from Amphipolis. And, notwithstanding what Mitford says, it is plain to me that Brasidas had not then perceived that the Athenians had turned about to the right, otherwise he would never have used a weaker argument in the place of a stronger, but have said: The men have turned their forces homeward, and are off. All, it should seem, that he at present saw, was the *motion* which this turn-about would occasion, and which would bring the spears in immediate view. Besides, the men having turned about to retreat, and yet not being able to proceed till the other end of the line should have filed off, would be uneasy and shuffling, and want to be gone. Hence the movement of the heads and spears would be perfectly natural. That, however, was sufficient to show Brasidas that they were going.

10 *Open me the gates.*] In some MSS. the μοι is omitted. But it has both elegance and force. So Eurip. Iph. Aul. 1340. διαχαλᾶτε μοι μέλαθρα. Psalm, 118, 19. ἀνοίξατε μοι πυλάς. Soph. Œd. Col. 1475. Lucian, t. 1. p. 718, 20. and 645, 20. The τις, too, has elegance. So Eurip. Orest. 1577. ἀνοιγέτω τις δῶμα. Æschyl. Choeph. 876. δοίη τις — πέλεκυν ὡς τάχος. Aristoph. Lys. 186.

sado [11], and the first gate of the then long wall [12], runs at full speed by the very straight road where now, over against the strongest part of the town, stands the trophy [13]; and charging upon the Athenians (both alarmed at their own disorder [14], and struck with fear at his boldness) in the centre of their army, he put it to the rout. And now Clearidas (as he had been directed), sallying forth at the same time at the Thracian gates, was attacking the enemy in another quarter.[15] Thus it happened, that by the unexpectedness and suddenness of the attack, the Athenians were thrown into disorder in both quarters; and their left wing, turned towards Eion [16], which, too, was in advance, immediately broke off from the centre and fled. And now, on its retreating, Brasidas, advancing upon the *right* [17], is wounded and falls, unperceived, however, by the Athenians; but is raised up and carried off by those around him. Now the right wing of the Athenians

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[11] *Intrenchment, or palisado.*] What this refers to is not clear. Probably to some outwork thrown up by the city for a temporary defence.

[12] *The first gate of the then long wall.*] The question is, at what end? Doubtless the south-west, which would be the likeliest to bring him to the centre of the Athenian line. The Thracians before mentioned seem to have been about the centre of the long wall, or, perhaps, towards the north-east end.

By this *long wall* is, doubtless, meant the wall drawn from river to river, which formed the base of the triangular figure of the city. See note supra, l. 4, 102. Afterwards, it seems, this long wall was demolished.

[13] *By the very straight, &c.*] Such seems to be the most accurate version of the words; but the meaning of the expression κατὰ τὸ καρτερώτατον τοῦ χωρίου (though the commentators have not noticed it) is not clear. By the χωρίου the translators understand the *city*. Yet, without some knowledge of the chorography, the thing must be uncertain. Had Pausanias visited Amphipolis, we should, probably, not have been thus in the dark. By the expression τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην εὐθεῖαν seems to be meant the straight road then leading from the south-west gate to Eion.

[14] *Alarmed at their own disorder.*] Which was occasioned by the necessary breaking up of the line, in order to file off.

[15] *In another quarter.*] Namely, on the right wing.

[16] *Turned towards Eion.*] This information is of consequence, in enabling us to form a clear idea of the position of the Athenians in the battle.

[17] *Advancing upon, &c.*] The sense of ἐπιπαριὼν is ill represented by Portus's version, "cum in dextram impressionem faceret." It signifies *accederet;* as supra, 4, 108, 5. where the term is well rendered by Portus, "ut accederet ad." Xen. Anab. 3, 4, 29. and 6, 3, 19. Appian, 2, 721, 48. ἐπιπαριὼν δὲ φρυγίαν. Polyb. 5, 83, 1. ἐπιπαρῆσαν, restored by Casaubon for ἐπεὶ παρῆσαν: though ἐπιπαρίεσαν would have been still better.

had stood its ground better than the rest of the army.[18] As to Cleon, as he had from the first never meant to hazard a battle, so he immediately takes to flight[19], and being overtaken by a Myrcinian targeteer, is slain. The heavy infantry under his command, throwing themselves in close order at the hill, repelled two or three charges from Clearidas, and did not give way before both the Myrcinian and Chalcidæan horse and targeteers, surrounding and galling them with missiles, put them to the rout.[20] Thus the whole army of

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[18] *Now the right wing of, &c.*] These words seem meant to suggest a reason why Brasidas fell; namely, that *resistance* was here experienced, and, consequently, danger encountered. Thus the headlong valour of Brasidas (in some respects much allied to that of Swedish Charles) occasioned his fall. After having put their *left* wing to flight, and thrown their centre into disorder, Brasidas ought no more to have furiously rushed on the right wing than Charles ought to have faced, with a few faithful companions, a whole army of Turks at Bender. Probably, too, as Mitford suggests, "he was (like Charles) exerting himself too much as a private soldier, of which his uncommon strength and activity, perhaps, led him to be over-fond." In short, he ought to have waited for the attack of the army itself under Clearidas, and only been prepared to co-operate, or form a junction with it, as soon as possible. Whereas he acted as if it were possible for a hundred and fifty men to defeat the whole of the Athenian army! Of which rashness his *life* paid the forfeit; and we might apply to him, with little change, the words of Johnson on the hero above mentioned: —

> "His fall was destined to a barren strand,
> A petty fortress, and a dubious hand;
> He left the name at which the world grew pale,
> To point a moral, or adorn a tale."

By *whom* the fatal blow was given was not perceived; though the hand by which *Cleon* fell was known by the disgraceful *circumstances* under which he came to his end. Probably, in the case of *Brasidas*, the blow was from an Athenian arrow; so many Athenian bowmen (the best in Greece) being present.

[19] *As he had from the first never, &c.*] As Cleon had, from the first, never intended a battle, so he could not be accused of *inconsistency* in persevering in retreat. But of *want of judgment* he must, certainly, stand charged; since, under the present circumstances, the best course would have been for the Athenian army to have stood its ground.

It must be observed, that the expressions of Thucydides import precipitate and personal flight on his part; for had he retreated, with his men, in an orderly way, he might have escaped. But as φευγὼν makes it *personal*, so does καταληφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μυρκινίου πελταστοῦ.

The catastrophe of Cleon is well adverted to by Aristid. 3, 432.

[20] *The heavy infantry under his command, &c.*] The μὲν and the δὲ seem meant to contrast the conduct of Cleon and the heavy infantry. He flies, like a coward, and dies the death of one; while his men stand their ground, and though beset on all sides, escape with no great loss. Had they been commanded by a Brasidas, they would, probably, have retrieved the fortune of the day.

the Athenians taking to flight, at length with great difficulty, and pursuing various directions over the mountains, effected their retreat to Eion, such, at least, as were not slain in the combat, or by the Chalcidæan horse and targeteers in the pursuit. Those who had raised Brasidas, bore him off[21] from the battle, yet breathing, to the city. He lived to be made sensible that his army had gained the victory, but soon afterwards expired.[22] The rest of the army, after returning from the pursuit with Clearidas, spoiled the dead, and raised a trophy.

XI. After this, all the allies following, completely armed, the corpse of Brasidas, interred him at the public expense in the city, at the front of what is now called the market-place[1]; and afterwards the Amphipolitans, having enclosed his monument with a fence[2], and sacrificed to him as a *hero*[3],

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[21] *Bore him off.*] Literally, "preserved him," namely, from being taken by the enemy; which, had they perceived his fall, the Athenians would have endeavoured to effect.

[22] *He lived to be, &c.*] This concluding part of his life, as Mitford observes, bore a strong resemblance to that of our conqueror of Canada, *Wolfe*. We may also recognise a strong resemblance in the heroic Sir John Moore, at the battle of Corunna, and one far greater than either, the immortal NELSON, who, like them, died in the arms of victory, living, however, like them, to be fully sensible of the triumph of his arms. There is, moreover, one striking coincidence respecting the closing scenes of these great men, which is, that, in all these cases, the victors would almost have resigned the victory to redeem their chief: while, in the case of Cleon, the respectable and well principled part of the Athenians were consoled for the defeat, by having got rid of one whose power and influence had been the opprobrium of Athens.

It is truly remarked by Mitford, that "few men of any nation have showed themselves so endowed with talents to command armies, and to persuade citizens, to make and to maintain conquests, as Brasidas." On the well-known anecdote of his mother's answer to the Thracians, he observes, "that she was more partial to her country than just to her son; for Brasidas certainly did not leave his equal in Sparta, nor apparently in Greece."

[1] *Interred him, &c.*] A *cenotaph*, however (as we learn from Pausanias), was erected to the honour of Brasidas, at Sparta, at the western outlet from the market-place. (Hudson.)

[2] *Enclosed his monument with a fence.*] This, we may suppose, would, for durability as well as security, be a *stone* fence. On the custom in question Duker refers to Casaubon on Suet. Ner. c. 37. The intent and purpose of the fence is sufficiently apparent from what follows.

[3] *Sacrificed to him as a hero.*] On this custom, Duker refers to Spanheim de Numism. p. 565, and Lucian Toxar. p. 565. Far more, however, is requisite towards having any clear apprehension of the meaning of the whole

paying him the honour of games and annual sacrifices. They also attributed the colony to him, as its founder [4], demolishing the edifices of Hagnon, and obliterating whatever memorial there might remain of his colonization [5],

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passage; in order to which, we must observe that Thucydides here means to designate the *two kinds of honour* paid to Brasidas; first, that of a hero; secondly, that of an *οἰκίστης*; and each of them in order. Now, the expression denoting the former, *ἐντίμνουσιν*, is not very clear. The word properly signifies (as Steph. Thes. explains), *incisas ceu cæsas mactatasque hostias immolare*. So Plutarch Sert. 9. *σφάγιον ἐντεμ.* Yet our Scholiast here (as do almost all the commentators) explains it *ἐναγίσματα προσφέρειν, to bring sacred offerings*. And so Wesseling on Diod. Sic. t. 2. p. 104, 11., who, on the words, *τιμὰς ἡρωϊκὰς ἀπονεῖμαι*, thus writes: "Multum intererat inter honores Heroïcos, et illos, qui Diis deferebantur; his victimæ mactabantur, qua in re perpetuus usus verbi *θύειν*, illis scrobes effodiebantur, et *ἐναγίσματα*, sive inferiæ dabantur. Plutarchus, t. 2. p. 857. D. *τούτοις δὲ ὡς φθαρτοῖς καὶ Ἥρωσιν ἐναγίζειν δεῖν οἴεται, ἀλλὰ μὴ θύειν ὡς θεοῖς*. Atque hoc honore urbium conditores, et qui de publica re bene meriti erant, plerumque ornabantur, ut 4, 1, 24, 30. 5, 65. Confer. Desid. Herald in Martial. 10, 61., et infra 4, 40." And Philostr. ap. Steph. Thes. has *ἐντέμνοντες καὶ ἐναγίσαντες*, where the latter is exegetical of the former. So, also, Herod. 2, 44. fin. *ὡς ἥρωϊ ἐναγίζουσι*. and Hesych. *ἐντέμνουσι. τοῖς ἥρωσιν ἐναγίζουσιν*.

That, however, seems to be a strange limitation of the sense of the term, which is undoubtedly used of *sacrificing victims* to the gods; as by Plutarch ap. Steph. Thes., above cited, in which the force of the *ἐν* is illustrated by a curious passage of the Scholiast on Apollon. Rhod. 1, 587., on the words *ἐντομὰ μήλων· ἔντομα δὲ τὰ σφάγια κυρίως τὰ τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐναγιζόμενα, διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ γῇ αὐτῶν ἀποτέμνεσθαι τὰς κεφαλάς. οὕτω γὰρ θύουσι τοῖς χθονίοις.— τοῖς δὲ οὐρανίοις ἄνω ἀναστρέφοντες τὸν τράχηλον σφάζουσιν*. Their heads were, it seems, cut off under ground. Yet from Plutarch Solon 9. *ἐντεμεῖν σφάγια Περιφήμῳ καὶ Κυχρεῖ τοῖς ἥρωσιν*, it appears that these *sacrifices* were made to heroes. And so Herod. 5, 47., in a kindred passage: *ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ ἡρῷϊον ἱδρυσάμενοι θυσίῃσι αὐτὸν ἱλάσκονται*. Also Pind. Olymp. 7, 143., Τλαπολέμῳ Ἴσταται Τιρυνθίων ἀρ- χαγέτᾳ, ὥσπερ θεῷ, Μάλων τε κνισσάεσσα πομπά, Καὶ κρίσις ἀμφ' ἄεθλοις. Besides, in this very passage of Thucydides *θυσίας* is used. Perhaps we may reconcile this difficulty by supposing that *sacrifices*, when really made to heroes, were only made in the *piacular* way just adverted to, and were not considered the same with those where the victim was slain above ground. In general, however, the honour consisted in the offerings called *ἐναγίσματα*, in which case *ἐντέμνειν* was only equivalent to *ἐναγίζειν*. Whether such be the case *here*, is more than I would venture to determine.

[4] *Attributed the colony, &c.*] Here we have the honour paid to him as a founder of the colony, which is illustrated by the following passages: Herod. 6, 38. (in an altogether kindred passage) *τελευτήσαντι* (Μιλτιάδῃ) *Χερσονησῖται θύουσι, ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῇ, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἱππικόν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι*. Diog. Laert. 1, 88. fin. *καὶ οἱ Πριηνεῖς δὲ οὕτω* (Βίαντι) *τέμενος καθιέρωσαν*. Herod. 9, 116. *ἔστι Πρωτεσιλέῳ τάφος καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτόν*. Xen. Hist. 7, 3, 12. *οἱ πολῖται αὐτὸν ἔθαψέν τε ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ὡς ἀρχηγέτην τῆς πόλεως σέβονται* Diod. Sic. 3, 91. Ælian V. H. p. 560., where see Kuhn on Diod. Sic. t. 4, 225. (of Hiero) *καὶ τιμῶν ἡρωϊκῶν ἔτυχεν, ὡς ἂν κτίστης γεγονὼς τῆς πολέως*. See also Aristid. 1, 151.

[5] *Demolishing the edifices of Hagnon, and, &c.*] i. e. not only the *μνημεῖον*

accounting Brasidas to have been their preserver; and, moreover, because at the present, through fear of the Athenians, they thus meant to cultivate the alliance of the Lacedæmonians. As for Hagnon, he could not, because of their hatred towards the Athenians, either for their pleasure or their profit, retain his honours. The dead they gave up to the Athenians, of which there were about six hundred; but of the enemy only seven, because there was no regular engagement, but the battle had originated from such an accidental occurrence, and previous consternation, as have been related. After removing and interring the dead, the Athenians sailed off homewards; and Clearidas and his army applied themselves to provide for the settlement and security of Amphipolis.

XII. About the same time, and towards the close of the summer, Ramphias, Autocharidas, and Epicydidas, Lacedæmonians, led a reinforcement of seven hundred heavy infantry towards the parts of Thrace, and having arrived at Heraclea in Trachis, they set in order such matters as seemed to require amendment. While they were there, the above battle took place: and thus ended the summer.

XIII. Immediately at the commencement of winter, the troops with Ramphias penetrated as far as Pierius [1], but

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and *τέμενος*, but also such public buildings as had been erected by him, or were under his auspices. With these last marks of regard, as they, doubtless, originated in party spirit, and the most sordid motives, the generous spirit of Brasidas would not have felt gratified. Their hatred and contempt of Hagnon could not have been real, but must have been assumed for political and selfish purposes, and, therefore, merited contempt. That Thucydides saw the matter in this very light, is plain from the words, *καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἅμα τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμαχίαν, φόβῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, θεραπεύοντες· τὸν δὲ Ἀγωνα, κατὰ τὸ πολέμιον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως σφίσι ξυμφόρως οὐδ' ἂν ἡδέως τὰς τιμὰς ἔχειν.*

[1] *Pierius.*] Of this place the commentators give but a very indifferent account; and the geographers are silent. Portus refers us to Pieria and the Pierian gulf above mentioned. But those were in Macedonia; this plainly in Thessaly: for there, it is said, the Thessalians impeded the course of the Peloponnesians. Wasse has far more aptly referred to a Pierus mentioned as a town or plain of *Thessaly* by Ælian H. An. 3, 37., which is probably the same. But where this was situated we have not the least information. Facciolati, in his Lexicon, speaks of a Pierus as a *mountain* of Thessaly near Mount Olympus; referring to Pliny H. N. 4, 8. But it

being there hindered from advancing by the Thessalians, and Brasidas, for whom they brought the army, being dead, they turned back homewards, as thinking that the time for their services was gone by; the Athenians having, on their defeat, departed, and *they* being not of sufficient strength to execute the plans which he had meditated.[2] But they were especially induced to return, as knowing that the Lacedæmonians, at their departure, were inclined to peace rather than war.

XIV. It so happened, indeed, immediately after the battle at Amphipolis, and the retreat of Ramphias from Thessaly, that neither party were desirous any longer to try the chances of war, but were rather inclined to peace; the *Athenians*, as being defeated at Delium, and again, a short time afterwards, at Amphipolis, and having no longer that confident hope of strength[1], in reliance on which they had formerly rejected

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should rather seem that *this* name designates a *town;* for if it had meant a mountain, with the ellipsis of ὄρους, the article would have been required. Boccage and Butler place a Piera between Perœbia and the Hestiotis: but for this I know of no authority. At all events that cannot be the place in question, as it would be quite out of the road from Heraclea to the passes of Olympus, for which Ramphias would make by the shortest course. Lempriere, indeed, speaks of a Pierus in Thessaly, referring to Pausan. l. 7, 22.: but the Pierus there mentioned is a *river* of Achæa. There is little doubt but that the Pierus of Ælian is the same with the Pierus of our author, though the situation cannot be determined.

I will only add that probably all the places originally called Pierus, &c., had their appellation from the richness of their soil; for πιερὸς, like πιαρὸς, signified *fat, rich, fruitful.*

[2] *The Athenians having, &c.*] Such appears to be the sense of the words τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων — ἐπενόει, the scope of which was not discerned by Smith. They evidently contain the reason assigned by the generals for their return; in which they could not mean to say that they had not *sufficient ability* to carry into execution the designs of Brasidas; though that might be true enough. They could only mean that they had not *force* sufficient; which is very agreeable to the sense of ἀξιόχρεως. These two, it appears, were their *ostensible* reasons; their *real* one comes last. It must be confessed, indeed, that the hostility of Perdiccas rendered it a very hazardous undertaking, to cross "a considerable tract of his dominions with so small a force; so that even could they have penetrated into Pieria, their difficulties would have been greater than those Brasidas had at first to encounter."

[1] *Hope of strength.*] Or "*power.*" So 7, 63. εὐτυχούσης ῥώμης. Xenoph. Agesil. 8, 5. τῆς βασιλείας ῥώμης. Thucydides means that sort of confident assurance which is apt to be inspired by strength, as if it were always to last; q. d. "I shall never be cast down, there shall no evil happen to me." The feelings of the Athenians at this time, Mitford has well expressed as follows: "The late turn of fortune had considerably lowered the haughty

the overtures for peace, thinking that by their present good fortune they should come off decidedly victorious; and, moreover, they stood in fear of their allies, lest, emboldened by these failures of theirs, they should go on in revolt; and, upon the whole, they repented that they had not made peace when after the affair at Pylus so favourable an opportunity presented itself. The *Lacedæmonians*, on the other hand, because the war had turned out contrary to their expectations [2]; for they supposed they should therein in a few years bring down the power of Athens, by ravaging their territory, until the calamity at Pylus had befallen them (such as had never before happened to Sparta), when their territory was ravaged from Pylus and Cythera, and the Helots, too, deserted to the enemy; and they were kept in continual fear lest those that remained true should, in the present state of affairs, relying on foreign assistance [3], rise, as aforetime, into insurrection. It happened, too, that the thirty years' truce [4], which they had made with the Argives, was on the point of expiring,

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tone of Athens. The defeats at Delium and Amphipolis, the revolt of so many of their dependencies, and the fear that others would follow a successful example, had checked the idea before prevailing, that they could command the fortune of war, and might dictate the terms of peace; and there followed a very general regret, that the favourable opportunity, procured by the success at Pylus, had been, in wanton haughtiness, thrown away."

[2] *As the war had turned up, &c.*] They had, however, been told by Archidamus (see 1, 80. and 81.), that the war would be long, and the event doubtful. As to ruining Athens, by ravaging Attica, he had said to them: "Let us not be buoyed up with the expectation that the war will speedily be brought to a close, if we do but lay waste their territory. Nay, I fear rather, we shall leave it as an inheritance to our children."

[3] *Relying on foreign assistance.*] The translators all follow the Scholiast in understanding τοῖς ἔξω, by an ellipsis of αὐτομολήσασι, of the slaves who had already deserted. But, besides that that reliance was not such as to induce the Helots universally to rise in insurrection, the sense in question cannot well be elicited from the words. It is far more probable that they would place their hopes on certain foreign *transactions*, wherein the Lacedæmonians might be worsted, and the Athenians, their friends, whose co-operation they might justly expect, gain the upper hand. Thus it will be necessary to subaud πράγματα. The *complete* phrase occurs at 1, 68. init. ἀμαθίᾳ δὲ πλείονι πρὸς τὰ ἔξω πράγματα χρῆσθε. Other neuter substantives are sometimes used with ἔξω ex. gr. τὰ ἔξω ἀγαθά.

Since writing the above, I find such is the view of the sense adopted by Mitford.

[4] *The thirty years' truce, &c.*] Ampelidas and Lichas were sent to Argos to renew the peace, but the Argives, holding the Lacedæmonians to be no dangerous enemies without the Athenians, refused it. (Hobbes.)

and the Argives declared that they would not accede to another, unless the territory of Cynuria [5] were restored to them. Now [6] it seemed impossible for them to maintain a war at once against the Argives and the Athenians. They suspected, too, that some of the states of Peloponnesus would go over to the Argives [7]; which, indeed, did afterwards happen.

XV. Such being the reflections of both powers, they concurred in thinking that a peace should be made, and especially the Lacedæmonians, from the desire of recovering the prisoners taken at the island; for the Spartans among them were persons of the first consequence, and likewise their relatives. [1] They had, therefore, commenced negotiations immediately after their capture; but the Athenians, being yet successful, would not consent to treat on any equal terms. When, however, the defeat at Delium had befallen them, the Lacedæmonians, knowing that they would now more readily accept their offers, concluded the suspension of arms for a year, during which they should meet together and consult upon a treaty of a longer duration.

XVI. After, too, the defeat at Amphipolis had befallen the Athenians, and both Cleon and Brasidas were dead (who

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[5] *Cynuria.*] On this territory, see l. 2, 27. 4, 56. The τὴς has, as Levesque remarks, the force of the French *on.*

[6] *Now.*] The ὥστε is used in a very uncommon sense (for to render it, with the translators, *ita ut, so that*, or *therefore*, is very unsatisfactory): it seems literally to mean "and so," i. e. and, under those circumstances, supposing things to take that turn. See Hoogev. de Partic., where the signification treated on exactly corresponds to that of the present passage.

[7] *They suspected, too, that, &c.*] These might be some of the Arcadian and Achæan cities.

[1] *Were persons of, &c.*] The sense of the words πρῶτοί τε — ξυγγενεῖς is not very clear. That above assigned seems to be the most simple and true. As to the version of Portus, it seems inadmissible. Hack renders: "pariter principes ac principum cognati erant;" and Goeller, "primores erant civitatis, et pariter sibi cognati;" which version supports the one I have adopted. And he annotates thus: "ita ut omnes Spartanorum lochi aliquot inter eos haberent sibi cognatos. Nam 4, 8. scriptor retulit, illos Spartanos in Sphacteria captos ex omnibus lochis sorte ductos esse. Antiquitus autem hoc spectabant, ut in iisdem moris lochisque cognati componerentur, quanquam paulatim hic mos obsolevit."

had been of either party, the greatest opposers of peace, the one from his success in war and honour therefrom, the other as imagining that in a season of tranquillity his mal-practices would be more manifest, and his calumnies [1] less credited), *then* those in either country who especially aimed at bearing rule, Plistoanax son of Pausanias, and Nicias son of Niceratus (who had been of the generals of that time the most successful in his commands [2]), were the more urgent in carrying the measure: *Nicias*, as being desirous, while he was yet free from the imputation of any miscarriage, to preserve his good fortune, and both *for the present*, to himself rest from his labours, and give his country rest, and *for the future*, to leave behind him the reputation of never having throughout his course involved his country in calamity; which he thought might best be accomplished by keeping out of danger, and as little as possible committing himself to the chances of fortune [3], a freedom from danger most attainable by peace: *Plistoanax*, as being assailed with calumny by his enemies, respecting the means by which his restoration was brought about [4], and

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[1] *Calumnies.*] Calumny seems to have been the most powerful tool of Cleon. Thus 3, 42. *εὖ δὲ διαβαλὼν ἐκπλῆξαι ἂν τοὺς ἀντεροῦντας*, and many other passages. Why his mal-practices would be more observed in time of peace and tranquillity may be gathered from 3, 82.

[2] *Who had been, &c.*] It is true that Demosthenes had obtained the greatest victories; yet, as he once suffered signal defeat, and at other times failed of his purpose, Nicias was the most fortunate. Hence it will appear that Goeller very unnecessarily would conjecture for *φερόμενος*, *φερόμενοι*. Equally without cause have Reiske, Dindorf, and Goeller sought to alter *ἡγεμονίαν*: for though it be true, as Goeller says, that ambitious persons are usually fond of war rather than peace, yet ambition, like some other passions, is a very Proteus, and puts on many different forms. Now Nicias was not devoid of ambition, but it was to attain the glory of being a peace-maker; while, at the same time, peace was equally agreeable to his natural disposition, and most for his interest, "since (as Mitford observes) he possessed a very large patrimony, which, in the insecurity of the scanty territory of a Grecian republic, peace only could enable him to enjoy." As to Plistoanax, his love of rule may be imagined from his having so anxiously sought a restitution to the throne; yet it was equally, or more, his interest to effect a peace.

[3] *This he thought might best, &c.*] Such is the real, though not the literal, sense of the passage, in which the *ὅστις* must be referred to *ἐκείνῳ* understood.

[4] *Plistoanax, as being, &c.*] Plistoanax had, in early youth, been condemned to banishment, on suspicion of taking bribes from Pericles, to lead the Peloponnesian army out of Attica. The Lacedæmonian ministry, it appears, whether in the necessity of complying with popular superstition,

being always, on the occurrence of any calamity, held out as the cause of it by the superstition of the Lacedæmonians, who always fancied that it happened through his illegal restoration[5]; for they accused him of having, together with his brother Aristocles, suborned[6] the high priestess of Delphi, to pronounce this answer to the Lacedæmonians, who went several times to consult the oracle:—"That they should bring back the seed[7] of the demi-god, the son of Jove, from a foreign country to their own; or else that they should plough with a silver ploughshare."[8] Insomuch that he induced the Lacedæmonians, nineteen years after his exile, to fetch him back again (with similar dances and sacrifices[9] to such as the first

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or desirous of finding a cover for their own inability and an excuse for miscarriages, frequently applied for advice to the Delphian oracle; and they were disturbed with the continual repetition of an exhortation annexed to every response, "That the Lacedæmonians should bring back the demi-god, son of Jupiter." The friends of Plistoanax intepreted this as a divine admonition to restore that prince, the descendant and representative of the demi-gods, Hercules and Perseus, acknowledged by Grecian superstition as sons of Jupiter; and Plistoanax was, in consequence, restored, after a banishment of nineteen years. But a report was circulated and gained extensive credit, that the admonitory response had been procured by bribery to the Delphian priests; and the party in opposition did not fail to make advantage of that report, attributing every adversity that befel the Spartan arms, to the anger of the gods at the restoration of Plistoanax, at any rate offensive to them, but doubly so, as having been procured by such impious collusion. (Mitford.)

[5] *Being always, on the occurrence, &c.*] Such is clearly the sense; but the words will not admit of a literal version. Ἐς ἐνθυμίαν signifies, properly, "*on reflection;*" but the word here denotes that sort of *scrupulous thought* which is the very essence of superstition: hence it comes sometimes to signify *omen*, as l. 7, 50.

From this passage may be emended one of Dio Cass., imitated from it, p. 195, 2. καὶ ἐπιθειάζοντες, καὶ ἐς ἐνθύμιον αὐτοῦ προβάλλοντος. where read for *αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸν*, scil. Κικέρωνα. Perhaps, also, for *ἐνθύμιον*, should be read *ἐνθυμίαν*.

[6] *Suborned.*] Literally, "*persuaded,*" namely, by corruption. Now it has been before remarked, that the oracles were much under the influence of various powers in Greece, especially that at Delphi under Lacedæmon. See note on 4, 118.

[7] *Seed.*] i. e. the offspring. So the Schol. *ἀπογόνον*. Here is plainly a vestige of Oriental metaphor. See my notes on St. Matt. 22, 4. and Galat. 3, 16.

[8] *Plough with a silver plough-share.*] The πρόμαντις here, certainly, succeeded tolerably well in wrapping up her meaning; for though it is easy to guess, yet it is difficult to prove the sense intended.

[9] *Dances and sacrifices.*] These denote the two parts of the solemnity of enthronisation, consisting of festive institutions, and religious solemnities.

founders of the Lacedæmonian monarchy had employed at the enthroning of their kings), who had during his exile lived in a habitation at the mountain Lycæum, half of which was part of the temple of Jupiter [10], to which he had been compelled to resort, through fear of the Lacedæmonians, as being suspected of having been induced by a bribe to withdraw his army out of Attica.

XVII. Chagrined, therefore, at this calumny, and considering with himself, that in the event of *peace*, as there would be no calamity to be apprehended, and, moreover, the Lacedæmonians would recover the prisoners, he should also himself give no handle of reproach to his enemies; whereas as long as war was on foot, those presiding at the helm of affairs must ever be exposed to calumny on the occurrence of disasters; therefore he was zealous in promoting the peace.

This winter, then, they proceeded to conferences, and when it was already spring, preparations for invasion were publicly put in motion for the purpose of terror [1], orders, too, being circulated throughout all the cities, as if for the purpose of

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[10] *Half of which was part of the temple of Jupiter.*] A very singular expedient this, which was effected by breaking a hole through one of the walls, and there adding a building sufficiently large, with the portion within the temple, to accommodate the inmate with a single room (for kitchen, parlour, and hall), so strongly built on the *outside*, that in case of any attempt there, he might take refuge in the portion which was really within the temple, no small part of which (considering the immense thickness of such in antient times) might be occupied in the wall.

The same expedient was adopted by the Argilian, l. 1, 138., and, we may suppose, was not unfrequently resorted to by those who contemplated more than a temporary residence at any place of refuge. Something similar is found in the histories of the middle ages, nay, even up to the sixteenth century, where we often read of royal personages seeking an asylum at some fane of celebrity, and having an *apartment* in the sacred precincts. The monastery of Westminster was often used for that purpose in this kingdom, when the last female of the House of York had her habitation there, and was taken thence to be espoused to Henry VII.

The Lycæum here mentioned, Duker thinks, was a mountain of Arcadia, on which was the temple of Jupiter Lycæus, mentioned by Strabo, p. 388., and Pliny H. N. 4, 6.

[1] *Put in motion for the purpose of terror.*] Προεπαναστάσει is a very expressive word, signifying, properly, to shake any thing aloft at any one, by way of terrifying them. The προ denotes either *publicly* or *previously;* the Lacedæmonians having resolved to *first* try the effect of this stratagem.

erecting a fortress in the Attic territory [2], in order that the Athenians might more readily accede to the required conditions. Then, after various meetings were held, and many demands were urged on either side, it was at length agreed that peace should be concluded; each party restoring what they had become possessed of by the war, except that the Athenians should hold Nisæa: for on their demanding back Platæa, and the Thebans alleging that they did not seize the place by force, but that it had come over by treaty, and without treachery [3], the Athenians urged that they obtained Nisæa in the same manner. Then the Lacedæmonians having called together their allies, and all of them, with the exception of the Bœotians, Corinthians, Eleans, and Megaræans (for to them the conditions were not satisfactory [4]), voting for the war to be terminated, they concluded the peace; the parties reciprocally covenanting and swearing to the observance of it, as expressed in the following terms: —

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2 *For the purpose of erecting, &c.*] Here all the editors, from Duker to Goeller, read ὡς ἐπὶ τειχισμὸν from one MS., and that a second-rate one. But this seems no very judicious procedure. Τειχισμ. is not sufficiently significant, since it can only denote *building*, not *making erections in*. The ἐπὶ seems required. So 1, 122. ἐπιτειχισμὸν τῇ χώρᾳ, and Arrian E. A. 1, 24, 11. and 4, 27, 11. φρούριον, ἐπιτετειχισμένον τῇ χώραν. That the Scholiast read ἐπιτειχ., is clear. Still some proposition is wanting (for the ὡς cannot, as Abresch fancied, be taken for one); and I would conjecture ὡς ἐς ἐπιτειχ. So in a kindred passage at 7, 19. ἐργαλεῖα ἑτοίμαζον ἐς τὸν ἐπιτειχισμόν.

This project of erecting a strong hold in Attica was, it seems, always the bugbear wherewith the Lacedæmonians sought to alarm the Athenians. Thus it is adverted to by Pericles, in his first speech, 1, 132., and in such a way as may lead us to suppose that it had been threatened by the Lacedæmonians. When finally accomplished, it proved very injurious to the Athenians; but that does not discredit the judgment of Pericles, since the circumstances of the state were then widely different.

3 *Came over by treaty, and without treachery.*] This refers, not to the first delivering up of the place to the Thebans, but its final surrender, when it is said that the inhabitants were permitted to make a *free* surrender, in order that it might not have to be restored in the event of peace.

4 *To them the conditions were not satisfactory.*] The Megaræans were, doubtless, dissatisfied at Nisæa, their port, being given up to the Athenians; and the Bœotians, probably, were not inclined to restore Panactum.

The Corinthians and Eleans had no reason to be satisfied; since, as Mitford observes, the former were to remain deprived of their colonies of Soleum in Ætolia, and Anactorium in Acarnania; and the latter were suffering, not neglect, but what they imputed to Sparta as injustice and active oppression.

XVIII. "The Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, and their respective allies, have made a treaty on these terms, and sworn to its observance, state by state: —

"Concerning the temples [1] common to Greece, it is agreed that whoever will may have access thereto, to sacrifice and consult the oracles, both individually, and by public deputation [2] according to the laws and customs of their country; to resort thither, both by sea and land, securely and without molestation.

"That the temple and fane [3] of Apollo at Delphi, and the Delphinians, shall be independent; self-taxed and self-judged [4], both as regards their city and its territory [5], according to the antient laws of their country.

"That the treaty between the Athenians and their allies, and the Lacedæmonians and their allies, shall be for fifty years, both by land and by sea [6], without any guile [7] or wrong whatsoever.

"That it shall not be lawful for either party to take up

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[1] *Concerning the temples.*] It is pleasing to observe the attention shown to religion, by the treaty being commenced with its concerns; as at the treaty recorded, 4, 118.

[2] *Both individually and by public deputation.*] The μαντύεσθαι refers to consultation of the oracles by *private* persons; θεωρεῖν, to that by public bodies, or cities, who sent deputies, called θεωροὶ, for that purpose.

[3] *The temple and fane.*] On the difference between the temple, and the fane or sanctum sanctorum, I have before treated. Goeller refers to the commentators on Herod. 6, 19.

[4] *Self-taxed and self-judged.*] Such is clearly the sense of αὐτοτελεῖς καὶ αὐτοδίκους, both of which words are rare; though I have remarked the following examples. Joseph. 620, 10. πολιτείαι αὐτοτελοῦς. Dio Cass. 605, 68. μήτε αὐτοδίκους μήτε αὐτοτελεῖς. Joseph. 853, 27. μετ' αὐτοτελοῦς τῆς διανοίας ἐν αὐτοδίκῳ τῇ πατρίδι, both passages imitated from this of Thucydides. Hesych. αὐτόδικοι. οἱ ἑαυτοῖς δικασταῖς χρώμενοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀλλαχόθεν παραγενομένοις. Also αὐτοτελὴς δίκη. ἀφ' ἧς μὴ ἔστι ἐφίεναι (appeal). That, however, is not the sense *here;* though Smith so takes the word.

[5] *Both as regards their city and its territory.*] This is, I believe, the only passage that notices the *territory* of Delphi.

[6] *Both by land and by sea.*] A common formula in treaties. See infra, c. 47. &c. and Aristoph. Acharn. 194. and Lysist. 169. See also Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Agam. 94.

[7] *Guile.*] i. e. fraud or evasion. The ἀξλαβεῖς seems to refer to such secret injuries as proceed from private ill-will. The words are often used in treaties. And this was a common form therein. Thus Procop. 37. ult. ἔχρητε τέχνῃ μηδεμιᾷ καβάδην κτεῖναι. Demosth. 1350. τέχνῃ οὐδὲ μηχανῇ οὐδεμιᾷ. Xen. Anab. 4, 5, 6. πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ. and 7. 1. 8. Aristoph. sæpe.

arms to the detriment of the other; either the Lacedæmonians and their allies against the Athenians, or the Athenians and their allies against the Lacedæmonians, and that by no fraud or subterfuge whatsoever. Should, however, any difference arise, let them resort for its adjustment to legal process [8] and oaths, in such a way as they may hereafter agree on.

" That the Lacedæmonians and their allies shall restore to the Athenians Amphipolis.[9]

" That with respect to any cities the Lacedæmonians deliver up to the Athenians, it shall be lawful for the inhabitants to depart wherever they please, in possession of their property and effects.

" That the cities shall be free and independent, on paying the tribute, or assessment, rated at the time of Aristides.[10]

" That, after the conclusion of this treaty, it shall not be lawful for the Athenians and their allies to bear arms to the injury of[11] these cities, on payment of this assessment. Now the cities are these:—Argilus[12], Stagirus, Acanthus, Sco-

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[8] *Legal process.*] There is no occasion to read, with Duker and Hack, δίκαις. See note on, l. 3, 44, 7. In the popular use δικαίῳ, which properly only means *jure*, was used for *judicio*. See the note of Goeller.

[9] *Restore to the Athenians Amphipolis.*] This was (as Mitford says) restored unconditionally, as being an Athenian colony.

[10] *Paying the tribute, &c.*] The last words are used, because the assessment rated to each ally by Aristides amounted only to 460 talents; whereas it was afterwards increased to 600. See 1, 96. and 2, 13.; also Diodor. 12, 40. and Boeckh Staatsh. T. 1, 427. referred to by Goeller.

[11] *Bears arms to the injury of.*] Ὅπλα ἐπιφέρειν is a usual phrase, denoting hostility; and ἐπὶ κακῷ is a formula which not unfrequently occurs in treaties. The complete sense is: " they shall not bring an armed force into these cities, for their injury;" q. d. If any troops be there introduced, it shall only be to the *benefit* of the cities, for their protection from Barbarians, &c.

[12] *Argilus.*] This name is said by Herod. 7, 115, Steph. Byz., and Heracl. Pont., there referred to by Berkley, to be derived from the Thracian *Argil*, signifying *a mouse*; because in proceeding to the foundations of the city, a mouse first appeared. And it should seem from Heraclides that the oracle (for on occasion of founding a city, an oracle was always consulted) had directed that the city should be called by the name of the first thing which made its appearance on beginning to dig. After all, however, it is probable that this is a mere fancy, founded on an antient fable; and it is more reasonable to suppose that the place derived its name from the whiteness of its soil; for the Etym. Mag. explains Ἄργιλος by ἡ λευκὴ γῆ.

The situation of this place cannot be exactly fixed. Phavorinus ap. Steph. Byz. says it was πρὸς τῷ Στρυμόνι ποτάμῳ. Yet the πρὸς there may be taken with some latitude; as is *probable* from Thucydides, and *certain* from Herod. 7, 115., who says it was on the shore to the east after passing

lus[13], Olynthus, and Spartolus; and these are to be allies of neither party, neither of the Lacedæmonians nor the Athenians.

"If, however, the Athenians can prevail on those cities to voluntarily become allies to the Athenians, it shall be lawful for them so to be.[14]

"That the Mecybernæans, and Sanæans, and Singæans[15] shall inhabit their own cities, upon the same conditions[16] as the Olynthians and Acanthians.

"That the Lacedæmonians and their allies shall restore[17] to the Athenians Panactum, and that the Athenians shall in like manner restore to the Lacedæmonians Coryphasium[18], Cythera, and Methone[19], Pteleum[20], and Ata-

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the Strymon. Its site is usually fixed at *Rondino*, about seven miles from the Strymon, which is as far south as can possibly have been. But it was probably nearer to the Strymon.

[13] *Scolus.*] This cannot, as Duker remarks, designates what Wasse supposed the Bœotian Scolus, but one near Olynthus, mentioned by Eustath. on Hom. Il. β. p. 263. (as referred to by Berkley on Steph. Byz.), and also by Strabo l. 9. p. 408., referred to by Poppo Proleg. p. 359., who, from the *order* in which the names occur in this passage, infers that Scolus was to the east of Olynthus. Reichard places it in Acte, misled, it should seem, by a modern town, or rather cape, called Scolo. But this was likely to be a not uncommon name, as the ratio appellationis is plain from Eustath, τόπος τραχύς. Whence may be illustrated Isaiah 40, 4. Καὶ ἔσται πάντα τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθεῖαν, καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα εἰς πεδία, where the latter clause is exegetical of the preceding. In short, the ratio appellationis is the same as that of *Roughton*, the name of a village in Lincolnshire.

[14] *If, however, the Athenians, &c.*] The Lacedæmonians, no doubt, thought they might safely trust that those cities would not be willing again to become allies to Athens, and so lose their independence.

[15] *Mecybernæans, Sanæans, and Singæans.*] Mecyberna was situated, as we gather from Herodotus, to the east of Olynthus, and as we learn from a passage of Hyperides cited by Berkley, twenty stadia from that place; and perhaps it served as a sort of port to it. With respect to the appellation Mecyberna, it seems to have originated from an oracular response given to the founders of the colony, signifying, "Be not governed," which for want of another, they made the *name of the city.*

Sane was situated at the upper end of Pallene; and Singus about the middle of the east coast of Sithonia.

[16] *Upon the same conditions.*] i. e. on condition of paying the tribute or asssessment of Aristides.

[17] *Restore.*] Or rather, "*procure the restoration of;*" for it was in the hands of the Bœotians, who did not participate in their treaty.

[18] *Coryphasium.*] Or Pylus; that being the Lacedæmonian name.

[19] *Methone.*] Namely, the peninsula seized by the Athenians in Trœzene, mentioned at 4, 45., and of which the truce guaranteed them the possession, upon certain conditions agreed on with the Lacedæmonians. See 4, 118. and note.

[20] *Pteleum.*] What place is here meant, it is difficult to imagine, since

lante [21], and such Lacedæmonians as are in the public prison of Athens, or elsewhere in that of any other city in the Athenian territory.

" Also, that they shall set at liberty the Peloponnesians besieged in Scione, and such others, being allies of the Lacedæmonians, as Brasidas introduced into the town; and if there be any of the Lacedæmonians or their allies in the prison at Athens, or in any other place of the Athenian territory, they shall be set at liberty.

" That the Lacedæmonians and their allies shall, in like manner, restore such of the Athenians and their allies as they have in confinement.

" That in regard to the Scionæans, Tironæans, Sermylians [22], and whatever other cities the Athenians possess, the

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no one of this name has been before mentioned. Now there was a Pteleum in Thessaly, on the Pelasgius Sinus, over against Sciathus; but this cannot be meant. St. Byz., too, mentions a Pteleum in Ionia, and another in the Troad; but neither can these be meant. He adds a third τῶν παραθαλαττίων Ἀχαίων; yet of this Achæan Pteleum I find no other mention. Finally there is a Pteleum mentioned by Homer Il. β. 594. and Strabo p. 508, 13. Falconer. Now this (Strabo says) was a colony of the Thessalian Pteleum; but, if so, it must have been a very *early* one. However, we learn from Strabo that it was situated somewhere on the borders of Messene and Elis, which varied in different ages: and this, I have no doubt, is the Pteleum here meant, as that town would be in the Lacedæmonian territory. As to the *situation* of the place, that cannot exactly be fixed; but as being in the possession of the Athenians, we may be sure it was upon the *coast*. As, moreover, the Athenians could not well occupy or maintain any but a *peninsular promontory*, so this Pteleum was doubtless such; and as there is no other such situation on the coast except the promontory of *Cyparissus*, now called Cape Conello, I have little doubt but that Pteleum was there situated. Perhaps, too, this is the very place meant by Steph. Byz. (for it is not likely that he would omit one so antient); and I conjecture that for Ἀχαιῶν we should read Ἠλείων; Elis antiently extending no further than the river Neda.

With respect to the *name*, it seems to have been given (as Steph. suggests) from the many *elms* around the city; and Strabo says that a woody thickety place was called πτελεάσιμον. Thus the name will correspond to our *Elme*, Elmley, Elmham, and Elmstead, villages in England. Nor can I omit to observe, that the above conjecture is confirmed by the name of the promontory Cyparissus, which proves that that was a *woody* one. I cannot but suspect, too, that πτελὸν was only a dialectical variation of πτερὸν and that the elm was so called from its being (as it is) a very *feathery* sort of tree; as the branches which grow from it have peculiarly that appearance.

[21] *Atalante.*] The name of a small island off the coast of the Locri Opuntii, which the Athenians seized, and there erected a fort; as is narrated at 2, 32. It even yet retains its antient name, being called Talanti.

[22] *Sermylians.*] The situation of Sermyle may be very well imagined from Herod. 7, 122. See also Note on 1, 67.

Athenians shall adopt such measures with them as they may think fit.[23]

"That the Athenians shall make oath[24] to the Lacedæmonians and their allies, state by state[25]; that each party shall swear by the oath which is usual[26] (and that of the most solemn kind[27]) in each state. Let the oath be this: — I will abide[28] by these covenants and the articles of this treaty faithfully, and without deceit or subterfuge; and the Lacedæmonians and their confederates shall, in like manner, make oath to the Athenians; which oath they shall both every year[29]

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[23] *Shall adopt such measures, &c.*] Thus the Scionæans were given over to the mercy of the Athenians; and what that was, we know. Nothing, surely, could be more dishonourable than this abandonment of persons whom they had deliberately received into alliance, and for whose safety they were bound, by every tie of justice and honour, to provide.

[24] *Make oath.*] Namely, to observe the above conditions. The Greek and English idioms here exactly correspond.

[25] *State by state.*] Perhaps this was meant to gratify the several states, and show that they were not, as with the Athenians, all swallowed up in consequence of one domineering principle.

[26] *Swear by the oath which is usual, &c.*] Namely, as to the preliminary *form* which introduced the *substance* of the oath.

[27] *Of the most solemn kind.*] For there were many different kinds of oaths, some of which were accounted of a far less serious and binding nature than the rest; and, consequently, the breach of these was more venial. For the same casuistry and distinction between great sins and small sins prevailed in the Heathen system, as does now in the Roman Catholic church, by which some offences were considered so venial as scarcely to deserve the name of sins. The kind of oaths here meant is shown by the references in Duker's note.

Goeller here remarks (referring to Platner d. Proz. und d. Klagen b. d. Att. t. 1. p. 223., and Valckn. de ritibus jurisjur. in Opusculis, t. 1. Ed. Lips.) that, "in the forms of oaths, there were degrees both of confirming and of giving faith. Besides the usual oath of witnesses, there was another and more hallowed one, which was regarded as binding the faith beyond any other, such as was administered by the Areopagites, whereby the swearers devoted themselves and all their posterity to curses, and which is mentioned as especially solemn and forcible. Especially binding did they consider that formula in which they swore by their children."

[28] *I will abide.*] The true reading here I have long thought to be ἐμμενῶ, which is established on a kindred passage, at c. 47. I now find it supported by Goeller, who has so edited from the conjecture of Osann and Elmsley.

[29] *Every year renew.*] This shows how little dependence was placed on the validity even of the most solemn oaths. Perhaps, however, this was done in order to intimidate the swearer from breaking his engagements, inasmuch as it was conceived that, in proportion to the number of oaths taken, so would his sin be increased, should he violate his engagements. From a treaty cited by Wasse, it appears that, when oaths were *not* renewed every year, the treaty was, at least, *read before the parties.*

renew. They shall also erect pillars[30] at Olympia, Pythia, the Isthmus, and at Athens in the city[31], and at Lacedæmon in the Amyclæum.[32] Moreover, if any thing should be on either side forgotten, it shall be consistent with their oaths for both parties to use equitable conferences, and thereby alter what may require to be changed, as may seem good to both, the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians."[33]

XIX. This treaty hath its commencement[1] from the ephor Plistolas at Sparta, on the 24th of the month Artemisium, and from the archon Alcæus at Athens, on the 15th of Elaphebolium.

Those that took the oath and sacrificed thereupon were —

Of the Lacedæmonians, { Plistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daithus, Ischagoras, Philocharidas, Xeuxidas, Antippus, Tellis, Alcinidas, Empedias, Menas, Lamphilus.[2]

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30 *Erect pillars.*] By way of more publicly promulgating the nature and extent of the engagement; a custom which had its rise in the primitive ages, when writing was little in use, and knowledge very slowly communicated even by that means. Goeller refers to Dahlmann's Herod. p. 18.

31 *The city.*] i. e. the city κατ' ἐξοχήν, the *citadel*, as being the place where all public business was despatched. (See infra, c. 23. and 47. and note on l. 2, 15.) The expression often occurs in Aristophanes, and is treated on by Brunck, on the Lysist. 245.

Here ought to be edited Ἰσθμοῖ. And for ἐν Ἀθήναις, Ἀθήνησι, as in a kindred passage at c. 47. An adverb is required by the preceding adverbs; and ἐν cannot be tolerated, though I have remarked *one* example of it after Ἀθήνησι in an inscription ap. Gruter, p. 405.

32 *Amyclæum.*] By this is meant the temple of Apollo at Amyclæ (see Xen. Hel. 4, 5, 11.), a town a very short distance S.E. of Sparta; so short, indeed, that, as Hack observes, it might be said to form part of it, as Piræus or Phaleris did of Athens, and the Heræum of Argos, which was forty stadia distant. Probably the temple was held in veneration for its high antiquity; and it was, moreover, a very magnificent edifice. See Pausanias and Strabo, and especially Philostr. Vit. Apoll. 3, 14.

33 *Moreover, if any thing, &c.*] At this clause of the treaty the allies, as we afterwards find, took great and well-founded exception; since the two powers being thus authorised to make what alterations they pleased, had the rest of Greece quite under their control.

1 *This treaty hath its commencement.*] Or takes its beginning, or is to take its beginning. So l. 4, 118. καὶ ὡμολόγησαν — ἄρχειν τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν. Smith, however, renders: "Pleistolas, presiding in the college of Ephori, putteth this treaty in force." And this sense is adopted by Mitford; but it cannot be justified.

2 *Plistolas, &c.*] Most of these names are very uncommon ones, espe-

Of the Athenians, { Lampo [3], Isthmionicus, Nicias, Laches, Euthydemus, Procles, Pythodorus, Hagnon, Myrtilus, Thrasycles, Theagenes, Aristocrates [4], Iolcius, Timocrates [5], Leon, Lamachus, Demosthenes.

XX. This treaty [6] was consummated on the close of the winter and the commencement of the spring, immediately after the *city* bacchanalian festival [7], when full ten years had elapsed (and some days over) since the first irruption into Attica, and the commencement of the war.[8] But let each one

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cially Chionis, Daithus, Menas, and Lamphilus. With respect to the *last*, I cannot but suspect that *Pamphilus* is the true reading, π and λ being not unfrequently confounded.

[3] *Lampo, &c.*] These were persons of eminence, who had held, or did afterwards hold, high offices, except Isthmionicus, Aristocrates, Iolcius, and Timocrates.

[4] *Aristocrates.*] I have followed Goeller in reading *Aristocrates;* "for the vulg. Aristocœtes is," as he says, "a name unheard of, and never existed; nor, indeed, was ever likely to exist. Besides," as the same commentator observes, "when these names are repeated at c. 23. we have *Aristocrates;* which is, doubtless, the true reading." And it may be added, that this Aristocrates was, probably, the person mentioned at l. 8, 89.

[5] *Timocrates.*] This was, probably, the father of Aristotetes, and the senior commander of the fleet stationed in the western parts of Greece.

[6] *This treaty, &c.*] The treaty of peace thus concluded between the leading powers of the two confederacies which had been contending, with little remission, now ten years in arms, was ill calculated to give general and permanent quiet to the nation. A want of able men in the administration of Lacedæmon, which had been manifested in the conduct of the affairs of that state through the whole of the war, above all, showed itself in this treaty, and in the circumstances which followed. A narrow policy appeared in the treaty itself; the exclusive interest of Lacedæmon was considered; that of the allies, by whom Lacedæmon was powerful, and without whom she scarcely could be safe (such was the alteration since the simple age of her great legislator), was unpardonably neglected. (Mitford.)

[7] *The city Bacchanalian festival.*] On this Duker refers to Palmer Exerc. p. 505 and 617. Casaubon on Athenæus, p. 446. and on Theophrast. p. 131. Meurs. Athen. Att. p. 150. Scaliger 1. de Emendat. Temp. p. 29., and Spanhem ad Aristoph. Nub. 310. It is truly observed by Hack, that besides the Dionysia κατ' ἄστυ (also called the *greater*), there were two other solemnities in honour of the same god, the *lesser* Dionysia, or κατ' ἀγρους (on which see Isæus, p. 70, 24. and Æschin. contr. Ctes. Edit.), and the τὰ Ληναῖα or Ἀνθεστήρια, of which the former took place at autumn, in the country, the latter in winter at the Piræus.

[8] *When full ten years, &c.*] Here there has been no little difficulty experienced in settling the sense, and reconciling it with chronology. Our surest guide in these cases is Dodwell, whose note the reader will do well

consider this with reference to the *times*, and not rather place reliance on those who in any place bore office, or who, from any honour whatsoever, marked the numbering of the names of years in respect to preceding events [9]: for it is not an exact mode of computation to say that a thing happened at any one's entrance into office, or at the middle of his office, or as it might happen to be [10]; but by reckoning the same according to summers and winters, as they have been recorded, he will find, since a year is completed out of the half which each contributes, that there were ten winters, and as many summers to this first war.[11]

XXI. And now the Lacedæmonians (for to them it fell by lot to commence the restitution) immediately set at liberty the men who were prisoners with them; and sending, as legates[1] to Thrace, Ischagoras, Menas, and Philocharidas, they ordered Clearidas to deliver Amphipolis to the Athenians, enjoining the rest of the allies there to receive the treaty as it had been

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to consult. The determination of the question must be left to the chronologists; and I would recommend it to the attention of Dr. Hales and Dr. Russel. It may be sufficient for me to add, that Goeller makes great, and, as it seems, well-founded objections to Dodwell's view of the passage, and especially to his explanation of παρενεγκεῖν. He insists that the verb is here *not transitive*, neither is it *reflective:* and he adds, "Hoc loco dies intelligendi sunt paulo minus, quam erant in mense Munychione præteriti illo anno, quo Peloponnesii in Atticam invadentes bellum gerere cœperunt. Tunc enim Munychio inceperat, et æstas primi anni; quo tempore autem pax Niciæ composita est, prope idem tempus erat, nondum tamen totus Elaphebolio effluxerat. Quare, cum in verbo παρενεγκεῖν comparatio insit, Thucydides uti poterat particula ἤ, ita scribens: παρενεγκουσῶν ἢ ὡς, illud ὡς autem secundum adhuc dicta nihil aliud significat nisi *eo anno quo*, &c. Totum igitur locum ita interpretor: *hæc fœdera pacta sunt exeunte hieme statim ineunte vere, statim a Dionysiis urbanis, præteritis ipsis decem annis, si paucos dies vel addas vel demas iis qui præterierant quo anno prima in Atticam invasio a Peloponnesiis facta est et bellum istud initium habuit.*"

9 *But let each one, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of this most perplexed passage, of which the true meaning was no doubt seen by the scholiast; though to prove such to exist in the words, is the great difficulty. There is little question but that the author has used very careless and vague phraseology.

10 *Or as it might happen to be.*] Namely, as they might be entering their magistracy, or between the beginning and middle, or between the middle and end.

11 *But by reckoning the same, &c.*] Such seems to be the real sense of this obscurely worded passage.

1 *Legates.*] Or commissioners.

agreed on [2] for each. But they were not disposed so to do, regarding it as unfavourable to them; neither did Clearidas (in order to ingratiate himself with the Chalcidæans) deliver up the city, alleging that he was *unable* to do so against their wills. He, however, went away thence in haste with the legates, both to justify his conduct at Lacedæmon (if Ischagoras and his colleagues should accuse him for not having obeyed the order); and, moreover, as wishing to know whether the treaty might not yet admit of alteration.[3] Having, however, found all made fast and immutable [4], he himself went back again in haste; the Lacedæmonians sending him with orders especially to deliver up the place, or, if that could not be done, to fetch away such Peloponnesians as were in it.

XXII. Now the confederates happened at that time to be at Lacedæmon[5], and the Lacedæmonians desired such as had not received the treaty to accede to it. But they, on the same grounds that they had first rejected it, now refused to renew it, unless conditions more equitable than those therein contained could be procured. When, however, they would not hearken to their request, the Lacedæmonians [6] dismissed them, and themselves made an alliance [7] with the Athenians,

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2 *Agreed on.*] Literally, "recited and drawn up."

3 *Whether the treaty might, &c.*] Not, as Hobbes renders, "to try whether the peace might not be shaken;" or, as Mitford interprets, "to disturb the peace;" for that could not be his aim; nor is the signification so natural or well supported.

4 *Made fast and immutable.*] This sense of κατειλημμένας is illustrated by the expression at 4, 86. init. ὅρκοις καταλαβὼν τὰ τέλη. where see note.

5 *The confederates happened, &c.*] I have not attended to the αὐτοὶ, since it has no place, and the true reading seems to be αὐτοῦ, which is conjectured by Krueger, and approved by Goeller. It may, too, be thought some confirmation of its truth, that the very same conjecture had occurred to myself.

6 *When, however, they would not hearken to their request, the Lacedæmonians, &c.*] Such is, undoubtedly, the most natural and correct view of the passage; and this is adopted by Portus, Hobbes, Levêque, and Hack. The Scholiast, Abresch, Smith, Bredow, and Kistemacher involve the passage in unnecessary difficulty by supplying οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι after ἐσήκουον. Besides, ἐσηκούον is more suitable to the *confederates.*

7 *Made an alliance.*] i. e. a defensive alliance; for that is what is meant by ξυμμαχία. On the difference between which and ἐπιμάχια see l. 1, 44. init. and the note.

It may seem strange that the two powers should not have stopped at making a treaty of *peace*, but should also have proceeded to *alliance*. This,

thinking that otherwise the Argives would by no means treat with them (since on Ampelidas and Lichas having gone thither, they were not disposed so to do; conceiving that without the aid of the Athenians they would not be formidable), and that thus the rest of Peloponnesus would especially keep quiet [8]: for otherwise they would, if they had the power, go over to the Athenians. Wherefore the ambassadors from the Athenians being then present, and conferences being held, and oaths mutually interchanged, they came to an agreement, with the interposition of oaths, and the alliance was concluded on the following terms: —

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however, may be attributed to the conferences between them, by which the two parties would be more united in sentiment. This treaty of alliance, no doubt, proceeded from the *Lacedæmonians*, who had already half proposed the thing, when they hinted, by the ambassador sent to Demosthenes at Pylus, *τὸ γε ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν, ἴστε, ὅτι, ὑποδέστερον ὂν, τὰ μέγιστα τιμήσει.*

[8] *Thinking that otherwise the Argives, &c.*] Such appears to be the real sense of the perplexed words *νομίσαντες — χωρεῖν*, which have been well explained by the Scholiast. It is truly observed by Goeller, that *ἐπισπένδεσθαι* should have been placed after *Ἀργείους*, and that it must be taken twice. On the sense he remarks: "Duplex causa profertur, cur Lacedæmonii cum Atheniensibus præter pacem fœdus societatis inierint; nam timuisse dicuntur, ne Argivi inducias non renovarent, quia noluerant nuper renovare, putantes (*νομίσαντες*) Lacedæmoniis cum Atheniensibus non junctis sese pares futuros esse; altera causa fuit, quod timebant, ne Peloponnesii, si liceret, i. e. si Lacedæmonii cum Atheniensibus non juncti essent, Atheniensium societati se adjungerent." It may be observed, that the sense is much cleared by the *parenthesis* which I have (after Hack) employed. The *otherwise*, as I have before remarked, is often left to be supplied after an *ἄν*.

Of this embassy of Ampelidas and Lichas nothing was before said; but it seems probable that they had gone not long before. For, as Hack observes, it is related at c. 14. that the thirty years' truce between the Lacedæmonians and Argives was drawing to a conclusion; and that the Argives refused to renew it, unless Cynuria were restored to them. This answer Ampelidas and Lichas had, probably, brought, after having been sent on this business to Argos."

On the present intricate state of Grecian affairs Mitford has the following masterly observations: "The complex intrigues that issued among the Grecian republics, form, in the detail of them remaining to us from Thucydides, not, indeed, the most splendid, but one of the most curious and instructive portions of Grecian history. Nothing enables us to know so intimately the political state of Greece in general, at the time, or the state of parties in the principal republics; and nothing affords equal ground for a just estimation of the value of that union, scarcely to be called a federal union, but rather a connection founded on opinion, and supported principally by similarity of language, manners, and religious belief; a connection subsisting unequally, uncertainly, and yet subsisting, among the numerous and scattered members of the Greek nation."

XXIII.[1] "That the Lacedæmonians shall be allies to the Athenians for fifty years.

"That if any enemy shall invade the territory of the Lacedæmonians, and harm them, the Athenians shall render them assistance by every method in their power, in the most effectual way possible[2]; and if, after devastating it, they shall depart, that state shall be held as an enemy to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, and shall be pursued with the vengeance of both; and moreover the war shall only be laid aside by the concurrence of both states.

"These conditions are to be observed in good faith, with good-will, and without deceit or subterfuge.[3]

"Also if an enemy shall invade the territory of the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians shall assist them by every method in their power, and in the strongest manner possible; and if, after ravaging, the enemy shall evacuate the country, that state shall be held an enemy to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, and suffer the vengeance of both; and also that there shall be no abandonment of the war, but by the mutual concurrence of both states.

"These conditions are to be observed in good faith, with good will, and without deceit or subterfuge.

"If the slaves[4] shall rise into rebellion, the Athenians shall furnish succours to the Lacedæmonians to the utmost of their power, and with all their strength.[5]

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[1] The wording of the following articles is exceedingly rude and anomalous; and, indeed, this, like the former treaties, seems to have been drawn up by men of business, matter-of-fact persons, with little power of language. They also abound in phrases which had, it seems, been in use from antient times, on these occasions. They appear to have been drawn up by the *Lacedæmonians*, though the Doric dialect is not adopted.

[2] *By every method, &c.*] The repetition here is meant to have an intensive force. The same form occurs at l. 5, 45.

[3] *In good faith, with good will, and without deceit or subterfuge.*] This also seems to have been a common formula, since it occurs in a treaty between Carthage and King Philip of Macedon, cited by Wasse. I would compare Æschyl. Eum. 286. κτήσεται δ' — πιστὸν δικαίως, ἐς τὸ πᾶν τε ξύμμαχον.

[4] *The slaves.*] Literally, "that body which is without political liberty; namely, the Helots." This sense of δουλεία is very rare; but I have observed another example in Hegesand. ap. Athen. p. 572. E. κατεχομένης γὰρ τῆς πολέως δουλείᾳ.

[5] *To the utmost of, &c.*] Another repetition by way of rendering the

"These articles shall be sworn to by the same persons on both sides as swore to the peace. They shall also be renewed every year, the Lacedæmonians coming to Athens at the Dionysia (or Bacchanalia), and the Athenians going to Lacedæmon at the Hyacinthia.[5]

"That each shall erect a pillar; that at Lacedæmon to be in the Amyclæum, and that at Athens to be in the citadel near the statute of Minerva.

"If, finally, it shall seem good to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians to add or take away any thing respecting this alliance, that it shall be lawful, consistently with their oaths, for both parties to make such alteration as shall be approved by both."

XXIV. Those that took the oath were:

Of the Lacedæmonians, Plistoanax, Agis, Plistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daithus, Ischagoras, Philocharidas, Zeuxidas, Antippus, Alcinidas, Tellis, Empedias, Menas, Lamphilus.

Of the Athenians, Lampo, Isthmionicus, Laches, Nicias, Euthydemus, Procles, Pythodorus, Hagnon, Myrtilus, Thrasycles, Theagenes, Aristocrates, Iolcius, Timocrates, Leon, Lamachus, and Demosthenes.

This alliance was made soon after the peace, whereupon the Athenians restored to the Lacedæmonians the men taken on the island; and with this began the summer of the eleventh year. And thus the first war, which continued for these ten years, without intermission, hath been narrated.

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sense the stronger. The most remarkable one I have met with is in Æschin. p. 43, 18. καὶ χειρὶ καὶ ποδὶ καὶ φωνῇ καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει. See also 69, 10.

[5] *Hyacinthia.*] A festival celebrated at Amyclæ.

YEAR XI. B. C. 421.

XXV. After the treaties above detailed, and the alliance of the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians, which took place after the ten years' war, under the ephorship of Plistolas [1] at Lacedæmon, and the archonship of Alcæus at Athens, there was, indeed, peace to those who accepted them; but the Corinthians and certain of the cities in Peloponnesus overturned what had been concluded; and thus there arose another disturbance, namely, that of the allies against Lacedæmon. And moreover the Lacedæmonians became in process of time objects of suspicion to the Athenians, as not doing in certain things according to the agreement, and as had been specified in the articles.

It is true, that for six years and ten months [2] they abstained from warring on each other's territory; but abroad there being but a sort of insecure suspension of arms, they did each other very considerable injury. After which, being compelled to break the treaty after the ten years' war, they were again brought to open hostilities.

XXVI. The events of *this* war, too, Thucydides, an Athenian, hath written, in the order that they happened, by summers and winters until the time that the Lacedæmonians and their allies put an end to the dominion of Athens, and occupied the long walls and the Piræus. Up to which event from the beginning of the war there are in all seven-and-twenty years. For as to the intermediate time of peace, if any one shall think that it ought not to be accounted as

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[1] *Under the ephorship of Plistolas.*] i. e. Plistolas being president of the college of Ephori, and being, therefore, the Ephorus ἐπηνυμὸς, or whose name was affixed to all public treaties, as of the Archon ἐπηνυμὸς at Athens; for the authority of the Ephori at Lacedæmon had gradually so trenched upon that of the kings, that little solid power was left them, except in case of war, when they were the state generals.

[2] *Six years and ten months.*] Ἐπὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη legendum censet Acacius. Dodwell in Annalib. Thucyd. ad ann. 18. belli Peloponn. t. 2. p. 696. legendum putat καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη μὲν καὶ δύο μῆνας. Falsus uterque. Auctoris computatio annorum progreditur usque ad annum Ol. 91, 2. (414.) et mensem Februarium, quo tempore Lacedæmonii ab Alcibiade exstimulati rursus ad bellum apertè cum Atheniensibus gerendum se accinxerunt. Vid. Thucyd. 6, 93. Exeunt ipsi sex anni et menses decem; nam nunc Aprilis agitur. (Goeller.)

war, he will not judge aright. For, let him consider it by the actions as they are distinctly narrated, and he will find, that that ought not to be accounted a *peace* wherein the parties neither restored all that was conditioned, nor received back what was agreed upon. And besides this, the treaty was mutually infringed at the Mantinæan and the Epidaurian wars; the allies in Thrace, too, were just as much enemies as ever, and the Bœotians only observed ten days' truces. So that, together with the first ten years' war, and the dubious suspension of arms which succeeded it, and the subsequent war, he will find there are so many years (reckoning according to the times), and some few days over; and that to those who laid any stress upon oracles only *this*, forsooth, happened with any certain conformity to their predictions.[3] For my own part, I remember that, at the beginning of the war, and continually up to its conclusion, it used to be publicly declared by many, that it was fated to be of thrice nine years' continuance.[4] I lived throughout the whole of it in the full strength of my faculties, and closely applied my attention in order to gain an accurate knowledge of the truth. It was my lot, too, to be banished my country for twenty years, after my command at Amphipolis; and being present at the transactions of both parties, and especially those of the Peloponnesians, by reason of my banishment, I was enabled at my leisure to acquire the better understanding of them. This difference which took place after the ten years, and the consequent rupture of the treaty, and the subsequent events of the war as they happened, I shall now proceed to narrate.

XXVII. After, then[1], the conclusion of the fifty years' peace, and the subsequent alliance, those ambassadors who

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[3] *And that to those who laid, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of the words, which have been imperfectly comprehended by the translators. They savour highly of the scepticism of Thucydides in respect to oracles, &c.

[4] *Thrice nine years' continuance.*] The thrice nine (like all odd numbers, and especially their multiples) was a favourite number with those who were attached to divination. Thus at 7, 50. the soothsayers, being consulted on the army's leaving Sicily, say that it must remain thrice nine days.

[1] *Then.*] The γὰρ is inchoative. See Hoogev.

had been summoned from the rest of Peloponnesus for that business[2], retired from Lacedæmon, and the remainder of them went homeward; but the Corinthians, proceeding first to Argos, entered into a conference with certain of the Argives who were in the offices of administration, saying[3], that since the Lacedæmonians had made a treaty and alliance with the Athenians (heretofore their direct foes), not for the benefit, but for the enslavement of Peloponnesus, it behoved the Argives to consider of some means whereby Peloponnesus might be *preserved*; and to pass a vote, that whatever state of the Greeks is independent, and in the enjoyment of equal and like rights and privileges[4], may, at its pleasure, form an alliance with the Argives, for mutual defence.[5] Further, that they should appoint a few persons commissioners with full powers, and that the conferences should not be held with the people, in order that those who should not succeed in persuading the multitude, might not be exposed. They further assured them that many, through hatred of the Lacedæmonians, would come over to their alliance. After offering these suggestions, the Corinthians returned home.

XXVIII. And now those persons of the Argives, after hearing this proposal, repeated it to the magistrates and the people; and the Argives voted the adoption of the measure, and chose twelve persons, with whom any of the Grecian states which chose might make an alliance, excepting the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, for with neither of *those* were they authorised to treat, without the express authority of the Argive people. The proposals in question the Argives embraced the more readily, as perceiving that there would be a war between them and the Lacedæmonians; for the treaty

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[2] *For that business.*] Ἐς αὐτὸ (at which the translators stumble) is for ἐς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα.

[3] *Saying.*] This word is not *expressed,* but it is implied in τοὺς λόγους ποιοῦνται.

[4] *In the enjoyment of, &c.*] It is truly observed by Hack, that this expression has reference to those states which would mutually give and receive justice on equal terms, which the more powerful ones, as Athens and Lacedæmon, were not disposed to show to the states in general.

[5] *For mutual defence.*] On this sense of ἐπιμαχεῖν, see note on 1, 44. Mitford takes it to denote alliance defensive and offensive.

was now on the point of expiring; and because they hoped that they should attain the dominion of Peloponnesus.[6] For at this time Lacedæmon was in very bad repute, and fallen into contempt by reason of its late disasters; while, on the other hand, the Argives were, in all respects, in a thriving state, not having taken part in the Attic war, but, as being at peace with both parties, deriving advantage from it.[7] And thus it was that the Argives received into alliance all of the Greeks that were willing to enter into it.

XXIX. Of those that came over to their allegiance were the first the Mantinæans[1], and that through fear of the Lacedæmonians[2]; for a certain district of Arcadia[3], subject to the Lacedæmonians, had, during the war with the Athenians, been subdued by the Mantinæans; who thought that the Lacedæmonians would never, now that they had leisure to act for themselves, permit them to hold it.[4] So that they readily went over to the Argives, regarding them as a powerful state,

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[6] *The proposals in question the Argives, &c.*] Ambition grew with increasing wealth and strength, and the state of Lacedæmon seemed to offer an opening for Argos to recover its antient preeminence and command in Peloponnesus; which, far from an empty honour, would be a very important advantage, when, as at present, a war with that still powerful neighbour was impending. (Mitford.)

[7] *Deriving advantage from it.*] Literally, "making harvest from it;" namely, by disposing of their produce to both parties.

[1] *The Mantinæans were the first.*] As the *professed* object and principle of the alliance was the liberty of Greece, it is strange that the first member which acceded should have done this in order to accomplish a purpose that tended to overturn that liberty. "But," as Mitford observes, "to make a beginning towards collecting allies was esteemed by the Argives of more importance than a strict adherence to any such principle."

[2] *Through fear of the Lacedæmonians.*] The same selfish considerations weighed with all the parties who acceded to this confederacy. "Not any liberal view," as Mitford observes, "to an improvement of the federal union of Greece, but the separate interest of particular republics, brought the first accession to the proposed new confederacy under the presidency of Argos."

[3] *A certain district.*] Probably that of the Parrhasii, which the Mantinæans were in the subsequent war compelled to abandon. See c. 33. It does not, indeed, appear that they had made it a part of their territory; but they had, it should seem, made it a dependency of theirs.

[4] *Would not permit them to hold it.*] For that were a direct contravention of their own right to the supremacy of Peloponnesus. As to any right to add the district to their dominions, neither the Lacedæmonians nor the Mantinæans had any.

and one always inimical to Lacedæmon, and its government was, like their own, a democracy.[5] On this revolt of the Mantinæans, the rest of Peloponnesus was thrown into a ferment, the states muttering that "they also ought to do the same;" supposing that *those* had made the change from knowing something more than was generally known[6]; and, moreover, being angrily disposed towards the Lacedæmonians, both on other accounts, and because, in the Athenian treaties, it had been written that "It should be consistent with the oaths to add or take away whatever should seem good to both the states, Lacedæmon and Athens." For it was this article that especially threw Peloponnesus into a ferment, and put them on suspecting that the Lacedæmonians were planning, in conjunction with the Athenians, to bring them into subjection.[7] For it was just, they said, that this power of alteration should have been ascribed to all the allies. So that, through this alarm, the greater part eagerly pressed each for themselves to make an alliance with the Argives.

XXX. The Lacedæmonians, on hearing of this disturbance being on foot in Peloponnesus, and that the Corin-

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5 *Its government was, &c.*] Hence they could place more reliance upon there being a close combination. For next to the distinctions of *race*, those of *government* were most influential in Greece; insomuch that the "idem velle et idem nolle," &c. might, mutatis mutandis, very well apply. "Mantinæa," Mitford observes, "being a democratical government, was a reason for the allowance of some indulgence in the exercise of a tyrannical authority over other Grecian states."*

6 *Supposing that those had, &c.*] It was very generally supposed that the Mantinæans, near neighbours to both Lacedæmon and Argos, knew more than was generally known, and that reasons which impelled them ought, probably, to weigh with all. (Mitford.)

Θρονὺς is used in the same sense as at 4, 66. Πλέον τι εἰδότες is a strongly elliptical expression, occurring also at l. 7, 49. μή τι καὶ πλέον εἰδὼς ὁ Νικ.

7 *It was this article that, &c.*] This was like giving these two states a power to dictate laws to all Greece. For as to the articles of the treaty which made mention of the allies of Lacedæmon, there was not one that gave them any real power.

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* Here that historian is not so much to be considered as narrating a fact, as aiming a censure (just and well-merited) on democracy.

thians had been the movers [1] of the business, and were themselves about to enter into a treaty with Argos, sent ambassadors to Corinth, with intent to prevent what might ensue.[2] They charged them with originating the whole business, and expostulated with them for their intention to withdraw from their alliance [3], and enter into that of the Argives; representing that they would violate their oaths, and, indeed, had already committed injustice by refusing to receive the treaty made with the Athenians, though it was ordained that, "Whatever should be decided by the vote of the major part of the allies should stand good, and be held valid, unless there should be any hindrance on the part of gods or heroes." But the Corinthians, in the presence of the allies who had also themselves not received the treaty (for they had previously summoned them thither), answered to the charges of the Lacedæmonians; not, indeed, openly representing the matter wherein they had been aggrieved, namely, that they had not procured back for them from the Athenians [4] either Sollium, or Anactorium, or in what other respect they thought they had been wronged; but making a pretence that they could not betray their allies in Thrace, for that they had sworn oaths to them, both, in particular at first, when they revolted with the Potidæans, and others afterwards: therefore they urged that they had not violated their oaths to the allies, by not entering into the treaty with the Athenians. This they could not do; for having undertaken engagements ratified by oaths, they should not act consistently with their

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[1] *Movers.*] Or fomenters and instigators. So Æschyl. Theb. 570. τὸν πολέως ταράκτορα, Μέγιστον Ἄργει τῶν κακῶν διδάσκαλον.

[2] *Prevent what might ensue.*] Literally, "to preoccupy the future event;" namely, the accession of Corinth to the confederacy of Argos.

[3] *Expostulated with, &c.*] This is the most literal version that our language will admit. The Greek authors were fond of commencing sentences with εἰ, chiefly through delicacy, and to avoid blunt assertion.

[4] *That they had not procured for them from the Athenians.*] The ἀπέλαβον must refer not to the Corinthians (as the Scholiast and Hobbes understand), but to the Lacedæmonians; for as the Corinthians had not entered into any treaty of peace with Athens, so there could be no restoration made.

Now to this wrong the Corinthians could not well advert as a cause of their not acceding to the treaty, since it had been done by the vote of the major part of the allies. The Lacedæmonians had not indeed (what Mitford says) ceded Sollium and Anactorium to the Athenians; but by not

plighted faith were they to abandon those.[5] Besides, it was said, "Unless there shall be some hindrance on the part of the gods or heroes."[6] Now this very sacred consideration[7] appeared to them to be a hindrance; and thus much they answered as to their *antient oaths*.[8] As to the *alliance with the Argives*, they would, they said, after consultation with their friends, do what was right. With this answer the Lacedæmonian ambassadors returned home. Now there happened to be then also present at Corinth the ambassadors of the Argives, who urged the Corinthians to enter into the alliance, and to make no delay. They, however, appointed them to come to them at their next assembly.

XXXI. Soon after, there arrived an embassy from the Eleans, and these first made an alliance with the Corinthians; and then proceeding thence to Argos, became allies of the Argives, in the manner aforesaid.[1] This step they had been induced to take by some differences which they had had with the Corinthians respecting Lepreum.[2] For there having been

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particularizing them with the other places which the Athenians were to restore, they, in fact, left them to the Athenians.

5 *Having undertaken engagements, &c.*] This surely, if any thing could, might have made the Lacedæmonians blush; for nothing could be more unprincipled and irreligious than *their* conduct in abandoning states which they had received into alliance with the most solemn oaths to stand by them, assert their liberty, and secure their independence. In fact, Brasidas only died just in time to avoid the grief and shame which would have filled his honourable bosom at witnessing the political profligacy of his countrymen throughout the whole of the treaty with Athens.

6 *Unless there should be some hindrance, &c.*] "This clause of exception," Mitford remarks, "though, perhaps, required by Grecian superstition, was singularly adapted to political evasion." It was, in truth, a very trap-hole, and would afford a salvo for almost any thing; very much like the clause affixed to a Roman Catholic priest's oath of allegiance, which reserves his obedience to the Pope.

7 *Sacred (or Divine) consideration.*] Such seems to be the sense of θεῖον τοῦτο, as at 3, 82. τοῦ θειοῦ χάριν.

8 *Antient oaths.*] Namely, to the general alliance of Lacedæmon, not those to the Thracian allies, which could not truly be called antient.

1 *In the manner aforesaid.*] Namely, by communicating with the twelve commissioners appointed by the decree of the Argives to form alliance with any Grecian state; or, according to Hack, as had been enjoined on them by their countrymen.

2 *Lepreum.*] By some written Leprium, or Lepreus. See the notes of Wasse and Duker. This city was in that division of Elis called Triphylia. See Polyb. 4, 77. It is by Scylax, Dicæarchus, and Ptolemy placed on the

once a war between the Lepreans and some of the Arcadians, the Lepreans [3] called upon the Eleans for aid, and entreated to be admitted into alliance, offering to yield up to them half their lands [4]; and, after the conclusion of the war, the Eleans gave up the land to the Lepreans, appointing to them an annual payment of a talent [5] to the temple of Jupiter Olympus.

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sea-side; while Strabo makes it forty stadia from thence. This discrepancy, however, may have partly arisen from the retirement of the sea. The ruins of the place have been discerned at about a mile and a half from Strobitza by Dodwell, t. 2, 347. and Gell in his Morea. The former describes it thus: "We employed half an hour in ascending from the first traces to the acropolis. Two entire gates are remaining, of the common square form. One of them is almost buried under the ruins and earth which reach nearly to its architrave. The towers are square; one of them is almost entire, and contains a small window or arrow hole. A transverse wall is carried completely across the acropolis, by which means it was antiently divided into two parts. The foundation of this wall and part of the elevation still remain. Three different periods of architecture are evident in this fortress. The walls are composed of polygons: some of the towers consist of irregular, and others of rectangular quadrilaterals. The ruins extend far below the acropolis on the side of the hill, and are seen on a flat detached knoll. It was evidently an extensive city." Probably it was much more extensive in the earlier ages than in the time of Thucydides.

With respect to the *name*, I suspect *that* was given it, *ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος* (as the Greeks say), i. e. from a peculiarity in the country round. Now as Dodwell speaks of the *forests of firs around it*, we may suppose this was adverted to in the appellation, since *Λέπρεος* is an adjective signifying *rough*. There may also have been an allusion to the *rockiness* of its situation, and even to some peculiarity in the rocks. And such, I find, was the opinion of Didymus. So the Schol. on Aristoph. p. 548. *Δίδυμος δὲ φησι Λέπρεον ὠνομάσθαι, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν αὐτὸ λέπειν. διαφαίνονται γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ὀρεινῆς πέτρας γὰρ εἶναι αὐτόθι ποικίλας χρώματι καὶ διαλεύκους, ὁμοίας τοῖς τὰς ὄψεις λ ε π ρ ι ῶ σ ι.*

[3] *Lepreans.*] This form, which is sanctioned by Hesychius, I have preferred to the form Lepreates, which our language will scarcely admit.

[4] *Half their lands.*] Namely, half the lands which belonged to Lepreum; not, "half the lands that should be conquered," as Hobbes and Smith understand; a sense which were very improbable, and which the words permit not.

[5] *A talent.*] This would seem a very small sum, as sent from half the territory of Lepreum, which Strabo 501, 2. says was a fertile one. Scylax, p. 16., too, says that its sea-coast was of a hundred stadia; though for *στάδια ρ'*, I conjecture *στάδια ν'*, i. e. fifty*; namely, from the Neda to a small river, at the mouth of which Samium is situated. It is probable,

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* Some in the present passage conjecture, for *τάλαντον ἔταξαν, τάλαντα ν'.* that, however, were making the number too *large*. If any alteration be necessary, I would propose *τάλαντα ε' ἔταξαν*; and so in a passage of Diog. Laert. l. 1, 111. for *Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τάλαντον ἐψηφίσαντο δοῦναι*, I would read *τ. ε'. ἐψηφ. δοῦναι.*

And up to the Attic war, they paid it; then, on their ceasing so to do, on pretence of the war, the Eleans enforced the payment; on which the Lepreans had recourse to the Lacedæmonians. The decision of the case being committed to the arbitration of the Lacedæmonians, the Eleans, suspecting that they should not have justice, renounced the reference, and devastated the territory of the Lepreans. The Lacedæmonians, however, proceeded to judgment on the case, declaring the Lepreans independent, and that the Eleans had done them wrong. And when the latter would not abide by the arbitration, they put a garrison of heavy-armed into Lepreum. Whereupon the Eleans, conceiving that the Lacedæmonians had encouraged their revolted city; and alleging that clause in the treaty, wherein it was said that "whatever possessions any had when they entered upon the war, they should have the same when they retired from it[6];" and conceiving themselves to have been unjustly treated, they passed over from the Lacedæmonians to the Argives, and, as has been before said, they also joined the alliance. Immediately after them the Corinthians acceded to the confederacy, as did also the Chalcidæans in Thrace. As to the Bœotians and Megaræans, though they held the same language and sentiments, yet they took no step in the thing; as being watched by the Lacedæmonians[7], and thinking that the democracy of the Argives

Attic

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however, that this was a *rent* as an *acknowledgment* securing their right to the territory. Thus four talents were rated by Athens to the Cytherians. Such, indeed, is suggested by the term *ἀποφέρειν*, on which T. Mag. says, with reference to this passage: *ἀποφέρειν καὶ ἀποφορὰ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἡττόνων τοῖς μείζοσι παρεχόμενα χρηστά. Θουκυδίδης ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τάλαντον.*

6 *Whatever possessions any had, &c.*] A very important article, according to which the Eleans had, perhaps, been wronged; certainly the *Corinthians*, though it is strange they should have made no reference to this article, by which they might have claimed that Sollium and Anactorium should be restored to them.

7 *Being watched by the Lacedæmonians.*] The translators seem to have been not a little perplexed with the *περιορωμένοι ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδ.* Some omit the words; others render them, "though they had been contemned or ill-used by the Lacedæmonians;" a signification, indeed, sometimes found in the verb, but here not permitted by the construction; neither is it easy to see what contempt or injury the Bœotians had received at the hands of the Lacedæmonians, who had rather showed them unworthy compliances, as in the case of Platæa. The sense I have assigned is alike justified by the usus loquendi, and agreeable to the context.

would be less suitable for them, who were under an oligarchical form of government, than the polity of the Lacedæmonians.[8]

XXXII. About the same time of this summer, the Athenians having reduced the Scionæans to surrender, put to death all the males of full age, and made slaves of the women and children[1]; granting the occupation of the land to the Platæans.[2]

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[8] *And thinking that the democracy, &c.*] i. e., as Mitford paraphrases, "the presidency of a democratical government which could scarcely fail to jar with the interests of their oligarchical administrations, made them hesitate to conclude."

[1] *Put to death, &c.*] Upon this occasion the Athenian people added a shocking instance to the many that occur in history, of the revengeful and unrelenting temper of democratical despotism. Though Cleon was no longer living to urge the execution of the decree of which he had been the proposer, it was, nevertheless, executed in full strictness. Amid such acts of extreme inhumanity, we have difficulty to discover any value in that fear of the gods, and that care about the concerns of what they called religion, which we find ever lively in the minds of the Greeks. (Mitford.)

On this occasion, it may be enquired, where were the benevolent Nicias and Nicostratus? did they make no attempt to save these unfortunate persons? It is probable that they did, but being probably *both* timid characters, they dared not oppose the will of their sovereign, the mob. One might ask, too, where was Diodotus, who had both humanity and firmness? It is remarkable that he is not once mentioned in the history, after the record of his wise and able oration. Upon the whole, one cannot but suppose that he must have died not long after its delivery. Had he been alive at the treaty of alliance, surely his name would have appeared among the signatures.

It may, moreover, be thought strange, that Thucydides should have made no remark on this piece of extreme (though far from unprecedented) barbarity. But, in fact, it is very unusual with our historian to give his own opinion on the actions he records. *That*, however, may, in most cases, be gathered from his manner. Here, indeed, it was unnecessary to give any, since there could be but one sentiment. I cannot, however, but suspect that in *placing together* the two narrations respecting the Scionæans and the Delians, the first introduced with a μὲν, the other with a δὲ, our historian meant to suggest that unsparing cruelty and pretended religion (which was but grovelling superstition) were united in the sovereign mob. "They never (as Mitford remarks) looked beyond some vain ceremony; whether, in its concomitant and consequent circumstances, moral, or most grossly immoral." In respect both to the removal and the restoration of the Delians, Mitford thinks, "that possibly some leading men found their ends in amusing the minds of the people with both these mockeries."

[2] *Granting the occupation of the land to the Platæans.*] The translators all render as if the Platæans received the property of the land; which, I conceive, was not the case. The phrase διδόναι νέμεσθαι, in Thucydides (as I shall show in my edition), signifies "to *occupy*, to have in possession." And this is what Photius means when he says (in voce) that in Thucydides it signifies τὸ λαμβάνειν πρόσοδον. In the same sense, too, it occurs in Herodotus and other early writers.

The Delians they brought back again to Delos, their minds having misgiven them [3], on reflection upon their late disasters, and urged by the admonition of the oracle at Delphi. And now the Corinthians and Argives, being in alliance, went to Tegea [4], in order to withdraw that state from the Lacedæmonian alliance, viewing it as a considerable portion of that league [5], and imagining that if that could be brought over, they would soon [6] have all Peloponnesus. But, on the Tegeans declaring that they would in no respect oppose themselves to the Lacedæmonians, the Corinthians, who hitherto had been very forward, abated of their eagerness [7], greatly fearing [8] that no other state would now come over. However, they went to the Bœotians, and besought them to be allies of theirs and the Argives, and, in other respects, to make common cause. [9] They also urged them to go with them to Athens, and negotiate, in their behalf, those ten days' truces which had subsisted between the Athenians and Bœotia ever since a little after the fifty years' treaty, on the same terms as the Bœotians had them; and if the Athenians should refuse the request, then not to make any truce without their being admitted thereto. To

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Now the Platæans had before been made citizens of Athens; though, as Meyer and Krueger think, not *completely* so until after their escape from Platæa.

3 *Their minds misgiving them.*] Such seems to be the full sense of ἐνθυμούμενοι, or rather as was read by Pollux and (as I judge from Suidas) Dio Cass. ἐνθυμιζόμενοι.

4 *Tegea.*] This and Mantinea were the most considerable cities in Arcadia. Some of its ruins have been traced by Gell and Stanhope at Piali, nearly five miles from Tripolitza. Both Mantinea and Tegea were more antient than the time of Homer. The latter seems to have derived its name from its sheltered situation; and this is much countenanced by a phrase, from an antient Pythian oracle, cited by Lepidus ap. Steph. Byz. in. v.

5 *Viewing it as a considerable, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the sense of ὁρῶντες μέγα μέρος ὄν, which words have the same sense with a kindred expression at l. 2, 20. where see note.

6 *Soon.*] Some *supplementum* of this sort is necessary to the sense; for though after securing the Mantineans (who also held Parrhasia) they would have almost half Arcadia, yet they would be far from having all Peloponnesus except Laconia.

7 *Eagerness.*] Or *ardour.* Not, "zeal for contention;" for φιλονεικία and φιλονικέω often imply nothing of *contention*, but only *ardour*, as of rivalry.

8 *Greatly fearing.*] Or being terrified. This transition from extreme and sanguine ardour to great terror, is natural to warm temperaments.

9 *In other respects to make common cause.*] Such seems to be the sense of καὶ τἆλλα κοινῷ πράσσειν.

this entreaty of the Corinthians the Bœotians replied, by recommending them to wait a while concerning the alliance with the Argives, but went with them to Athens. Yet they could not obtain the ten days' truces; for the Athenians replied that "the Corinthians were already in treaty, if they were allies of the Lacedæmonians." The Bœotians would not renounce their own truces, though the Corinthians requested them so to do, and expostulated with them, urging that they had agreed with them to that effect. There was, however, granted them, by the Athenians, a cessation of arms, without ratification by treaty.

XXXIII. This same summer, the Lacedæmonians proceeded with their whole force, under Plistoanax son of Pausanias, to [1] the Parrhasians [2] (who were in subjection to the Mantineans), as being called in by a certain faction; and moreover, to demolish, if possible, the strong hold at Cypsela [3], which the Mantineans had fortified and garrisoned, situated in the territory of Parrhasia, adjacent to the Sciritis of Laconia. And now the Lacedæmonians proceeded to de-

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[1] *To.*] Not, "*against*," as Hobbes renders; for the purpose of the expedition was to liberate the Parrhasians from the usurped domination of the Mantineans.

[2] *The Parrhasians.*] It is strange that, in all our maps, the territory of the Parrhasians should be placed in the S. W. corner of Arcadia, and next Tripholia; whereas it is plainly said by Thucydides to have been next to the district of Sciritis in Laconia, by which it must have been rather to the S. E. of Arcadia. Poppo thinks that their territory began from the Orestis, because Euripides makes Orestium (or Oresthasium) a port of Parrhasia; and Pausanias joins the towns of Parrhasia with Megalopolis. The town of Parrhasia is mentioned by Homer; and its antiquity may be inferred from its having been said to be founded by Lycaon, or by Pelasgus.

[3] *Cypsela.*] Steph. Byz., referring to this passage, calls Cypsela a fort in Arcadia. Yet Thucydides does not say, the fort *of* Cypsela, but the fort *in* Cypsela. It should seem, therefore, that Cypsela was a town, probably in a commanding situation, where the Mantineans had raised this fort.

Wasse, who has here an elaborate annotation, says that there were four places of this name. Of these the most antient was the Cypsela in Arcadia, which, as the same commentator shows from antient authority, was founded by Cypselus, son of Ægyptus, king of Arcadia, A. M. 2901. about the return of the Heraclidæ. It was situated in a plain, on the banks of the Alpheus, Thus we are enabled pretty nearly to fix the situation of this antient place, and hence it will appear that the course of the Alpheus, from its rise, is accurately laid down, by the geographers, from D'Anville to Arrowsmith, but incorrectly, by Cramer, in his new map of Greece.

vastate the territory of the Parrhasians; whereupon the Mantineans committing their city to the defence of the Argives, went themselves to the aid of their confederate state.[4] Finding themselves, however, unable to preserve the fort at Cypsela, and the towns in Parrhasia, they departed. Then the Lacedæmonians, having established the independence of Parrhasia[5], and destroyed the fort, retired home.

XXXIV. This same summer also, the troops who went out to Thrace with Brasidas, having returned thence, as brought away by Clearidas after the peace, the Lacedæmonians decreed that the Helots who had fought under Brasidas should be freed[1], and permitted to dwell wherever they chose.[2] And not long after they established them, together with some Neodamodes, or newly enfranchised persons, at Lepreum[3],

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[4] *Committing their city to the defence of the Argives, went, &c.*] This resource of the Mantineans, not one of the smallest republics of Greece, is among the strongest proofs of the miserably uncertain state of government, law, property, and freedom through the greatest part of that country. (Mitford.)

[5] *Having established the independence, &c.*] i. e. such a portion of it as they would enjoy under the protection of Lacedæmon. In this whole affair (to use the words of Mitford) "the Lacedæmonians had exercised that undefined and arbitrary kind of jurisdiction which the Peloponnesians seem, in some measure, by common consent to have committed to them, and which, though not often successfully, had nevertheless been opposed almost as often as exercised."

[1] *The Helots who had, &c.*] This does not allude to those *freed* Helots whom Brasidas took into Thrace, for they were already free; but to some Helots whom Brasidas took besides those. See l. 4, 80. and note.

[2] *They chose.*] i. e., as Mitford says, "wherever they could procure a livelihood. Thus," he adds, "the present seems to have been of small value; for the Helots were little able to provide a settlement for themselves." They would, however, not need a *settlement;* because they could reside dispersed over the country, and would, doubtless, unless they could procure some corner of unoccupied ground, work as agricultural labourers, though their condition would be little more than nominally superior to their former one.

[3] *They established them, &c., at Lepreum.*] Not only for its security against the Eleans, but because, as Mitford suggests, Spartan pride and Spartan jealousy, now that peace was restored with Athens, would willingly see all those persons members of any state rather than of their own. There is, I think, little doubt, but that these Neodamodes were the very *freed* Helots whom Brasidas had taken with him. Poppo Proleg. t. 2. p. 111. says, that whether there was any difference between the unmanumitted Helots and the Neodamodes, as would seem probable from 5, 34., or *not* any difference, as may be collected from 7, 58., he would not venture to decide. And he refers to Schneider on Xen. Hist. (Index) and Manson.

which is situated between the Laconian territory and that of the Eleans, with the latter of whom they were at variance. And now fearing lest those citizens of their own who had been taken prisoners at the island, by the surrender of their arms, should, expecting to be ill treated, seek, if they continued to be capable of holding honours (and some did then hold them), to effect some innovation in the form of government, they declared them *dishonourable*, and that by such a sort of dishonour as rendered them incapable of holding any office of rule, or buying and selling.[4] Afterwards, however, they were again restored to their former honours.

Spart. 1, 1. p. 234. But from the present passage it is not easy to see any difference except that of *priority* of manumission. There might, however, be such a difference; and if the learned Mueller be justified by classical authorities in the distinctions he makes, there *was*.

The following instructive passage is cited, by Goeller, from the erudite work of Mueller d. Dorer. t. 2. p. 43. "Helotibus lege transitus ad libertatem, quin ad civitatem patebat. Multi qui erant adscendendi ad illud jus gradus arte quadem constitutum per medios status transitum fuisse convincunt. Ἀργεῖοι dicebantur Helotes, in quibus præcipuam quondam fiduciam ponebant, quali in bellis ἐρυκτῆρες fruiti fuisse videntur; ἀφέται enim omni munere vacabant. Δεσποσιοναῦται qui dicebantur, in classibus militabant, similes, ut videtur, libertis Atticis, qui χωρὶς οἰκοῦντες dicebantur. Plena libertate qui donabantur, iisdem concessum erat, quocunque vellent abire habitatum, simulque agelli aliquid assignabatur præter sortem a pristino hero tributam. Libertate aliquamdiu usi Νεωδαμώδεις videntur audivisse, quorum multitudo prope ad civium numerum accreverat. Ac ne Mothones quidem et Mothacæ periœcorum conditione erant (periœci qui Spartani facti sint, nuspiam memoriæ traditum, sed Helotum, qui æquali communique cum Spartanis educatione (quemadmodum in prædio Ulyssis Eumæus educatus est) libertatem nanciscebantur sine civitate. Μόθων enim est verna; periœci autem hoc nomen habere non poterant, ut qui prorsus penes nullum Spartanum essent. Oportet, posteros Mothacum civitatis jus adeptos esse, cum Lysander, Callicratidas et Gylippus origine Mothaces fuerint. Epeunactæ, quod ex etymo colligas, cives illi appellati sunt, qui viduam defuncti ex jure hereditario antiquo duxissent. Quod semel servis obtigisse, Theopompus tradit."

[4] *Fearing lest those citizens, &c.*] This Mitford pronounces "a measure of arbitrary severity, and one which, though adopted on the plea of necessity, did not indicate a good and firm constitution." He thinks "these persons found themselves exposed to frequent invectives for having done what was esteemed disgraceful, and hitherto unknown, surrendering their arms to an enemy. Some disturbance was, in consequence, apprehended, to prevent which this decree was made." This, however, seems scarcely sufficient to account for such a measure. *Individual* insult could hardly have been thought of so serious a nature. Their restoration, moreover, to their former rights and privileges, probably, soon after, Mitford pronounces a strange change. Perhaps, however, the whole only formed part of one and the same plan, which had for its object at once the benefit of those usages which

XXXV. This same summer, also, the Dians [1] took Thyssus, in the peninsula of Athos, an ally of the Athenians; and this whole summer there was intercourse, indeed, between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians; but immediately after, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians held each other in suspicion, by reason of the non-restitution of the places to one another. For the Lacedæmonians, to whose lot it fell to make restitution of Amphipolis and the other places, had not given them up, nor had they caused either their allies in Thrace, or the Corinthians and Bœotians, to receive the treaty of peace; always declaring that, should they still refuse, they would compel them thereto. They also publicly gave out (though without a written and unregistered document [2]) a time at

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Mitford thinks so hard, and at the same time the renovation, in some degree, of their natural honour, and to prevent the recurrence of any such disgrace. In order to this it was necessary that the persons in question should not go unpunished. Sentence was, therefore, pronounced, and the penalty put in force; but, in consideration of the circumstances of the case, afterwards remitted. Thus the dignity and authority of the laws were not compromised. As to the punishment, it was almost the slightest that could be inflicted; for it appears from Schœmann de Comit. Athen. p. 73. and Der Att. Prozess. p. 563. 734. 741. Meyer de bonis damn. p. 101. and Boeckh. Staathsh. d. Ath. 1, 400. to have been what the Jurists call the *capitis deminutio minima.*

The former of the two prohibitions is the lightest sort of political restriction, and may be compared to that which (at least with respect to the higher offices of government) is exercised in this country towards the Roman Catholics. The latter, doubtless, extended only to the buying and selling of *landed property*, and would, therefore, be the same disability as that under which the Jews are placed in this and most countries of Europe. This passage may be illustrated by Ælian V. H. 12, 12. *καὶ ἀτιμότατος ἦν, καὶ οὐδενὸς οἱ μετῆν τῶν κοινῶν.* where the words *καὶ οὐδενὸς — κοινῶν* are subjoined by way of explication. Spanheim on Callim. Hymn in Cer. too much limits the sense, explaining *τὰ κοινὰ* jus communium sacrorum, et communis tecti vel mensæ. It seems probable that the *ἀτιμία* of Crete was similar to that of Lacedæmon.

[1] *Dians.*] I have here followed the reading of many good MSS., received into the text by Goeller. The old reading, Dictidians, cannot be tolerated; for, as Goeller shows, there were no such people either in Athens or elsewhere. *Dians* there were, namely, inhabitants of Dium, situated on the north coast of the peninsula. Gatterer's mode of accounting for the error is very ingenious; but it will not apply to the other passage where the name occurs, l. 5, 82.

[2] *Without a written and unregistered document.*] Hobbes and Smith take the *ξυγγραφῆς* to mean a regular written notice; but that sense is altogether unauthorised, and not agreeable to the *συν*. The Scholiast explains it of a written agreement; which is equally inadmissible. It doubtless denotes something *συγγεγραμμένον*, or *reduced to writing*, for two parties, each of whom has a copy. And this is placed beyond question by a kin-

which such as had not acceded to the treaty should be declared enemies to both. The Athenians, therefore, when they saw none of these things really performed [3], suspected that the Lacedæmonians had no just intentions; so that they would not deliver up Pylus at their requisition: nay, they repented having restored the prisoners made at the island, and detained the rest of the places [4] yet in their possession; waiting to see whether they would perform their engagements. The Lacedæmonians, however, alleged that they had done what was possible; for that they had restored the Athenian prisoners in their possession, had withdrawn their troops from Thrace and whatever other place they had been in possession of. As to Amphipolis, they alleged that they were not competent to its delivery. As to the Bœotians and Corinthians, they would endeavour to bring them over to the treaty, and to procure from them Panactum, and the restitution of such Athenians as were in Bœotia. Pylus, nevertheless, they requested might be restored to them, or, if not, that, at least, they should withdraw the Messenians and Helots, as they had done their forces from Thrace, and let the Athenians themselves hold it, if they would. After frequent conferences, and much debate and altercation this summer, they prevailed upon the Athenians to immediately remove the Messenians and the rest, whether Helots, or others who had deserted from Laconia. Those they settled at Cranium in Cephallenia. So for this summer there was peace and mutual intercourse.

XXXVI. At the beginning of winter, when there were other ephors in office [1], and not those under which the treaty

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dred passage, infra, c. 41. ξυνεχώρησαν ἐφ' οἷς ἠξίουν καὶ ξυνεγράψαντο, where the Scholiast explains, "gave them a written contract." Now each of the copies was called a ξυγγραφή, which literally means a *duplicate*, or *fellow-copy*.

[3] *None of these things really performed.*] Namely, no preparations on foot to enforce the acceptance of the treaty, nor any declaration of war made.

[4] *The rest of the places.*] Namely, Methone, Pteleum, and Atalante; possibly, also, Cythera.

[1] *When there were other ephors in office.*] The change in the annual magistracies, in autumn, brought a change in the politics of Lacedæmon, which, of course, affected all Greece. Lacedæmon, like other Grecian

was made, nay, such as were opposed to that measure, some embassies arrived from the confederacy, and there were also present the Athenians, Bœotians, and Corinthians; but after many debates and much altercation, nothing having been agreed on or settled, they retired home.[2] Then Cleobulus and Xenares, those ephors who especially wished to do away the treaty, made private proposals [3] to the Bœotians and Corinthians; counselling them to especially pursue the same plan of policy [4], and to first prevail upon the Bœotians to make an alliance with the Argives, and then to bring the Argives, together with themselves, into an alliance with the Lacedæmonians: for thus they might best avoid the necessity of acceding to the Attic treaty; as the Lacedæmonians esteemed the friendship and alliance of Argos above the enmity of Athens and the dissolution of the treaty. Indeed they knew the Lacedæmonians had always desired to have

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states, had its factions; and there was now an opposition, if we may use a modern term perfectly apposite, not only adverse to the peace, but holding constant correspondence with the Corinthians, Bœotians, and other seceders from the confederacy. The political power of the kings, which should have given stability to the measures of executive government, was nearly annihilated; while the ephors, in the name of the people, had been gradually acquiring to their own office, a despotic control over the whole administration; and that office being annual, the Lacedæmonian councils became, of course, liable to much fluctuation. (Mitford.)

[2] *They retired home.*] i. e. the deputies from the Lacedæmonian allies.

[3] *Made private proposals, &c.*] The phraseology employed by the ephors in this well contrived and politic project, is not a little tortuous and obscure. The whole is more perspicuously worded by Mitford as follows: "The intrigue was intended for the purpose, at the same time, of serving their party, of relieving their country from evils actual or threatened, and of confirming and even extending its antient pre-eminence among the Grecian republics. In Argos itself, the state most inimical to Lacedæmon, they held correspondence with a friendly party; and they were upon good terms with the leading men of Corinth and Bœotia, which their predecessors had not been. These circumstances formed the basis of their project. Instead of opposing the new confederacy, they proposed, through the Corinthian and Bœotian deputies, who were friendly to their purpose, first, to promote the projected alliance of Bœotia with Argos, and then to endeavour to engage Argos itself in alliance with Lacedæmon. That being effected, it would not be difficult to renew the connection with Bœotia, Corinth, Mantinea, and Elis; and thus Lacedæmon would find itself at the head of its whole antient confederacy, with the powerful and long inimical commonwealth of Argos added."

[4] *To pursue the same plan of policy.*] i. e. hold the same sentiments. Such seems to be the sense of the obscure phrase, ταῦτά τε γιγνώσκειν. So 7, 47. 3, 48. and 3, 44. γιγνώσκειν τἀναντία.

the friendship of Argos upon any fair terms [5], seeing that any war out of Peloponnesus would be more readily carried on. They therefore entreated the Bœotians to deliver up Panactum to the Athenians, in order that by getting, if possible, Pylus in exchange for it, they might be better prepared for war with Athens.

XXXVII. And now the Bœotians and Corinthians being charged with these messages and overtures by Xenares and Cleobulus, and such of the Lacedæmonians as were of their party, which they were to deliver to their commonwealths [1], they each retired to their respective cities. But two persons of the Argives, who had most rule and authority in that state, watched for them by the way as they were departing, and joining company with them, entered into conversation with them on the means by which the Bœotians might be brought over to their alliance, as the Corinthians, Eleans, and Mantinæans had been: for they thought that if this plan should be brought to bear, they might then, by making common cause, easily, if they chose, be either at war or at peace, whether with the Lacedæmonians or with any other power they might find necessary. With these overtures the Bœotian ambassadors were well pleased: for, as it happened [2], these men had preferred the same request that they by their friends at Lacedæmon had been sent to obtain of the Argives. The two Argives, therefore, on perceiving that they accepted these overtures, said they would send ambassadors to the Bœotians, and so departed. On their arrival, the Bœotians told the Bœotarchs the message they had been charged with from Lacedæmon, and also the proposals from the Argives, with whom they had held discourse by the way. With these the Bœotarchs were themselves pleased; and even so much the more zealous for it now than formerly, as it happened that

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[5] *Upon any fair terms.*] Or καλῶς may be closely united with φιλίον, as Goeller directs, and be taken for βεβαίως, "to be on terms of sure friendship with."

[1] *Commonwealths.*] Or common councils.

[2] *As it happened.*] i. e. as luck would have it. So Aristoph. Conc. 114. ἡμῖν δ' ὑπάρχει τοῦτο κατὰ τύχην.

both their friends at Lacedæmon desired the thing, and also the Argives were bent on the very same purpose.[3]

Not long after, the ambassadors from the Argives arrived, soliciting the despatch [4] of the above-mentioned affairs. But the Bœotarchs sent them away, only commending [5] the propositions, and promising to send ambassadors to Argos respecting the alliance.

XXXVIII. In the meantime, it seemed expedient to the Bœotarchs, and Corinthians, and Megaræans, and the ambassadors from Thrace, that they should first take oaths to each other, "that they would verily, on any occasion that arose, give aid to any party requiring it, and would neither make war, nor conclude peace without the common consent;" and then that the Bœotians and Megaræans (for they acted in common [1]) should make a treaty with the Argives. But before the taking of the oaths, the Bœotarchs communicated the affair to the four councils of the Bœotians, in whom is vested the whole authority of the state [2]; and they gave their counsel that any state that chose might join them in the same oaths, for mutual assistance. But those who were of the councils did not relish the proposal, fearing that they should be acting inimically to the Lacedæmonians by joining in oaths with the

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3 *Bent on the very same purpose.*] Or, were intent on the same end, had the same object in view. Σπεύδω is here for σπουδὴν ἔχειν. See the Schol. on Aristoph. Lys. 289.

4 *Soliciting their despatch.*] Duker rightly assigns the following as the sense: "hortantes ad ea perficienda, de quibus dictum erat;" comparing Thucyd. 2, 72 and 73. 4, 20 and 22. Aristoph. Equit. 729. also with εἰς, 4, 19., ἐπὶ, 5, 43. I add Onosand. 26. ὧν τὸ βουλεύσαι λόγῳ καὶ πρεσβείαις προσκαλεῖσθαι.

5 *Commending.*] Or approving; as Xen. Anab. 1, 3, 7.

1 *Acted in common.*] Or pursued the same course of policy. So c. 36. ταῦτα γινώσκειν.

2 *In whom is vested, &c.*] Namely, without whose approval and ratification no measure could be carried. Something like the councils of Castile, and other provinces under the old Spanish government. It is probable that these Bœotarchs were founded on those *Magnates* who, as appears from Hesiod Opp. 1, 37. and seq., 236. seq. under the title of βασιλεῖς, held the administration of justice in Bœotia.

Hence it appears that even in the aristocratical Grecian states was mixed a considerable portion of democracy, which, by the publicity requisite for all important public affairs, was adverse to any project to which secrecy was essential.

Corinthians, who had withdrawn from their confederacy. For the Bœotarchs did not tell them of the overtures from Lacedæmon, that Cleobulus and Xenares of the ephors, and their supporters, had advised them first to enter into alliance with the Argives and Corinthians, and then form the same league with the Lacedæmonians; as thinking that the council[3], even if they should not mention that matter, would decree no otherwise than what they, upon previous consideration, should recommend.[4] The affair meeting with this hindrance, the Corinthians and the ambassadors from Thrace departed without accomplishing their purpose. And the Bœotians, who would, had they succeeded in *this* business, have endeavoured to bring about an alliance with the Argives, now made no mention of the Argives to the councils, nor sent the ambassadors to Argos, as they had promised, but there now arose a neglect and procrastination respecting the whole business.

XXXIX. In the course of this winter, the Olynthians suddenly attacked and carried Mecyberna, which was garrisoned by the Athenians.[1] After these transactions, the Lacedæmonians (for the conferences between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, on the possessions of each other which they respectively held, still continued), hoping that if the Athenians should receive back from the Bœotians Panactum, they should themselves recover Pylus, went on an embassy to the Bœotians, and requested them to deliver to *them* Panactum and the Athenian prisoners, in order that they might, in exchange for them, get Pylus. But the Bœotians refused to make such restoration, unless they would make a private alliance with them, as they had done with the Athenians. Upon which the Lacedæmonians, though they knew that they should thereby

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3 *The council.*] The four councils are here considered as one body.

4 *As thinking, &c.*] This shows that the councils were usually guided by the opinion of the Bœotarchs, especially when they were all agreed.

1 *Suddenly attacked and, &c.*] The loss of this place and of Thyssus, lately taken by the Dians (see c. 35.), shows that there must have been great neglect on the part of the Athenians in securing their Thracian possessions; otherwise forts regularly garrisoned could never have been thus carried by a coup de main; for such is implied by the ἐπιδράμοντες. Mecyberna ought to have been preserved, as contributing to the security of Potidæa, and of service in curbing the Chalcidæans.

wrong the Athenians, it being provided in the treaty that they should not either make war or conclude peace without mutual concurrence; yet from their strong desire to receive Panactum, in order to obtain Pylus in exchange (there being, moreover, some who were zealous for the dissolution of the treaty, and the forming another with Bœotia), they formed the alliance, when winter was at the close and the spring at hand. And Panactum was immediately demolished; and thus ended the eleventh year of the war. March 4, 1853.

YEAR XII. B. C. 420.

XL. Early in the spring of the subsequent summer, the Argives, when they saw that the ambassadors of the Bœotians, whom they said they would send, came not, and that Panactum was demolished, and a private alliance had been formed between the Bœotians and the Lacedæmonians, were in fear lest they should be abandoned, and the whole confederacy go over to the Lacedæmonians. For they supposed that the Bœotians had been persuaded by the Lacedæmonians to raze Panactum, and enter into the Athenian treaty, and that the Athenians were privy to the same. Insomuch, that *now* they had no opportunity of making an alliance with the Athenians either; whereas *before* they reckoned that, should their truce with the Lacedæmonians not continue, they might, upon the differences which subsisted [1], have united themselves with the Athenians. The Argives, therefore, not knowing what course to take [2], and fearing that they should have a war at once with the Lacedæmonians, Tegeans, Bœotians, and Athenians, (having before refused the truce with the Lacedæmonians, as being elevated with visionary expectations of [3] giving law to Peloponnessus,) now sent ambassadors as speedily as possible

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[1] *The differences which subsisted.*] Namely, between the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians.

[2] *Not knowing what course to take.*] At ἀποροῦντες ταῦτα subaud κατά. And on the ratio metaphoræ, see my note on Acts 5, 20.

[3] *Elevated with visionary expectations of, &c.*] Ἐν φρονήματι ὄντες. Breviloquentia pro ἐν φρονήματι ὄντες καὶ ἐλπίζοντες, τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἡγήσεσθαι. Sic dictum 4, 25. ἐπ' οἴκου διεκρίθησαν, ut Schol. adnotavit, pro ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπ' οἴκου διακριθεῖσαι. Simillimus locus extat 3, 83. οἱ καταφρονοῦντες, i. e. διὰ καταφρόνησιν πεποιθότες κἂν προαισθέσθαι. (Goeller.)

to Lacedæmon; namely, Eustrophus and Æson, who, it was supposed, would be the most acceptable to them, thinking that, after making the best treaty with Lacedæmon that existing circumstances would admit[4], they should, at least, live in quiet.

XLI. Accordingly, the ambassadors going thither, entered into conferences with the Lacedæmonians, as to the terms on which the treaty might be granted. At first the Argives demanded to have the decision of the difference respecting the territory of Cynuria (about which, as being a border-land, they had been always at variance) referred to the arbitration of some state or private person. Now, the country in question contains the whole of Thyrea and Anthene[1], and is in the possession of[2] the Lacedæmonians. When, however, the Lacedæmonians would not permit any mention to be made of it, but said that if they chose to treat on the same terms as before, they were ready; the Argive ambassadors, nevertheless, brought over the Lacedæmonians to agree to these terms: "That, for the present, they should make a treaty for fifty years; but that it should be lawful for[3] either party to call upon the other, when there was neither war nor pestilence in Lacedæmon or Argos, to try their right to this territory by battle (as had been once before done, when each thought they had the victory), wherein it should now be lawful to carry pursuit further than the boundaries, whether on the side of Argos or Lacedæmon." Now, to the Lacedæmonians, this proposal seemed at first to be mere folly[4]; afterwards, how-

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4 *After making the best treaty, &c.*] The sense of the idiom ἐκ τῶν παρόντων is wholly missed by Hobbes; though it is of frequent occurrence both in Thucydides and other writers.

1 *Anthene.*] See note on 4, 56. The site of this city is thought to be that now called Palæo Castro.

2 *In the possession of.*] i. e. they have the possession or occupation of; not the *property* of. So 2, 27. and 5, 32. τὴν γῆν διδόναι νεμέσθαι: and νεμέσθαι and οἰκεῖν are distinguished at 4, 56. In the same way, too, the Scholiast took the word, here explaining τὴν νομὴν καὶ τὸ κέρδος ἔχουσι.

3 *It should be lawful for, &c.*] This condition was introduced from anxiety to maintain their *claim*, by providing for the future discussion of the question; according to a mode of which the history of the two states furnished an example. See a narration of the circumstances in Herod. 1, 82. Pausan. 2, 38. Ovid Fast. 2, 665.

4 *Seemed to be mere folly.*] i. e. utterly foolish: substantive for adjective; as Herod. 1, 146. μωρίη πολλὴ λέγειν, "it is a folly to say so."

ever (for they desired by all means to be on friendly terms with the Argives), they granted the peace on the required conditions, and entered down the contract in writing.[5] But the Lacedæmonians desired them, before any thing was brought to a conclusion, first to go back again to Argos, and show the draught of the treaty to the people[6]; and, if the conditions should meet their approbation, to come at the Hyacinthia[7], in order to take the oaths. And so they departed.

XLII. While, however, the Argives were negotiating this matter, the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, Andromenes [1], Phædimus, and Antimenidas, who were charged to receive Panactum and the prisoners from the Bœotians, and deliver them to the Athenians, found Panactum razed by the Bœotians themselves, under pretence that there were formerly oaths concerning it (arising out of differences), taken by the Athenians and Bœotians, that neither party should inhabit the place, but cultivate it in common.[2] As to the prisoners of

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Mitford well paraphrases thus: "The Lacedæmonian government, practised in extensive political negotiation for near a century, while their state had presided over the affairs of a great confederacy, received this proposal, however countenanced by the practice of former ages, as something ridiculous. Yet the Argian administration were probably not wholly unaware of the futility of such a provision, but expected credit for it with the multitude, their sovereign."

[5] *Entered down the contract in writing.*] No doubt, each party having a copy. See note, supra, c. 32. on ξυγγραφή. That they had a copy is plain from what follows.

[6] *Desired them, &c., to show the draught of the treaty to the people.*] They could not trust the ambassadors of a democracy so far as to consider the peace as concluded, until it should be ratified by a public act of the Argian people. (Mitford.)

[7] *The Hyacinthia.*] i. e. the festival of the Hyacinthia; as c. 23. It is clear that the antients used the names of certain festivals to denote the times of the year on which such festivals fell; as we say Michaelmas, Lady-day, &c.

Andromenes.] Bekker and Goeller edit from the best MSS. Andromedes. But the common reading seems the more true; for had the δ been right, the termination would (as this is a Lacedæmonian name) have been in δας.

[2] *That neither party should, &c.*] By *cultivation* is here meant every sort of agricultural occupation and husbandry, both by tillage and pasturage. See Duker.

This expedient was a not unfrequent one in such cases. Sometimes the disputed land was occupied by neither party, but dedicated to some god or temple, and cultivated by persons who were thus in the situation of those Abbey tenants so well described by Sir Walter Scott in his *Monastery*.

the Athenians whom they held, *them* Andromenes and his colleagues brought and restored to the Athenians. They informed them, too, of the demolition of Panactum, holding that this was a restitution, for that no enemy to the Athenians would hereafter occupy it. But on being told this, the Athenians made a serious matter of it, conceiving that they were wronged by the Lacedæmonians, both by the demolition of Panactum, which should have been delivered standing, and because the Lacedæmonians had, as they had learnt, separately made an alliance with the Bœotians, though they had before said that they would join the Athenians in compelling such as refused the treaty to accept it. They also scanned the other matters wherein the Lacedæmonians had been deficient, as to the fulfilment of the treaty, and considered themselves grossly deceived. [3] So that, answering the ambassadors roughly [4], they sent them away.

XLIII. On the difference thus arisen between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, those at Athens who wished for the dissolution of the treaty, immediately pressed on their design. Among the rest was Alcibiades [1], son of Clinias, a person in age, indeed, then but a youth (such, at least, he would have been thought in any other state [2]); but, by the nobility [3] of his

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[3] *Grossly deceived.*] The ἐξ has here, as often, an intensive force.

[4] *Answering them roughly.*] Or freely venting their reproaches. Compare Gen. 42, 7. 1 Sam. 20, 20. 1 Kings 12, 13.

[1] *Alcibiades.*] "A character," Mitford observes, "singularly formed to set the world in a flame."

[2] *Such, at least, he would have, &c.*] Such is plainly the sense, which, it is strange, should have been missed by Hobbes. Of course by *young* is meant young for legislation; though Alcibiades was then thirty or more. See the note of Duker. Goeller here refers to Diodor. 14, 11. Marx on Ephor. p. 236. Valckn. on Herod. 8, 17. and Schœmann de Comit. Athenien. p. 105.

By *other state* is chiefly meant *Sparta*, where age was indispensibly requisite to a legislator; and was even expected in a general, insomuch that nothing was so great a hindrance even to Brasidas as his being a young man. At Athens more liberal principles on that as well as other subjects of polity were acted on; and in the case of Alcibiades not only high birth, but great connections and extraordinary talents, gave him (as in the case of our great statesmen Pitt and Fox) early consequence.

[3] *By the nobility of his ancestry.*] His family boasted their descent, as we learn from the words which Plato puts into the mouth of Alcibiades himself, from Eurysaces, son of the Telamonian Ajax, and through him from Jupiter. His great-grandfather, named also Alcibiades, had been

ancestry, held in much estimation.[4] To him it seemed the most expedient step to form a connection with the Argives, though he had no other reason for his opposition (being naturally of a contentious spirit[5]) than that the Lacedæmonians had negotiated the treaty by the means of *Nicias* and *Laches*, contemning *him* for his youth, and not showing him the respect due to the antient tie of hospitality subsisting[6], which, after his grandfather had renounced, he himself had, by being assiduously attentive to their prisoners from the island, sought how to renew the connection. Conceiving himself, how-

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among the associates of Cleisthenes in expelling the Peisistratids, and restoring the commonwealth. His grandfather Cleinias had gained the honourable reward of the Aristeia, for his conduct in the first action with the fleet of Xerxes, off Artemisium, in a trireme which he had fitted at his own expense; and his father, called also Cleinias, fell in the service of his country, in the unfortunate battle of Coroneia, against the Bœotians. His mother, Deinomache, was daughter of Megacles, head of the Alcmæonids, the first family of Athens; and by her he was nearly related to Pericles, who, on the death of his father, became his guardian. (Mitford).

[4] *Held in much estimation.*] Hence it appears that in a pure democracy the estimation of noble ancestry cannot be suppressed, and may therefore be considered natural. This may be well accounted for from the masterly *definition of nobility* by Aristotle, ἡ γὰρ εὐγενεία ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος καὶ ἀρετή (See Pol. 4, 1., whence may be understood Eurip. Æol. Frag. 13, 4. where I read, from the conjecture of Grotius, εὐγενής). Most just, therefore, is the remark of Eurip. Hecub. 383. Δεῖνος χαρακτὴρ κἀπίσημος ἐν βροτοῖς, Ἑσθλῶν γενέσθαι, κἀπὶ μεῖζον ἔρχεται Τῆς εὐγενείας ὄνομα τοῖσιν ἀξίοις. Whatsoever may be the refinements of modern sophists, or the invectives of shallow and visionary reformers, no man, I believe, was ever distinguished by splendid ancestry, without a consciousness that such distinction *entitled* him to greater respect in civilised society. And no one ever contemplated splendid ancestry, when accompanied by personal worth, without *feeling* that it was *due*. In short, *superior wealth* averts many temptations to injustice, and *superior virtue*, in a long line of progenitors, *tends*, at least, to become an incentive to imitation among their posterity.

[5] *He had no other reason, &c.*] Such appears to be the true way of taking the passage, which has been not well understood by the translators. The words καὶ φρονήματι φιλονείκῳ are parenthetical; and φρονήματι does not, I conceive, signify *pride* (as the Scholiast and translators take it), but *spirit, temper;* as in Ælian V. H. 14, 29. φρόνημα Λακωνικὸν, Herod. 9, 54. ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμόνιων φρονήματα, ὡς ἀλλὰ φρονεόντων καὶ ἀλλὰ λεγόντων. Arrian E. A. 4, 11, 13. βαρβαρικὰ χρὴ ἔχειν τὰ φρονήματα.

[6] *Antient tie of hospitality.*] Namely, the duty of πρόξενος, or hereditary public host, on which I have before treated at 3, 2. and elsewhere. The term also occurs at 6, 89.

The very name of Alcibiades was a Lacedæmonian one, first given to his great-grandfather, in compliment to a Spartan family closely connected with his own by friendship. Similar to this was the giving names of a *country*, as when a Lacedæmonian was called Athenæus, or an Athenian Lacedæmonius; on which I have before treated.

ever, to be altogether slighted and ill treated, he both at the first opposed the peace, saying that the Lacedæmonians were not to be trusted, nay, that they had made the treaty with them only that they might subdue the Argives, and then proceed against the Athenians alone and destitute.[7] And now, as this difference arose, he immediately sent privately to Argos, urging them to come at his invitation with all speed, together with the Mantinæans and Eleans, in order to form an alliance with Athens, as there was now a favourable opportunity, and he would further their endeavours to the utmost of his power.

XLIV. On receiving this message, and ascertaining that there had been no alliance formed by the Bœotians with the Athenians, but that they were at great differences with the Lacedæmonians, the Argives paid no attention to the embassies they then had at Lacedæmon (whom they had sent about the treaty), but turned their minds rather towards the Athenians, thinking that thus a state which had been from antient times friendly to them, and one under a democracy, (as themselves were,) and which had a mighty power in the empire of the sea, would be an effectual support, should they be engaged in a war. They therefore immediately sent ambassadors to the Athenians respecting the alliance. The Eleans also and Mantinæans sent others with them. Thither also, in all haste, came Lacedæmonian ambassadors (such as were thought to be on friendly terms with the Athenians, namely, Philocharidas, Leo, and Endius[1]), fearing lest[2] the Athenians

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[7] *Nay, that they had made the treaty, &c.*] It is strange that most translators, except Acacius, should assign to ἐξέλωσι the sense "withdraw the Argives from them," a signification weak in authority and not at all apposite. As to that assigned by Valla, Bauer, and Bredow., it would, as Hack observes, require the middle voice. I have followed the version of Acacius, which has been approved by Duker and Goeller.

[1] *Endius.*] An hereditary friend of the family of Alcibiades.

[2] *Fearing lest, &c.*] This unexpected stroke of the young Athenian politician alarmed the Lacedæmonian government. Not only the negotiation of Cleobulus and Xenares, from which such important advantages had been expected, was likely to be thwarted, but there was apparent danger that Athens might become the leading power of the very confederacy, at the head of which it was the direct purpose of that negotiation to establish Lacedæmon. (Mitford).

should, in their anger, make an alliance with the Argives, and also in order to require the restitution of Pylus for Panactum, and further to apologise for their alliance with the Bœotians, alleging that they had not done it out of any intention of injury to the Athenians.

XLV. As they were speaking of these things before the senate [1], and at the same time notifying that they come with full powers for the adjustment of all differences, they put Alcibiades in fear lest, if they should use this language to the *people*, they might draw over the multitude, and thus the alliance with the Argives be rejected. He therefore contrives to thwart their purposes, by playing off the following stratagem.[2] He cajoles the Lacedæmonians, pledging his faith to them that, if they would follow his advice, and not acknowledge before the people that they came with full powers [3], *he* would procure the restoration of Pylus; for he would persuade the Athenians to that measure as much as he had already opposed it, and that he would in all other respects promote an adjustment of differences. It was with intent to detach them from the party of Nicias that he acted thus; and in order that, by having to criminate them among the people as persons that had naught of truth in their hearts, and had grossly prevaricated in their words, he might carry his purpose with respect to an alliance with the Argives, Eleans, and Mantinæans. And the scheme took effect; for, after being introduced to the public assembly of the people, and being asked whether they came with full powers, and answering (contrary to what they had said before the senate,) in the *negative*, the Athenians had no longer any patience, but, on Alcibiades exclaiming against the Lacedæmonians more than

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1 *The Senate.*] Or counsel of five hundred, whose office, in time of war, was nearly superseded by the general of the commonwealth, but had now recovered its importance. (Mitford).

2 *He therefore contrives, &c.*] It is truly observed, by Mitford, "that no common or, perhaps, honourable policy could prevent the ruin of Alcibiades' project. He, however, being ingenious and not scrupulous, was at no loss."

3 *Follow his advice, and not, &c.*] They would find, he said, the arrogance of the multitude insupportable; and the only way to check the most unreasonable demands would be to deny their plenipotentiary commission. (Mitford).

before, they hearkened to his counsel, and were ready immediately to have the Argives, their companions, introduced, and to form a common alliance. But the shock of an earthquake occurring [4] before any thing could be thoroughly concluded, the assembly was adjourned.

XLVI. On the next day's assembly, Nicias, although the herald had been overreached, and he himself egregiously deceived, as to their avowing that they came without full powers, nevertheless maintained that it was rather for the interest of Athens to be friends with the Lacedæmonians; and, deferring as yet the conclusion of the business with the Argives, to send to them and ascertain what were their views and purposes. He alleged that it was for their own advantage [1], and for the discredit and disadvantage of the Lacedæmonians, to have the war deferred; for, as their affairs were on a good footing, it was best for *themselves* to preserve their prosperity as long as possible; but for *them*, who were in an unprosperous situation, it would be their interest [2] to run risks, and put all to hazard. Thus he prevailed with them to send ambassadors (of whom he himself was one), to require the Lacedæmonians, if they meant aught that was just or fair, to restore Panactum in a perfect state [3], and Amphipolis, and to renounce the alliance

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[4] *An earthquake occurring.*] The superstition of the antients, on this head, is well known. It is bitterly satirised by Aristoph. Concion. 791. and Acharn. 170. See also the Schol. p. 379.

[1] *It was for their own advantage.*] Hobbes and Smith render, "it is for your own credit or honour, but their disgrace:" and so, indeed, Portus and the other translators. But what *credit* could attach to the Athenians, or what disgrace to the Lacedæmonians, in deferring hostilities, it is not easy to see. The truth is that ἐν καλῷ εἶναι (scil. καιρῷ), which is a phrase occurring also at l. 5, 59. (where I have adduced many examples), has the signification I have here assigned, and which is very suitable to the context. This interpretation, too, is confirmed by an imitation in Appian 1, 184. Ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐτυχίαν οὐχ ὕβρισεν, ἀλλὰ, νομίσας ἐν καλῷ ϑησέσϑαι τὸν πόλεμον.

[2] *Their interest.*] This sense of εὔρημα εἶναι occurs in the best writers. Thus Xenoph. Anab. 3, 3, 10. εὕρημα ποιεῖσϑαι.

Nicias seems to have regarded the Lacedæmonians in the light of losing gamesters, who deem it their interest to renew the game, and even play for double stakes; whereas, for those who have retired from the table with gains, it is equally advisable to preserve those gains, and avoid similar hazards.

[3] *Restore Panactum in a perfect state.*] Since, however, it had been

with the Bœotians (unless they would accede to the Attic treaty), according to the proviso in the articles, "That they should make no treaty with any other state, without mutual consent." They also instructed him to say further, that they themselves, had they meant to do wrong, could not have had the Argives for allies, as they had gone thither for that very purpose. And whatever other ground of complaint they had, they gave complete directions therein, and sent off Nicias and his colleagues. When they had arrived, and had delivered the message with which they were charged, and finally declared that, unless they would renounce the alliance with the Bœotians (if the Bœotians would not accept the peace), they themselves would likewise make an alliance with the Argives and their coadjutors, the Lacedæmonians declared that they would not renounce the alliance with the Bœotians (the party with Xenares, the ephor, and such as were of the same mind, carrying this measure [4]); but at the entreaty of Nicias, they renewed the oaths. He was indeed afraid lest he should return without having effected any thing, and incur censure (as was indeed the case), as being esteemed the author of the treaty [5] with the Lacedæmonians. When, on his return, the Athenians had heard that nothing was effected [6] at Lacedæmon, they were immediately transported with anger, and, conceiving that they had been aggrieved, they made the following treaty of alliance with the Argives and their confederates, who were then present, and were introduced by Alcibiades.

XLVII. "The Athenians, Argives, Mantinæans, and Eleans, for themselves and the confederates respectively dependent on them, have made a treaty to subsist without fraud or injury by sea and by land, for one hundred years.

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demolished, the demand must be understood as requiring it to be rebuilt, and delivered in statu quo.

[4] *Carrying this measure.*] There is no necessity, with Hack, to supply ἐκνικησάντων. It is sufficient to subaud ὥστε.

[5] *The author of the treaty.*] Such, indeed, he was, insomuch that it was always called the peace of Nicias.

[6] *Nothing was effected.*] Namely, of what the ambassadors were sent to accomplish; for the swearing of the Lacedæmonians was only resorted to by Nicias, that he might seem to have done something.

" It shall not be lawful for either the Argives, or Eleans, or Mantinæans, and their allies, to bear arms for injury[1] on the Athenians and the allies governed by them; nor for the Athenians and their allies to do so towards the Argives and Eleans, and Mantinæans, and their allies; and this to be performed without any artifice or contrivance[2] whatsoever.

" On these conditions the Athenians and Argives, Eleans, and Mantinæans are to be allies for one hundred years.

" If any enemy invade the territory of the Athenians, the Argives, Eleans, and Mantinæans shall send succours to Athens, according as the Athenians shall notify[3], and in the most effective manner they possibly can. And if the invaders shall retire, that state shall be declared at war with the Argives, Mantinæans, Eleans, and Athenians, and suffer whatever can be inflicted by all those states. That it shall not be lawful for any one of those states to lay aside the war against that state, unless it meet the approbation of all.

" That they shall not suffer any armed persons to pass, for the purpose of war, through their territory[4], and that of the confederates governed by them; nor by *sea*, unless the whole of these states, namely, the Athenians, Argives, Mantinæans, and Eleans, shall decree such passage.

" As to such as go to succour any of the other states, that state which sends them shall provision them for thirty days[5]

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[1] *For injury.*] The whole sentence was, it seems, a usual clause in treaties. Thus it occurs in that supra, c. 18. where see the note. Indeed, most of the peculiar phrases have occurred in that treaty, and been there explained.

[2] *Without any artifice or contrivance.*] i. e. subterfuge by mental reservation or otherwise.

[3] *Notify.*] Or send them word to do.

[4] *Not suffer any armed, &c.*] This prohibition seems to have been intended to preserve the general peace of Greece; and to prevent those quarrels, sometimes ending in war, which often occur when an army passes even through a friendly territory. As such, this clause is frequently found in treaties; see examples in Wasse. No leave, therefore, was to be given but by general consent. Now leave for such passage was always, by the laws and customs of Greece, thought necessary. So 4, 78. med. καὶ τοῖς πᾶσί γε ὁμοίως Ἕλλησιν καθεστήκει, τὴν τῶν πέλας μὴ πείσαντας διέναι. The terms διέναι and διόδος, it may be observed, were terms appropriate to the subject; as appears by the Scholiast on Aristoph. Av. 189.

[5] *That state which sendeth, &c.*] Smith renders, " the state which summoned them;" a sense neither permitted by the words nor the context.

after their arrival in the state which called them in; and, at their departure, in like manner.[6]

" If, however, they be desirous of employing the force for a longer period, the state that sent for them shall supply them with sustenance; to a heavy-armed soldier, and also a light-armed one, and a bowman, three Æginæan oboli[7] a day; to a horseman, an Æginæan drachma.[8] The state which sends for the troops shall have the command when the war shall be in their country; but if it shall seem good to the states to make a common expedition, then all the states shall have an equal share of the command.

" This treaty the Athenians are to swear to, for themselves and their allies; but the Argives, Mantinæans, and Eleans, and their allies, shall swear by separate states.[9] Each shall swear the oath which is customary in the country, and the most solemn there in use, and over the choicest and most perfect[10]

The reason for this is plain; namely, to prevent unnecessary expense in transmitting provisions, or sending large sums of money out of the country.

[6] *At their departure in like manner.*] i. e. the state which sends (namely, *back*) shall provide them with provisions. This, however, is not to be supposed to extend to the thirty days, but only as long a time as they would require to be on their march home.

[7] *Three Æginæan oboli.*] See Gronov. de Pecun. vet. p. 229. The *Æginæan* is specified as being chiefly current in Peloponnesus. Now the Æginæan talent was larger than the Attic in the proportion of 100 to 60; and, therefore, three Æginæan oboli would be proportionably more than three Attic ones. Upon the whole, however, the pay was but moderate.

[8] *Æginæan drachma.*] On the value of this Duker refers to Manut. on Cic. Ep. Fam. 2, 17., and Goeller to Boeckh's Staatsh. d. Ath. t. 1. p. 17.

[9] *This treaty the Athenians, &c.*] This shows the difference between the Athenian confederation and the Peloponnesian ones. In the former the Athenians swore *for* their allies, thus making them of no account; whereas in the latter the states were each to swear. Thus in the former treaty the Athenians were to take the oaths to *all* the Lacedæmonian confederates *separately;* and, consequently, those states would each separately take the oath to the Athenians.

[10] *Choicest and most perfect.*] Budæus and others explain the ἱερῶν τελείων of victims complete in age, and perfect in limb; what Homer calls the τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας. But it is justly observed by Duker, that this was no more than *all* victims were required to be. There might, however, be a great difference in victims otherwise corresponding to the above description: and thus Duker with reason supposes there are here to be understood what the Romans called the *majores et eximiæ hostiæ;* and what the Schol. on Homer calls the τελείας θυσίας. So (I would add) Herod. 6, 57. διδόσθαι ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ἱρήϊον τέλειον. See also the interprete on Appian 1, 110, 54. and Wasse on Herod. 6, 68, 1.

victims. The oath shall be this: 'I will abide by [11] this alliance according to the several covenants thereof, justly, harmlessly, and without fraud or deceit [12]; and I will not violate the same by any trick or subterfuge whatsoever.'

"This oath is to be taken at Athens, by the senate and the state magistrates [13], and administered by the *prytanis*. At Argos it shall be taken by the senate and the council of eighty, and by the *artynæ* [14], and administered by the *council of eighty*.[15] At Mantinæa it shall be taken by the *demiurgi*,

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[11] *Abide by.*] Or perpetually and fully observe. See the Lex. Xen. on ἐμμ. § 2.

[12] *Justly, inoffensively, &c.*] A frequent formula in treaties. And so *sine dolo malo* in Latin treaties.

There seems to be a reference to the making a treaty with any state for the purpose of being the better able to work it injury. The words, "nor will I," &c. are exegetical of the preceding, and refer to the *modes* in which such frauds were practised; namely, by some evasive subterfuge.

[13] *State magistrates.*] As we should say, the ministers of state. The rendering of Portus, "*Polemarchi*," is not a version, but an interpretation, and that too limited. The same may be said of that of Acacius, "urbani magistratus." The sense above assigned is agreeable to the use of ἔνδημος in Thucydides, and is supported by a passage of Æschines cited by Duker, who took the same view of the phrase. And so Xen. Anab. 7, 1, 17. πρόσοδον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνδήμων καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας. See also Dionys. Hal. 549, 45.

It is truly observed by Goeller, that these ἔνδημοι were the same with the οἱ ἐν τέλει at 3, 36.; and by this term are designated not only the generals, but all the other higher officers of state, as the nine Archons, the Prytanes, Grammateis, &c.

[14] *Artynæ*] i.e. the regulators or disposers; from ἀρτύνω, to *regulate, arrange*, &c. Hack and Goeller remark that the cognate term ἄρτυνοι was applied by the Epidaurians to denote the senate. And they refer to Plut. Quæst. Græc. init. sect. 16. where see Wernsdorf. Emmius ap. Duker thinks the term designates the *judges*, and, perhaps, the *city magistrates*. And Duker says that as some Lacedæmonian magistrates were called ἁρμοσταὶ from ἁρμόζω, so these were called ἀρτύναι from ἀρτύνω (which the Etym. Mag. explains by ἁρμόζω, and Hesych. by διατάσσω). Nay, Dr. Donnegan, in his new Lexicon, says that the functions of the ἀρτύναι of Argos were similar to that of the ἁρμοσταὶ at Sparta. This, however, is an error. The *harmostæ* at Sparta were not *home*-magistrates, but *foreign* ones. The functions of these Artynæ were, probably, rather legislative than judicial.

As ἀρτύναι (not ἀρτῦναι) comes from ἀρτύννης, so Duker, with reason, stumbles at the feminine article αἱ. Goeller alters it to οἱ. But for that there is not the least authority; and it is more probable that the article αἱ should be cancelled, as arising from the αἱ of the preceding καὶ. Thus it will be *understood* from the preceding οἱ at ὀγδοήκοντα.

[15] *The council of eighty.*] The council of eighty at Argos were, it should seem, something like the chamber of peers in the present French constitution; and the Artynæ, like the presidents.

the senate, and the other authorities, and administered by the *theori*[16] and the *polemarchs*. At Elis it shall be taken by the *demiurgi*, and by the rest of the officers of state, and the *six hundred*[17], and administered by the *demiurgi* and the *thesmophylaces*.[18]

" This oath shall be renewed by the Athenians, who shall go to Elis, to Mantinæa, and to Argos, thirty days before the Olympic festival[19], and by the Argives, Eleans, and Mantinæans, who shall come to Athens ten days before the great Panathenaic festival.[20]

" The covenants of this treaty of alliance, and the oaths of ratification, shall be inscribed on a pillar of stone[21], by the

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16 *Theoroi.*] Duker thinks that this was the name of certain ordinary priests, as the Polemarchs, &c. were ordinary magistrates. Goeller (referring to Mueller Æginet. p. 134. and Dissen. Expl. Pind. p. 376.) more exactly explains them " a body, or order, regularly exercising their office, and devoted to the study and care of religion." Among these cares would probably be that of consulting or interpreting the oracles, from which, therefore, they derived their name. So that, upon the whole, this order may be compared to that of the college of theology in the university of Paris, called the Sorbonne.

17 *Six hundred.*] This order seems to have been equivalent to the *senate* elsewhere. And the Demiurgi were, it seems, their presidents, and formed an executive committee.

18 *Thesmophylaces.*] Smith renders, " keepers of the sacred records ;" but what sacred records there could be, it is not easy to conceive. Hobbes has better rendered, " keepers of the laws." The term is well explained by Steph. Thes. *legum et institutorum custodes ;* and he considers it as equivalent to θεσμοθέται and νομοφύλακες. These Thesmophylaces were, it seems, not *jurists* and *lawyers* only, but their attention, I apprehend, was extended both to human and *divine* laws ; the two being, in antient times (as always among the Jews, and now among the Mahometans), ever conjoined. So Diod. Sic. l. 5, 67. defines θεσμοφύλακας and θεσμοθέτας to be τοὺς τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσια καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμους διαφυλάττοντας.

19 *Olympic festival.*] Celebrated every fourth year on the second day of the Attic month Hecatombæon.

20 *Great Panathenaic festival.*] This, also, Goeller observes (referring to Boeckh's Staatsh. d. Att. 2, 165.), was every fourth year, and fell on the third of each Olympiad, and was celebrated on the 28th of Hecaton. Potter, however, says that the great Panathenaic festival was celebrated once in *five* years, beginning on the 22d of Hecaton. But he is, doubtless, in error.

This, it may be observed, was called the *greater* in respect to another called the *little* Panathenaic, and held, as some say, every third year ; but others more accurately make it *every year*.

21 *Inscribed on a pillar of stone.*] Which was then customary, as we find by the preceding treaties. Thus it is facetiously adverted to by Aristoph. Lys. 514. τι βεβούλευται περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν ἐν τῇ στήλῃ παραγράψαι, &c. Also Acharn. 727. ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν στήλην, καθ' ἣν ἐσπεισάμην,

Athenians in the citadel, by the Argives in the market-place, within the precincts of the temple of Apollo, by the Mantinæans in the market-place, within the precincts of the temple of Jupiter. And at the Olympic festival now at hand, there shall be erected, jointly by all, a brazen pillar at Olympia.

" If, too, it shall seem advisable to these states to add any thing besides these agreements, whatever shall be decided on by the cities in common council, that shall stand good." [22]

XLVIII. Thus were the treaty and alliance concluded; and, at the same time, those between the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians were not, on that account, renounced by either side. [23] However, the Corinthians, though allies of the Argives, would not enter into this league; nay, though there was before this a league offensive and defensive between the Eleans Argives and Mantinæans, they would not swear to it, but said their first defensive league was sufficient, whereby they were engaged to *defend* each other, but not to unite in *offensive* war. Thus the Corinthians withdrew from their confederates, and were inclined to again form a connection with Lacedæmon.

XLIX. This summer the Olympic festival was celebrated [1],

μέτειμ', ἵνα στήσω φανερὰν ἐν τῇ 'γορᾷ. See also the Av. 1050 and 1054. The παραγράψαι, I would observe, is there incorrectly taken by Brunck. It has reference to those *after alterations* which, as appears from what follows, were allowed to be made. See supra, c. 18. And so Livy, l. 38, 38. " Et ut si quid postea *addi, demi, mutarive* placuisset, ut id salvo fœdere fieret."

22 *Whatever shall be decided on, &c.*] I have here followed the conjecture of Bekker (approved by Goeller), namely, to omit δ', which, I suspect, arose from a wrong punctuation after ξυγκειμέναις, This emendation, it may be observed, is also confirmed by the passage of Livy just cited.

23 *Thus were the treaty and alliance, &c.*] And yet this measure, as well as that of the Lacedæmonians in the alliance with Bœotia, was in contravention of the treaty, and respectively to the injury of the other party. This strange implication, however, of discordant alliances, produced no abandonment. Indeed, the Lacedæmonians having first commenced the infraction of the treaty, could scarcely complain; and the Athenians had no reason to renounce the treaty, " since (to use the words of Mitford) by this last extraordinary stroke in politics, Athens, and no longer Lacedæmon, was the leading power even of the Dorian states, and head of the principal confederacy in Peloponnesus itself."

1 *This summer the Olympic, &c.*] Thucydides did not record the observance of the former two, because, by reason of the general war in Greece, they were little attended.

at which Androsthenes, an Arcadian, was, for the first time, victor in the Pancratium.[2] And the Lacedæmonians were excluded from the temple by the Eleans, so as not to be allowed to sacrifice, nor to contend for the prizes, because they had not paid them the fine, in which, by virtue of an Olympic law[3], they had mulcted them, under the charge of having carried hostilities against the fort of Phyrcus[4], and sent a garrison of soldiers into Lepreum during the Olympic cessation of arms.[5] Now the fine amounted to two hundred minæ, for each heavy-armed soldier two hundred minæ, as the law directs. The Lacedæmonians, however, sent ambassadors, representing[6] that they were unjustly condemned in that fine, and alleging that the truce had not yet been pro-

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2 *Pancratium.*] Consisting of wrestling and boxing. It has been remarked as strange, that whereas other historians almost always mention the victor in the *stadium*, Thucydides here, and at 3, 8. should specify the victor in the *Pancratium*.

3 *By virtue of, &c.*] Goeller thinks that either ἐν must be cancelled, or else that we should read ἐκ τοῦ Ολυμπιακῷ. But Duker had long ago justly pronounced, "recte omitti poteret præpositio, sed addita, neque mutari, neque detrahi debet." And this he shows by examples from Plato and Plutarch. The common reading, therefore, must be retained; and the sense may be literally expressed thus: "in the exercise of the Olympic law."

4 *Phyrcus.*] On this the commentators are silent: and, indeed, it would seem hopeless to try to say any thing, since the place is omitted by the geographers, and is, perhaps, nowhere mentioned in the classical writers. Hesych., indeed, has Φύρκορ. ὀχύρωμα. plainly a Doric form for Φύρκος, which Hesych. explains by τεῖχος, doubtless with reference to this very passage of Thucydides; which, therefore, confirms the reading of it. Here, then, it is an appellative; but in the passage alluded to in φύρκορ, it seems to have been a common name; and, if I mistake not, is cognate with the Latin *furca*, which, doubtless, comes from the Hebrew פרק, to divide. Πύργος seems to be only another dialectical variation of φύρκος: and, in fact, the fortress under our consideration is, doubtless, the very one laid down in Cramer's map, with the name Pyrgus.

5 *Olympic cessation of arms.*] It should seem that, for a certain period before each Olympic festival, there was proclaimed a cessation of arms, as if by way of preparation for the exercise of religious duties; and that after the day of that commencement, Phyrcus and Lepreum were occupied.

6 *The Lacedæmonians, however, sent ambassadors, representing, &c.*] It appears that, humbled by their reverses, the Lacedæmonians had become sensible of the necessity of consulting public feeling, and clearing themselves of any offence against the religion and laws common to all Greece. As to their plea, that the truce had not been proclaimed in their territory, it is truly observed by Mitford, "that in the irregularity and uncertainty of the Grecian year, proclamation only could ascertain to each republic when the armistice was to begin."

claimed at Lacedæmon, when the troops were sent off. But the Eleans rejoined, "That[7] the truce was already in being (for they publish it first in their own territory), and that it was when themselves were in quiet, and expecting no attack (as in time of truce), that those by surprise did them the injury." The Lacedæmonians alleged[8], "That it was unnecessary for them any longer to proclaim the truce at Lacedæmon, if they thought them already to have done injury, yet that they *had* done this as persons having no such notion, and that they (i. e. the Lacedæmonians) *then* no longer carried forward hostilities." The Eleans, however, adhered to the same view of the matter, "That they would never be persuaded but that injury had been done them; if, however, the Lacedæmonians would restore Lepreum, they would (they said) remit their own part of the money, and what was due to the god[9] they would themselves pay for them."

L. When, however, the Lacedæmonians refused to hearken to this offer, the Eleans, yet again, made *this* proposal, "That they should not restore Lepreum unless they wished it, but

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[7] *But the Eleans rejoined that, &c.*] Such is the sense that I have always supposed to be inherent in this obscure passage, which has been much misunderstood by the translators. The construction is: Ἠλεῖοι δὲ ἔφασαν ἤδη εἶναι ἐκεχειρίαν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐπαγγέλουσι γὰρ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πρώτοις, καὶ ἡσυχαζόντων σφῶν, καὶ οὐ προσδεχομένων, ὡς ἐν σπονδαῖς (ἔφασαν) αὐτοὺς λαθεῖν ἀδικήσαντας. — οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπελάμβανον (ὅτι) οὐ χρεὼν εἶναι ἐπαγγεῖλαι (τὰς σπόνδας) ἔτι ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, εἰ γη ἤδη ἐνόμιζον αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν— ἀλλὰ (ἔφασαν) (οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτούς, scil. Ἠλείους) δρᾶσαι τοῦτο (ὡς) οὐχ ὡς νομίζοντας (as if not so thinking) καὶ τοτε (ὅτι ἐπήγγειλαν) οὐδαμοσε (σφᾶς) ἐπενεγκεῖν ὅπλα. My view of the passage is supported by that of Goeller, who gives the following statement of the sense: "Dixerant Elei, se tempore induciarum propter ludos Olympios ipsis, i. e. Eleis jam indictarum non exspectasse Lacedæmiorum incursionem et injuria ab his affectos esse induciarum tempore per insidias abusis. Respondent Lacedæmonii, si Elei injuriam sibi illatam putassent, non opus fuisse inducias postea nihilo secius Spartæ indicere; indixisse tamen eos, videlicet non rem ita, ut nunc prætexant, æstimantes. Addunt se nusquam alio amplius arma illis intulisse."

Now the Eleans argue that, as the truce was first proclaimed in their territory, and they were *first* bound by its injunctions, so they ought then to be exempt from all hostile attacks from others.

[8] *Alleged.*] Or *trowed;* for that is literally the sense of ὑπελάμβανον, and not what the Scholiast suggests ἀντέλεγον: for that is only substituting an *easier* term in the place of the one to be interpreted.

[9] *What was due to the god.*] It seems that a certain proportion of the fine fell to the god of whose festival this was the preparation.

that they should go up to the altar of the Olympian Jupiter (if they wish to use the temple), and swear in the presence of the Greeks that they would hereafter pay the fine.[1]" When, however, they would not accede even to *this* offer, the Lacedæmonians were excluded from the temple, the sacrifice, and the games, and they sacrificed at home; but the rest of the Greeks, except the Lepreans, were all admitted as participants in the solemnities.[2] However, the Eleans, fearing that they would sacrifice by force, kept guard with an armed force of their younger men, who were joined by a thousand each of the Argives and Mantinæans, and some Athenian horse, who were at Argos waiting for the celebration of the festival. A great alarm possessed all the assembly lest the Lacedæmonians should come by force, especially after Lichas[3], son of Arcesilaus, a Lacedæmonian, had at the games received stripes[4] from the vergers; because, on his chariot having

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[1] *That they will hereafter pay the fine.*] Considering the poverty of the Lacedæmonian people, it was thought, that giving this time for payment might be very acceptable.

[2] *Were admitted as participants, &c.*] Such is the real sense of ἐθεώρουν, the import of which is too much limited by the translators, who take it of being admitted as *spectators*. But that was no more than was permitted, even to the *Lacedæmonians;* as appears from its being thought proper for the Eleans, Argives, Mantinæans, and Athenians to attend *in arms*, and especially from *Lichas* the *Lacedæmonian* being, as we find, present.

[3] *Lichas.*] A person of considerable consequence, who filled many public situations.

[4] *Received stripes.*] Not, perhaps, so much for his having crowned the charioteer, as for his having come into the course (for that sense the word ἀγὼν must here have, which is also found in Homer); since, as a mere spectator, he should have kept in the back ground.

Mitford here remarks, "that it is difficult to estimate the exact value of words and phrases in a dead language, when it depends on laws and customs of which we are not exactly informed. The manner in which Lysias tells this story, would rather give to suppose that Lichas was formally condemned to receive a public whipping, which was inflicted accordingly; and the phrase of Thucydides will bear that meaning." This, however, is seeking "nodum in scirpo." Nor can I agree with him as to the sense which he thinks the words of Thucydides will bear; indeed, I must regard Lysias's account as undeserving of belief, notwithstanding what Mitford calls the "roughness of Grecian manners and republican equality." The vergers, we may suppose, were there to preserve the peace, and to drive off with rods or staves those who offended against it; and knowing that Lichas had no business there, they used the power vested in them, and that, perhaps, more roughly for his being a Lacedæmonian. That the power of inflicting blows was possessed by these vergers, as also gymnasiarchi, is certain. So Herod. 8, 59, 6. ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ῥαπίζονται Dionys. Hal. 6, 91. ἐν Θήβαις ὑπὸ τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου μαστιγωθείς, &c.

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gained the prize, and the Bœotian state being proclaimed as owner, by reason of his own incompetency for the combat, he came forth into the race-course, and crowned the charioteer, meaning to signify that the chariot was *his*. In consequence of this, they were all in yet greater alarm, and fully expected that something extraordinary [5] would happen. However, the Lacedæmonians kept quiet [6], and thus (as far as concerned them) the feast passed over.

And now, after the Olympic festival, the Argives and their allies repaired to Corinth [7], to entreat that state to come over to them. It happened, too, that Lacedæmonian ambassadors were present; and, after many discussions and conferences [8], nothing was concluded, but, on the occurrence of an earthquake [9], they broke up the congress, and each separated to their homes.

LI. On the commencement of winter, there was a battle of

These ῥαβδοῦχοι, or rod-bearers, are supposed by Bredov. to be the same with those elsewhere called Ἑλληνοδικαὶ, or ἀγωνοθέται. And he quotes the Schol. on Aristoph. Pac. 733.; and proves this from Pind. 2, 2.

[5] *Extraordinary.*] And, as we say, serious. So καίνη in St. Mark 1, 27. and Acts 17, 19.

[6] *Kept quiet.*] Being, as Mitford says, "not subject to passionate counsel, they overlooked the offence for the present, as only to an individual."

[7] *Corinth.*] This was now holding, as it were, the balance of power, and, therefore, was become the seat of political negotiation.

[8] *Discussions and conferences.*] It is probable that there were several meetings held; but whether the negotiation extended (as Mitford narrates) through the summer, is more than can be certainly affirmed; though it is countenanced by the expression just after, "and thus ended the summer;" for the summer would not end for a considerable time after the Olympia.

[9] *On the occurrence of an earthquake.*] "In this" Mitford remarks "as in the last earthquake, which, a little before, broke up a conference, no mischief is reported to have happened." We may, perhaps, suspect that, in a country like Peloponnesus, where *slight* shocks of earthquake are by no means uncommon, this was often made a pretence for breaking up conferences which seemed likely to lead to nothing determinate; and, therefore, formed a regular engine of state-craft. The soothsayers (μάντεις), who were occupied in observing that and all other extraordinary natural phenomena, were, doubtless, in the pay of government, and, probably, sometimes fancied, or rather feigned, slight shocks, when there were really none. In the present case the trick seems to have been played off by the *Corinthians*, for the purpose of getting rid of the negotiators, and putting an end to an almost interminable business; for Mitford thinks it continued through most of the summer.

the Heracleots in Trachis against the Ænianians [1], Tolophonians, Melians, and certain of the Thessalians, all those tribes being bordering on, and inimical to, this city. For the place was built in no other territory but theirs, and, from its very establishment, they had been hostile to it, and did it all the injury they could; and at this time defeated the Heracleots in battle, wherein Xenares, son of Cnidis [2], their governor, was slain, as well as others of the citizens. And thus ended the winter, and the twelfth year of the war.

YEAR XIII. B. C. 419.

LII. Immediately on the return of summer, the Bœotians took possession of Heraclea, which was, after the battle, reduced to a wretched condition, and dismissed Hegesippidas, the Lacedæmonian, as guilty of misgovernment. [3] They occupied the place, lest, while the Lacedæmonians were occupied about the affairs of Peloponnesus, the Athenians might seize it. The Lacedæmonians, however, took the seizure in ill part.

This same summer, Alcibiades, son of Clinias, being one of the state-generals [4] of Athens, having concerted measures with

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[1] *Ænianians.*] Called by Herodotus Enianians. (See 7, 132, 105, 198) But, in those passages, some good MSS. have Ænianians. The Æ, too, is supported by Pausan. 10, 8, 2. and 10, 22, 5. Scylax, 14. and 24. Max. Tyr. Diss. 28, 4. 2, 58. Eurip. Iph. Aul. 267.

This tribe inhabited part of the valley of the Spurchius, to the east of Heraclea. They had, we may suppose, a town called Ænia, which is, indeed, marked out by Arrowsmith, but, perhaps, on uncertain data. As to the passage of Livy, referred to by Wasse, as describing the site of the city. it is *Ænea* in *Macedonia*, near Thessalonica, that is there spoken of.

[2] *Son of Cnidis.*] I have followed Heilman and Hack in regarding Κνίδιος as the genitive of Κνίδις: though the name may not, as Goeller affirms, occur elsewhere. Goeller thinks that Κνίδιος may be a *cognomen*, but that seems very improbable. There is no doubt but that some genitive of a proper name was written; and, possibly, the present name is corrupt.

[3] *Guilty of misgovernment.*] The city had, indeed, all along laboured under the same evil. So, in very similar words, Thucydides says, 3, 93. of the Lacedæmonian governors, χαλεπῶς τε καὶ ἔστιν ἃ οὐ καλῶς ἐξηγούμενοι.

[4] *One of the state-generals.*] Such I conceive to be the sense of στρατηγὸς ὤν. Mitford, indeed, says he was general-in-chief of the commonwealth. "An occasional office," he adds, "created only in times of supposed emergency; but which, besides the importance of the military command, carried with it, not nominally, indeed, but effectually, greater civil power

the Argives and their allies, went into Peloponnesus with a few Athenian heavy infantry and bowmen; and having obtained an accession of other troops from the allies in those parts, he, in his way through Peloponnesus, adjusted such matters concerning the league as were necessary, and persuaded the Patreans to carry their walls down to the sea [3], and intended himself to build another wall at the Achæan Rhium. [4] But the Corinthians and Sicyonians, and those to whom it would, when built, have been injurious [5], went in force, and hindered the work.

LIII. This same summer, a war arose between the Epi-

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than any of the permanent magistracies, or than all of them; for the general, having the right to assemble the people at all times, had no occasion to consult any other council; so that as long as he could command a majority in the assembly, he was supreme and sole director of the executive government." Which may be very true of the office in question; but it is not certain that Alcibiades held it. There is nothing in the words of Thucydides to countenance it. That sense would have required the article. Besides, if the office was only occasional and created in times of emergency, this was no such crisis; for Athens was in peace and prosperity. Had such been necessary, *Nicias*, *Nicostratus*, or *Demosthenes* would rather have been appointed, so Nicostratus had the command of the next expedition thither. And, surely, such a commander-in-chief would have taken *more* than a *few* troops.

This, it may be observed, is the first military affair in which Alcibiades is mentioned by Thucydides, though not the first in which he took part; for we find from Isocrat. de Bigis. § 12. that he held command under Phormio in his expedition against the Thracian Chalcidæans.

[3] *Carry their walls down to the sea.*] The expression *τὰ τείχη καθεῖναι ἐς θάλασσαν* is the same as that at 4, 103. *καθεῖτο τείχη* where see the note.

The thing is narrated by Plutarch. Alcib. 15. This measure was recommended in order thereby to bring the Patreans into contact with, and protection from, an Athenian fleet. Hence in some other places where there had been such walls, the Lacedæmonians destroyed them.

It appears from Pausan. 7, 6. 3. that, in this measure, the Achæans were zealous to assist the Patreans, and were as well affected to the Athenians as *they* were; for that is the sense of the passage, of which the following are the words: *Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμον καταστάντων ὕστερον, ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν ἦσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ πρόθυμοι Πατρεῦσι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐχ ἧσσον εἶχον γνώμην.*

[4] *Achæan Rhium.*] Or Rhium, properly so called, in contradistinction to the Antirrhium. It is clear, then, that Rhium was *not*, as the maps represent it, close to the sea. It appears, too, that only *one* wall was here to be built, no more, it seems, being necessary, as there was, probably, on the other side, a natural fortification in some commanding ridge.

[5] *Have been injurious.*] As ruinous to the communication and commerce of Corinth and Sicyon with the western parts of Greece by the gulf of Corinth; for, as the Athenians already possessed the Antirrhium, they only required the Rhium to effectually command the gulf.

daurians and the Argives, on pretence [1], indeed, of the victim of Apollo Pythæus [2], which, though the Epidaurians were bound to furnish, for the river-side pastures [3], they failed to

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[1] *On pretence of.*] That this was a mere pretence, is plain. The real cause of the attack is well pointed out by Mitford, thus: "Among these turns in Grecian politics, the little republic of Epidaurus, a dismembered branch of the antient Argolic state, was firm in the Lacedæmonian alliance. Epidaurus, always obnoxious, would, in the event of the expected war with Lacedæmon, be particularly annoying to Argos, being so situated that it would very much interrupt communication with Athens: for if the Corinthians, who were now dubious, should become adverse, the passage could be made only by sea, round the Scyllæan promontory; and this, in case of a serious attack from Lacedæmon, would make assistance from Athens to Argos slow and precarious. A pretext, of whimsical appearance in modern times, was found for making war upon Epidaurus; it was the neglect to send a victim to a temple of the Pythian Apollo, in the Argian territory, due as a quit-rent for some pastures held of Argos by the Epidaurians."

[2] *Pythæus.*] I have here followed the reading Πυθαιέως, from the conjecture of Valckn., which is received by Goeller. It has been proved by Valcknaer and Wesseling, from Pausanias, that the Apollo here meant was one peculiarly worshipped in Argolis by this cognomen, and whose temple was situated somewhere near the ruins of Asine, which was overthrown by the Argives.

[3] *River-side pastures.*] I have here followed the reading of two of the best MSS. approved by Wesseling, Benedict, and Mitford, *ὑπερ παραποταμίων*; and I agree with Mitford in understanding it of some district on the river side, on account of the occupation of which this victim (as a sort of quit-rent) was due to the temple in question. Now it seems to have been not unusual to give a tribe resident on the banks of a river some such name. Thus, for instance, the Parapotamii of Phocis mentioned by Pausan. 351, 32. et seq., and by Plutarch Syll. 4, 62., so accurately, indeed, that the situation of that place may be fixed; from whom it appears not only to have been a city, but a fortified one. It is also alluded to by Homer Il. β. 522., and is laid down in the maps to Anacharsis. So also the Parasopii, a Theban tribe inhabiting the banks of the Asopus.

Still some difficulty remains. Benedict would subaud *χωρίων*. I should, however, prefer *πεδίων*. So Euripides Bacch. 872. has *πέδιον παραποτάμιον*. Yet the ellipsis, in either case, is somewhat harsh. *Παραποταμία γῆ*, indeed, occurs in Diod. Sic. 1, 926, and 40. 2, 197. 3, 153. 5, 173. But we can hardly suppose the Argives would give up a *district* for so paltry a *quit-rent*. Then, again, there is no river separating Epidauria from Argos, and, indeed, scarcely any in the territory. I am, therefore, inclined to think that, after all, the common reading is nearer the truth, which, if I am not mistaken, is *βοτανίων*. Now the word *βοτάνιον* occurs in Constantine's Lexicon, and, in the new edition of Steph. Thes., is supported by authorities from Dioscorides and the Schol. on Euripides. The word, perhaps, in the Doric meant *pastures*, but if we suppose it to here have the more obvious sense *herbage* (in which sense *βοτάνη*, in both singular and plural, is used by Homer almost always, by Euripides, Anon. ap. Suid. in v., Orph. Αι. 15, 52. Callim. frag. 127, 2.) we may understand by the *θύμα* an offering by way of acknowledgment, from the produce of the small herbage. So St. Luke 11, 42. *ἀποδεκατοῦσα — πᾶν λάχανον*.

render. Now, the Argives had the principal management of [4] the temple. Indeed, it had been thought expedient by Alcibiades and the Argives, even independent of this pretence, to get possession, if possible, of Epidaurus, both for the sake of removing all disturbance on the side of Corinth, and that the passage of Athenian succours from Ægina might arrive by a shorter course than the Scyllæum. The Argives, therefore, were preparing to make an irruption into Epidaurus, for the exaction of this victim. [5]

LIV. And now, about the same time, the Lacedæmonians, too, went in full force on an expedition to Leuctra [6], on the borders of their territory, in their way to the Lycæum [7], under the command of King Agis, son of Archidamus. But none knew whither they were going, not even the cities [8] whence they were sent. When, however, the sacrifices offered previously to crossing proved inauspicious [9], they themselves

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[4] *Principal management of.*] It seems to have been nominally common to all the Argolic states; but as it was situated in Argos Proper, the Argives had the principal control of it; and thus, by a piece of state-craft, the trifling omission in question was made a pretext for going to war with Epidaurus.

[5] *Victim.*] Or rather, the money which was to be paid for the purchase of a victim.

[6] *Leuctra.*] A place, as Poppo Prolog. 2, 190. rightly observes, on the borders of Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia; which is mentioned by Plutarch as having been transferred to the Megalopolitan territory. That in the time of Thucydides Leuctra was in the territory of the Lacedæmonians, is clear; since sacrifices were here offered up previous to the passage of the border. The place is omitted in most maps, even in Cramer's; by others it is placed in Arcadia. Its situation is not ill marked out by Arrowsmith, who fixes it (after Stanhope) to the present *Leondari*. It should rather, however, seem to have been at *Palæochorio*, on the other side of the river, and about two miles distant.

Several places there were called Leuctrum, or Leuctra: and the appellation seems, in its original application, to have been meant to designate *whiteness of soil*. So *Leucopedium*, a place in Megara mentioned by Hesychius, *Leucas*, &c.

[7] *In their way to the Lycæum.*] This sense is required by the article. By *Lycæum* (on which the commentators say nothing) is meant the mountain so called in the south-west corner of Arcadia. It was about twelve or thirteen miles from Leuctra, and was, no doubt, a very commanding position for an enemy.

[8] *The cities.*] i. e. the government of each city or state.

[9] *The sacrifices offered, &c. proved inauspicious.*] i. e. the symptoms of the victims, when examined by the augurs, being declared unfavourable. Here may be compared Xen. Anab. 6, 4, 21. ἴσως ἂν τὰ ἱερὰ μᾶλλον προ-

departed homewards, and sent round notices [10] to the allies to prepare themselves for going on an expedition after the ensuing month, which was the Carneus, the holyday time [11] of the Dorians. On their departure, the Argives setting forth on the twenty-sixth day of the month before the Carneus, after spending that day [on the march], the whole of the [rest of] the time [of the festival] they consumed in invading and devastating the Epidaurian territory.[12] And now the Epidaurians called

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χωροίη ἡμῖν. And so διαβατήρια θύειν and σωτήρια θύειν in Xenophon. Therefore in Xen. Anab. 6, 5, 2. Schneider has done wrong in altering ἐθύετο ἐπεξοδία to ἐθ. ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ. So also Polyæn. 1, 10. ἔθυον τὰ ὑπερβατήρια. Finally, there is a passage much to the present purpose in Xen. de Repub. Lacon. c. 13.

[10] *Sent round notices, &c.*] Such requisitions (which are more than once mentioned by Thucydides) strongly indicate the importance of that supremacy which subordinate states acknowledged in the head of their confederacy. (Mitford).

It may be observed that the words a little before, "and no one knew whither they were going," show the absolute dominion which the Lacedæmonians held over these subordinate states; though the words are also applicable to the Laconian cities; for the kings might conceal the place to which any expedition was proceeding, since among their ἱερεῖα or prerogatives, as they are detailed by Herodotus 6, 56—59. there occurs *this*: καὶ πόλεμον γε ἐκφέρειν ἐπ ἥν ἂν βούλωνται χώρειν: and as it was their prerogative to call out and lead the army whithersoever they pleased, so it appears to have been *also* their prerogative to call them off, make peace, and return home whenever they chose. So infra, c. 60. where Agis, to the general displeasure of the army, had made a treaty and drawn off the army, the Lacedæmonians, it is said, εἵποντο μέν, ὡς ἠγεῖτο, διὰ τὸν νόμον. It appears from Herodotus (ubi supra) that the punishment of disobedience was being outlawed, or ἐνέχεσθαι ἐν ἄγει.

[11] *Holyday time.*] So called because the month consisted chiefly of holy days (see Dodwell on Charit. p. 514.); and the intervals were so few and short, that (especially as the festival of the Carnea was a most solemn one) the whole was thought unfit for the purpose of war, and regarded as holy. It is remarked by Goeller, "Mense Spartanorum Hecatombeo, quem respondere dicunt mensi Attico Hecatombæoni, Hyacinthia agebantur, quæ memorat Thucydides, 5, 41. Proxime sequenti mense post Hyacinthia Carnea celebrabantur, mense Spartanorum Carneo, Attico proinde mense Metagitnione. Vid. Odofr. Mueller d. Dorer. t. 1. p. 355. Initium habebant Carnea inde a mensis Carnei die septimo et per nundinum continuabantur. Vid. Idem. Orchomen. p. 327." On this subject it may be added, there are the following interesting passages: — Eurip. Alcest. 460. Πολλά σε μουσοπόλοι Μέλψουσι καθ' ἑπτάτονόν τ' ὀρείαν Χέλυν ἔν τ' ἀλύροις κλείοντες ὕμνοις Σπάρτᾳ, κύκλος ἀνίκα Καρνείου Περινείσεται ὥρᾳ Μηνὸς ἀειρομένας Παννύχου σελάνας. Demetr. Sceps. ap. Athen. 141. E. & Γ. Pausan. 3, 13, 3.

[12] *After spending that, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of this imperfectly worded sentence, part of which I have expressed in brackets. Goeller expresses nearly the same sense as follows: "per totum tempus, quo Spartani festum celebrantes otiabantur, iterato in agrum Epidauriorum invadentes vastabant." That commentator and Duker with reason

upon their allies [13], of whom some excused themselves on account of the sacred month; others, after advancing to the borders of Epidauria, there remained inactive.[14]

LV. About the time that the Argives were in Epidaurus, some embassies from the states held a congress at Mantinæa, at the request of the Athenians; and after much discussion and conference, Euphamidas, the Corinthian [1], remarked that "their actions did not correspond to their words; for that while they were sitting in conference about peace, the Epidaurians and their allies were at open hostility and drawn battle.[2] It was proper, therefore (he said), that some of them should go to the armies on both sides [3], and then again treat of peace." Yielding to this suggestion, they went and withdrew the Argives from Epidauria; and afterwards, having conferred together, they could not even then come to terms, but the Argives again made an irruption into Epidauria, and desolated it. The Lacedæmonians also had taken the field, and proceeded to Caryæ.[4] As, however, the sacrifices preparatory

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approve most of Valla's version of *ἄγοντες*, "itinere facto." Goeller thinks that Thucydides ought to have written, *καὶ ἄγοντες τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, τότε τε καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐσέβαλλον*. I would not presume to say what he *ought* to have written; but it seems to me that nothing more is absolutely necessary to the sense but to supply *τε* after *πάντα*. Now this particle is, in numerous instances, lost, especially after similar letters. The punctuation should be as follows: *καὶ ἄγοντες, τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην πάντα τε τὸν χρόνον*. And here I would read, with Goeller, *ἐσέξαλλον* (from three MSS.), which the sense requires. The Argives had, it is plain, selected the Carnean month, as favourable to their purpose.

13 *Allies.*] The Laconians, and, perhaps, some Arcadian and Achæan states.

14 *Remained inactive.*] As not thinking themselves strong enough to attempt to drive out the Argives, and waiting for more succours.

1 *The Corinthian.*] The article expresses that he was the Corinthian ambassador.

2 *At open hostility and drawn battle.*] Such seems to be the full sense of *μεθ' ὅπλων ἀντιτέταχθαι ἀλλήλοις*.

3 *On both sides.*] I read, with Goeller, *ἐφ' ἑκατέρων*. The vulg. *ἀφ ἑκατ.* yields no satisfactory sense.

4 *Caryæ.*] A town on the north-east corner of Laconia; for that it now formed a part of Laconia, is plain; though it might afterwards belong to Arcadia, and is so placed in the maps, except Cramer's. Pausanias, however, 3, 10. considers it as in Laconia, as does Xenophon. Some authors write the name in the singular; but that is from confounding the place with a Carya in the north part of *Arcadia*.

Pausanias tells us that this town had a temple of Diana, and the place

to crossing the borders were even here not propitious, they returned back. And the Argives, after having devastated about the third part of Epidauria, returned home, where a force of one thousand Athenian heavy-armed had arrived, under the command of Alcibiades; but on hearing that the Lacedæmonians had left the field [5], and as there was no longer any need for their services, they departed. And thus passed the summer.

LVI. On the commencement of the next winter, the Lacedæmonians, eluding the observation of the Athenians, introduced by sea, into Epidaurus, a garrison of three hundred, and Agesippidas as governor. On which the Argives went to the Athenians, remonstrating that, "Whereas, it was expressed in the treaty that they should not suffer enemies to pass through their territory, they had suffered these forces to pass by sea [1]; and that, unless they, too, will carry the Mes-

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was sacred to Diana and the nymphs; also that there was a statue of Diana in an open place, where the Lacedæmonian virgins, every year, formed a sort of dance peculiar to the country. Hence the term *Caryatides* in antient architecture. See Facius on Pausan. 3, 10. and Anthon. ap. Lempriere's Classical Dictionary, edit. Barker.

The place seems to have obtained its name from the abundance of walnut trees (καρυαὶ) about it. And there are many other places, both in antient and modern geography, that derived their appellations from a similar cause. Thus our Elm, Elmley, Elmstead, &c., Ashby, Ashton, &c., Willoughby, Thorney. As to those in antient geography, I have pointed out several in the course of this work.

[5] *But on hearing that, &c.*] Such is the sense assigned by Acacius, Abresch, Smith, Hack, and Bredow; and if the passage be correct, no other sense can well be elicited. But if so, Thucydides has used ἐκστρατεύω in two *opposite* senses within two or three lines; which cannot be thought of, especially as the latter sense, "leave the field," is nowhere else found. I agree with Goeller that in ἐξεστρατεῦσθαι the usual signification may be preserved; but few will be satisfied with his mode of taking the passage. It is, he says, as if Thucydides had written: πυθόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξεστρατεῦσθαι, εἶτα πυθόμενοι οὐδὲν ἔτι αὐτῶν δεῖν, ἀπῆλθον. To me it appears that the passage is slightly corrupt; namely, by a δὲ having been foisted in after πυθόμενοι, from misconception of the true punctuation, which is this: ἐβοήθησαν ὁπλῖται, καὶ Ἀλκ. στρατηγὸς, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν, &c. The καὶ stands for δὲ. In this way, too, I find the passage was taken by Portus. If it should be thought too great a liberty to cancel the δὲ, we may read δὴ, *scilicet.*

[1] *Had suffered these forces to pass by sea.*] This remarkable remonstrance may seem to have been dictated by Alcibiades, and to mark the extraordinary extent of his influence in Argos; for, under the semblance of a remonstrance, it was really an acknowledgment that the Grecian seas, even to the very shores of Peloponnesus, were the dominion of Athens. Apparently the requisition, scarcely less extraordinary, was concerted with Al-

senians and Helots to Pylus against the Lacedæmonians, they themselves would be wronged." And now the Athenians, at the persuasion of Alcibiades, wrote under the pillar which had inscribed the treaty with Lacedæmon, that the Lacedæmonians had violated their oaths; and they removed the Helots from Cranii[2] to Pylus, to carry on devastations; but, in other respects, they kept quiet.

Throughout this winter, though hostilities were carried on between the Argives and Epidaurians, there was no regular battle, but only ambuscades and skirmishes[3], wherein some of either side, as it might happen, perished. At the close of winter, and when spring was at hand, the Argives proceeded against Epidaurus, expecting to take it by storm, as being left destitute of assistance by reason of the war. They, however, retired without effecting their purpose. And thus ended the winter; and the thirteenth year of the war was brought to a conclusion.

March 16. 1859.

YEAR XIV. B. C. 418.

LVII. About the middle of the ensuing summer[1], the Lacedæmonians, as their allies the Epidaurians were in great distress, and of the rest of their confederacy in Peloponnesus, some had already revolted, and the rest were in no good disposition, thinking that unless they should speedily anticipate the evil, it would spread yet further, they went on an expedition, in full force, themselves and the Helots against Argos. They were commanded by Agis son of Archidamus, King of the Lacedæmonians, and were accompanied by the Tegæans, and such other of the Arcadians as were allies of the

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cibiades, or, perhaps, suggested by him; for he was the mover of the measures which followed in Athens. (Mitford).

[2] *Cranii.*] Not "Crania," as Smith spells it; nor Cranium, as the maps; for it is plain from this passage, and supra, c. 35. that, in the time of Thucydides, the name of the place was the same with that which denoted the inhabitants; as was frequent among the antients.

[3] *Skirmishes.*] Or, sudden attacks or incursions.

[1] *About the middle of the ensuing summer.*] This shows the sluggish and dilatory spirit of the Lacedæmonians, who, though the preparations had before twice been made, could not take the field till midsummer; whereas spring was the usual time.

Lacedæmonians. Those from the rest of Peloponnesus, and those out of it, were assembled at Phlius [2], consisting of [3] five thousand Bœotian heavy infantry, and the same number of Hamippi [4]; of Corinthians, two thousand heavy infantry; and

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[2] *Were assembled at Phlius.*] Where, of course, it is *implied* that the Lacedæmonians, Tegæans, and other southern Arcadians were to meet them.

This state was, perhaps, the smallest in Greece, but not the least wealthy. It appears from the very full and interesting account of Pausanias, 2, 13., that Phlius abounded in magnificent temples and other public buildings (which implies riches); as also that Bacchus and Ceres were chiefly worshipped there. Its territory, which consisted of a fertile valley almost encircled by hills (and forming a κόλπος), was very rich. From that circumstance, indeed (dismissing all fabulous derivations), the appellation seems to have derived its origin; for φλίους is an old adjective from φλίω, cognate with φλέω and φλύω, to *flow*, to be *abundant;* and signifies *rich*, *abundant*. Thus Jeremiah 49, 4. speaks of a *flowing* valley. And the Old Testament writers perpetually use the expression, "a land that floweth with milk and honey." So φλεών, an abundance of fruits. The above derivation of the name is supported by Steph. Byz., who says the place took its name παρὰ τὸ φλεῖν.

Dodwell describes this plain as about eight miles in length, and enriched with extensive vineyards, currant plantations, and corn land, and forming the principal part of the antient Phliasia, to which Homer gives the epithet of ἐρατεινή. He observes, that the exuberant fertility of its vineyards has always been, as at present, the theme of panegyric, and that it produces the best wine in the peninsula. He adds, that the Corinth grape, or *currant*, is the produce of this fertile plain, and is not cultivated at *Corinth*, but took the name of *corant* or currant, from Corinth, as such are embarked on that gulf.

[3] *Consisting of, &c.*] A very large force, indeed, and much greater than could have been expected, since the Bœotians would have to reserve a sufficient force for defence against the Athenians. The quota from Corinth is rather below what might have been expected; but it must be borne in mind that there was not even a truce between them and the Athenians, and they, therefore, had to reserve a considerable force for home defence.

[4] *Hamippi.*] That Duker has rightly emended ἅμιπποι for ἄνιπποι, there can be no doubt. But what we are to understand by these Hamippi it is no easy matter to say. The recent commentators are of opinion, that the term designates a sort of cavalry where every man had two horses, which the rider used in rotation, leaping from one to the other, such as are called in the Roman soldiery *desultores*. Of these and their use there is a graphic description in Livy, 23, 29. And, by the same name, these are called by Pollux, 1, 131. and Ælian Tact. c. 38. The antient grammarians, too, all contain vestiges of this opinion. Perhaps, however, they were misled by attending to what was usual in times near their own, rather than in those of Thucydides. I am, therefore, of opinion that those commentators are more in the right who understand *foot soldiers*. And that some of the antient interpreters so took the word, is plain from Harpocration and Suidas, who say that Thucydides speaks of these Hamippi as *infantry;* and the latter conjectures that they were πρόδρομοι, *præcursores*, who were stationed with the horse. He is, I think, perfectly right. They

of the rest of the allies [5], in proportion to their strength; the Phliasians with their full forces, as the armament was assembled in their territory.[6]

LVIII. The Argives, however, on at first hearing of the preparations of the Lacedæmonians, and especially when they learnt that they were on the march, intending to form a junction with the rest at Phlius, then took the field. They were aided by the Mantinæans with *their* allies, and by the Eleans with three thousand heavy-armed. And advancing forward, they met the Lacedæmonians at Methydrium [1] in Arcadia. And each occupied a hill, and the Argives prepared to engage the Lacedæmonians thus apart from their allies [2]; but Agis, secretly decamping by night, proceeds to Phlius to the rest of the allies. On perceiving his departure, early in the morning,

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seem to have been *very light* troops, who acted with the horse, and, perhaps, upon occasion, mounted behind the troopers, either in action or in retreat. That the Hamippi were, in the time of Thucydides, *infantry*, is clear from Xen. Hist. 7, 5, 23. πεζῶν ἀμίππων, where Morus refers for examples to Valer. Max. 2, 3. Cæsar. Bell. Gall. 1, 48. Quint. Curt. 7, 7., and distinguishes from the *Hamippi* the *Amphippi*, or *desultores*, and the διμαχαί, or those who were at once horse and foot, like our modern *hussars*. To the above passages may be added Dio Cass. 186, 84. τοὺς ἱππέας μετὰ τῶν συντεταγμένων σφίσι πεζῶν ἐκπέμπων. Plutarch Æmil. Paul. 12. μυριοὶ μὲν ἱππεῖς, μυριοὶ δὲ πάραβαται.

[5] *The rest of the allies.*] Namely, the Megaræans, the Sicyonians, and some other Achæans and northern Arcadians.

[6] *As the armament was assembled in their territory.*] By which they would not have to reserve a force for home defence.

[1] *Methydrium.*] A town nearly at the centre of Arcadia. The place, as we find from Pausanias, 7, 36. (who has given an interesting description of it), was situated on a height surrounded by the rivers Melotas and Mylaus. So that the ratio appellationis may be compared with that of Amphipolis.

This town has even, in our best maps, a somewhat wrong position; though the description of Pausanias might enable geographers with ease to fix it. He says it was one hundred and seventy stadia from Megalopolis, and was encircled by the rivers Melotas and Mylaus. We may, therefore, suppose it to have been nearly at the confluence of those rivers, and, certainly, thirty stadia farther from Megalopolis than Cramer has laid it down.

It should seem that the Lacedæmonians had occupied the hill of Methydrium when the Argives came up, and that the position taken by the Argives was north of Methydrium, and so placed as to prevent the Lacedæmonians from going to join their other allies.

[2] *Apart from their allies.*] Who were waiting for them at Phlius.

the Argives marched first towards Argos [3], and then to where they thought the Lacedæmonians, with their allies, would descend into their country, namely, the road of Nemea.[4] But Agis did not take the course which they expected[5]; but, giving his orders accordingly[6], himself, with the Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, and Epidaurians, went another[7] and rough road, by which they decended into the plain of Argos; and the Corinthians, Pelleneans, and Phliasians went by yet another and steep one.[8] To the Bœotians and Megaræans orders had been given to descend by the road to Nemea, where the Argives were posted, in order that if the Argives should move

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[3] *Towards Argos.*] Or upon, i. e. in the direction of Argos; not *to* Argos, as Smith and Hobbes render; for *that* could answer no purpose. He only marched first upon Argos, because the other and more direct road was blocked up by the Argives.

[4] *To where they thought, &c.*] Such is plainly the sense, which is strangely misconceived by Hobbes, and not clearly discovered by Smith. Mitford well expresses it thus: "To prevent this invasion, they moved to a position on the road of Nemea; the only way by which a numerous army could conveniently pass the mountains which divide Argolis from Phliasia and Corinthia."

[5] *The course that they expected.*] Namely, the road to Phlius, to join the other allies.

[6] *Giving his orders accordingly.*] Not "communicating his designs to;" as Hobbes and Smith render. Indeed, παραγγείλας, even in the sense I have assigned, does not seem necessary; but, in fact, there is a reference to the *general* orders given by Agis for the motions of the whole of the forces, both there and at Phlius. And though the historian has not made this very clear, yet it is apparent from the εἴρητο. At καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Πελληνεῖς καὶ Φλιάσιοι ὄρθιον ἑτέραν ἐπορεύοντο it is implied, that they took that course by the direction of Agis, who, it appears, as soon as he found that the Arcadians had decamped in the direction of Argos, sent orders forward to Phlius for the allies to cross the passes in two directions.

If this be a correct view of the passage, it will be proper to place a comma after παραγγείλας δὲ, and regard τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις as dependent on σὺν understood.

[7] *Another.*] i. e. different from the one which the Argives had taken in their retreat, and one, doubtless, more northeriy. It appears, however, to have been a difficult mountain-path, lying across the range of Mount Artemisium. This may be supposed to have been the one marked in Cramer's map as running from Ptolis to Œnoe.

[8] *Another and steep one.*] This was over the same range, but, it seems, in a steeper part.

Here, though all the MSS. have ὄρθριον, the true reading is doubtless ὄρθιον, with the subaudition of ὁδὸν. As Benedict has lately advocated ὄρθριον, the following examples of ὄρθιον may be not unacceptable. Arrian E. A. 1, 1, 11. ὅποτε καταφέροιντο κατὰ τοῦ ὀρθίου. Polyæn. 4, 3, 21. and 23. τὰς ὀρθίους πέτρας. where, by a similar error, is read in the MSS. ὀρθρίους. Hesych. ὄρθιον προσαντές.

upon those in the plain, they might take them in the rear, and employ their cavalry with effect. And he, having made this disposition of the corps [9], penetrated into the plain, and ravaged Saminthus [10] and other places.

LIX. On hearing this, the Argives now advanced from Nemea; and meeting with the forces of the Phliasians and Corinthians, slew some few of the Phliasians [1], but themselves suffered a loss somewhat greater than the Corinthians. As to the Bœotians, Megaræans, and Sicyonians, they marched by the road they had been directed towards Nemea, but found the Argives no longer there: they had descended, and [2], on finding their country devastated, they drew up in order of battle; and the Lacedæmonians, on their side, made the like preparations. The Argives, however, were hemmed in on all sides; for, in the direction of the plain, the Lacedæmonians and their associates cut them off from the city; and on the higher ground were the Corinthians, Phliasians, and Pelleneans; and in the direction of Nemea were the Bœotians, Sicyonians, and Megaræans. And as to cavalry, they had none [3], for the Athenians alone of their allies were not yet

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9 *Having made this disposition of the corps.*] A very able one indeed, and not unworthy of generals of the highest name.

10 *Saminthus.*] This town, Wasse observes, occurs nowhere else in the classics; and, therefore, some corruption may be suspected. It is bold, however, for any one to pronounce on what does *not* occur there — πολλὴ δ ἡ Σικελία! But, granting this, are we to expect to find every petty place mentioned in the classics? On this ground, then, there is no reason for suspicion. And, as to the form of the word, all is quite regular. Polysyllables in — ινθος are, perhaps, all derived from simpler forms in ος, υς, &c. And Σάμινθος seems to come from Σάμινος; and Σάμινος is Doric for Θάμινος. So Hesych. σαμινὰ, θαμινά. Again, Θάμινος is the same with Θάμινος, *a thicket;* and, doubtless, represented the *situation* of the place. Similar appellations occur even in modern geography. So in our own country Thickley, Thickthorn, Thorney, and numerous names of places compounded with *thorn* and *wood.*

1 *Slew some few of the Phliasians.*] Whom, it should seem, they had attacked separately, and would have overpowered, but for the advance of the Corinthians, who compelled them to retreat with some loss.

2 *But found the Argives, &c.*] Such is the sense of the passage; for, as the Scholiast and commentators remark, another subject is commenced at καταβάντες, namely, οἱ Ἀργεῖοι. Now this is the less harsh, as Ἀργείους had just preceded; so that ἀλλὰ καταβάντες is equivalent to οἱ καταβάντες.

3 *As to cavalry they had none.*] Or none were at hand. It would seem strange that they should have had none. Hack, however, observes, "that

come.[4] Now the multitude of the Argive army were not aware[5] of the extent of their danger, but thought that they should engage with advantage[6], and that they had intercepted the Lacedæmonians in their own country, and close by their city. But two persons of the Argives, Thrasyllus, one of the five commanders, and Alciphron, public host[7] of the Lacedæmonians, when the armies were already about to engage, advanced to Agis, and addressed to him some proposals[8], with a view to prevent battle; representing that the Argives were willing to submit the matters at issue to judicial decision, and to receive any fair and equitable award as to the matters the Lacedæmonians had to complain of in them, and henceforward to make a treaty, and live at peace with them.

LX. Now in saying this they spoke on their own authority, and without any direction from the people. Agis, however, accepts their offers, and of himself (without holding any

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even the other states of Peloponnesus seem not to have had cavalry, except the Lacedæmonians, who, however, kept but a small number of horses, and the Corinthians. War horses were most kept among the Thessalians and Bœotians."

[4] *For the Athenians alone of their allies were not yet come.*] Thus, in consequence of the successful treachery of Alcibiades, Peloponnesus was divided at arms within itself; while Athens, preparing, indeed, assistance for her ally, but risking little, looked on and enjoyed the storm. (Mitford).

[5] *Now the multitude of the Argive army were not aware, &c.*] This may seem strange; "but," as Mitford observes, "the Argives were unpractised in war upon any extended scale." Nay, they had been, for many years, unpractised in any but the late predatory irruption into Epidauria. Besides, the *multitude*, of whom alone Thucydides says this, cannot in any age be expected to see things with the eye of a general. And they supposed that the enemy was intercepted between their army and the doubtless strong garrison left in Argos.

[6] *With advantage.*] Or, in a favourable position. The passage is imitated by Polyæn. 665. ὠφέλειαν φανερὰν οὐ καλὸν ἡγούμενοι προέσθαι. And the phrase ἐν καλῷ occurs in Aristoph. Conc. 321. πανταχοῦ τοι νυκτὸς ἐστὶν ἐν καλῷ.

[7] *Public host.*] On this see 3, 2 and 70. 2, 39 and 85. and notes.

[8] *Advancing to Agis, addressed to him some proposals.*] On this well-judged measure of Thrasyllus and Alciphron, Mitford remarks, "that it would appear very extraordinary in itself, and scarcely credible in its success, if we were not already somewhat familiarized with Grecian politics." "By this negotiation (adds he), fortunate as it was bold, Thrasyllus and Alciphron hoped to acquire such favour among the Argian people as might enable them to promote at the same time their two objects, the oligarchal interest and the Lacedæmonian alliance.

communication, except with *one* of those who were in military authority) he concludes a truce for four months, in which the engagements now entered into were to be performed. This done, he immediately leads off the army, without communicating any reasons for his conduct to the allies; and the Lacedæmonians and allies followed, indeed, as he led, being bound so to do by law; but amongst themselves they exceedingly censured Agis, esteeming that, whereas there was an opportunity for them to engage in a favourable position, and the enemy was on all sides encircled by horse and foot, they had gone off without doing any thing worthy of so great a preparation. For, indeed, this was the fairest Grecian army that had ever been brought together, and it appeared especially such while it was yet altogether in Nemea.[1] It was composed of[2] the Lacedæmonians, in full force; the Arcadians, Bœotians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Pelleneans, Phliasians, and Megaræans, and all these[3] picked men of each nation, and who seemed a match not only for the Argive alliance, but also for another such superadded to it.

The whole army, then, thus severely reprobating the conduct of Agis, retired and dispersed each to their homes. But the Argives, on their part, held in yet greater censure those who had concluded the treaty without the authority of the people; *they also* imagining that the Lacedæmonians had escaped their grasp while within reach; since a more favourable opportunity of striking a blow could never occur, for the contest would have been close by their city, and with numerous and gallant allies: and as they were returning[4], they began to stone Thrasyllus[5] at the Charadrus[6], where the causes for

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1 *Altogether in Nemea.*] As the Scholiast observes, we may suppose that, *after the armistice*, the two other bodies united with the first at Nemea, and then evacuated Argos by the road to Phlius, which was, indeed, the most practicable one.

2 *It was composed of, &c.*] The ἐν ᾧ does not refer to Νεμέᾳ, as Hobbes supposed; but we must subaud στρατοπέδῳ.

3 *All those.*] Namely, the Arcadians, Bœotians, &c.

4 *Returning.*] Namely, to the city.

5 *Began to stone Thrasyllus.*] It is remarked by Dr. Blomfield on Æschyl. Agam. 1606. δημοβόροφεῖς λευσίμους ἀράς. that frequent mention is made in the antients of stoning, as a kind of punishment used by the po-

matters committed during a campaign are judged before the army enters the city; but he, by taking refuge at an altar, saved his life: his goods, however, were confiscated to the public use.

LXI. After this, the Athenian succours having arrived, namely, a thousand heavy infantry, and three hundred horse, commanded by Laches and Nicostratus, the Argives (for, notwithstanding their discontent, they hesitated to break the truce with the Lacedæmonians) bade them depart, and would

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pulace when moved by sudden indignation. And he refers to Hom. Il. γ. 56. (explaining the sense there, "if the popular fury had not been restrained by fear, thou wouldst already have been stoned.") Soph. Aj. 254. Eurip. Ion. 1240. Demosth. de Cor § 6. Valckn. on Herod. 9, 5. Æschyl. Theb. 183. St. Luke 20, 6. "all the people will stone us." And certainly such a mode of putting to death were very natural to an enraged multitude; yet I cannot regard it, even in the classics, as altogether a species of irregular vengeance on the part of the populace. It had, I apprehend, at least originally been denounced by the law as a regular punishment for heinous offences. Thus we find it in use many centuries before the time of Homer among the Israelites. Moses says to Pharaoh, Exod. 8, 26. "will the people not stone us?" a very similar passage to that of St. Luke. We find it enjoined in the law of Moses as a legal punishment denounced against idolators, blasphemers, sabbath-breakers, incestuous persons, &c. See Mr. Horne's Introduction, 3, 153. But it is clear from the above passage of Exod. 8, 26. that it had been before used as a punishment for profaneness, and one exercised by the people. Thus by the people it seems to have been always executed, both amongst the Jews and Gentiles. So (Acts 14, 19.) the people of Lystra stoned Paul at the instigation of the Jews. It seems, therefore, to have been ever considered as a mode of punishment peculiar to crimes which roused *public detestation;* and with the people, it appears, rested the *trial* (when there was any) and the *execution*. So that though Mr. Horne thinks that the judicium zeli, (or *rebel's beating*) has been wrongly confounded with lapidation, there was, in fact, no essential difference. The only variation from the antient practice was — first, that the people wreaked their fury not only with *stones* but with *staves*, or whatever came to hand; secondly, that it was executed not only for idolatry, blasphemy, &c. but also for a transgression of the precepts of the wise men or scribes.

If my memory deceives me not, vestiges of this lapidation, as a popular punishment, have been found in the South Sea Islands; into America it was, doubtless, introduced by those early Asiatic colonies probably coeval with the time of Moses.

[6] *Charadrus.*] Hobbes and Smith write it Charadrum; but, I conceive, on false grounds, though the commentators make no remark. It should seem that the *river Charadrus* is meant, on the right bank of which Argos was situated, and which the army would have to pass in their way to it; and the place of judgment, we may suppose, was a meadow on its left bank.

not introduce them to[1] the people, though they were desirous to communicate with[2] them, until the Mantinæans and Eleans (for they were yet present) compelled them to it[3]; and the Athenians (Alcibiades being there as ambassador) spoke[4] in the presence of the Argives and their allies, to this effect: —"That the treaty was even not yet rightly concluded, being without the consent of the other allies, and that *now* (for they were come opportunely) they ought to follow up the war." Having by their representations prevailed upon[5] the allies, they all marched to Orchomenus, in Arcadia[6], except

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[1] *Introduce them to.*] On this sense of προσάγω, see my note on Rom. 5, 1.

[2] *Communicate with.*] Or, address them. Such Duker has shown to be the true sense of χρηματίζειν.

By the *Argives* must here be understood the Argive rulers or directors of affairs, supported by the oligarchical or aristocratical interest.

[3] *Compelled them to it.*] Namely, by the moral compulsion of strong and clamorous remonstrance.

[4] *The Athenians* (*Alcibiades being, &c.*] The translators render, as if the speech was made by *some* Athenians *in the presence of* Alcibiades and the Argives; and, indeed, the words will bear that sense: but then to what purpose was Alcibiades now sent as *ambassador* to Argos, if he was not to be the organ of communication with the Argives? Considering this also, the eloquence of Alcibiades, and his active management of all the affairs with the Argives, we need not doubt but *he* was the speaker; and so, I find, he is considered by Mitford and Gail. The clause must, therefore, be meant to inform us that Alcibiades was now there in quality of *ambassador* (having, doubtless, contrived to procure the appointment from Athens), and, consequently, it is implied that he was the speaker.

The above view is confirmed by Diodor. 12, 79., who tells us that Alcibiades went with Laches and Nicostratus, from his friendship with the Eleans and Mantinæans.

[5] *Having, by their representations, prevailed upon, &c.*] The eloquence of Alcibiades prevailed. The Argian people felt his reproaches for breach of faith with Athens, gave credit to his representations of the strength of the confederacy, and of the circumstances now peculiarly favourable for prosecuting the war; and a proposal being suggested for striking an important stroke with little risk, it was summarily resolved upon. (Mitford).

[6] *Orchomenus in Arcadia.*] This is added, to distinguish it from the Bœotian one. The place was north of Mantinæa; and Wasse refers to some passages of the classics, where it is mentioned. See also Cellar. 1, 997. It is strange, however, that they should have omitted to notice that it is mentioned by Homer Il. β. 605., and called πολύμηλος. The place was probably of some consequence.

With respect to the origin of the appellation, in either case, both as respects this and the Bœotian town of the same name, if we will reject mythological fictions, we may suppose that Ὀρχόμενος was originally the participle passive of ὄρχω cognate with ἔργω and εἴργω, whence ἕρκος. Of this old participle a vestige may be found in ὄρχος, which Hesychius explains a *garden;* and, indeed, our *garden* is likewise an old participle from

the Argives. They, however, though at first induced[7] to remain, yet afterwards went also; and all taking post at Orchomenus, besieged it, and made several attempts to take it by assault; being on other accounts desirous to acquire it, and especially because the hostages taken by the Lacedæmonians from the Arcadians were there deposited. And now the Orchomenians, afraid of the weakness of their walls and the number of the army, and apprehensive that, as no succour had arrived, they might perish, surrendered on condition of being received as allies, of giving hostages of their own citizens to the Mantinæans, and of delivering up those whom the Lacedæmonians had deposited there.

LXII. Afterwards (being now in possession of Orchomenus), the allies consulted as to what other place they should first proceed to. The Eleans urged them to go to Lepreum, the Mantinæans to Tegea[1]; and the Argives and Athenians concurred in opinion[2] with the latter. Whereupon the

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the Anglo-Saxon Ƿyp̄an, *to gird, enclose*. Now in the German, Swedish, and Danish languages the cognate terms are used to denote a walled town, or fortified place. And I have no doubt but that this was the original meaning of Orchomenus. From what follows, it plainly appears to have been a fortified place, and by the Lacedæmonians selecting it as a deposit for the hostages, it should seem to have been one of considerable strength.

The site of this town is supposed to be on or near the present Kalpaki. "The most ancient town (says Dodwell, 2, 426.) which was afterwards the Acropolis (to which, it is proper to observe, the preceding derivation alone applies — Edit.) was situated on a high, steep, and insulated hill: for which reason it is denominated an island by Dionysius of Halicarnassus: indeed, it is sometimes almost surrounded with water in the winter, when the snow melts and the lake overflows. Pausanias says that, in his time, the walls of the old town of Orchomenus, and the agora, were seen upon the hill, but that the town itself was lower down. The Acropolis, on which the original town was situated, is steep on all sides, and flat at the summit, resembling Mount Ithome in form, but far inferior in height. The walls were fortified with square towers, and may be traced nearly round the whole of the extreme edge: in some places they are well preserved, and the most antient parts are in the rough Tirynthian style."

7 *Induced.*] Namely, by the rulers, and principal supporters of the aristocratical party just mentioned. The sense is here missed by the translators.

1 *The Eleans, &c., the Mantineans, &c.*] Both, we may presume, recommended according to their private interest, namely, to lead the allies against their private enemies; and thus we are reminded of the well-known fable in Æsop.

2 *Concurred in opinion.*] Not "*adhered to,*" as Smith renders. At προσ-

Eleans being displeased at their not deciding for Lepreum, retired home; while the rest prepared at Mantinea to proceed against Tegea; and certain of the Tegeans themselves had engaged to put the city into their hands.

LXIII. As to the Lacedæmonians, on their return home, after the conclusion of the truce for four months, they held Agis in great censure for not having subdued Argos, when there was an opportunity for it such as they thought had never before occurred. For it was no easy matter to get together at once such a numerous and gallant body of allies. When, too, news came of the capture of Orchomenus, their indignation rose to a higher pitch; and, hurried away by anger, they *immediately* (contrary to their custom [1]) resolved to demolish his house [2], and to mulct him in a fine [3] of ten thousand drachms. He, however, besought them to do nothing of that kind; for that by some brave deed in the next campaign he would purge away the crimination [4], or else they might then do what they would. They then suspended the fine and the razing, but at the same time introduced a custom [5], such as

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ἔθεντο we may supply ψῆφον. And by τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι is meant τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν Μαντ. So 6, 50. προσέθετο τῇ Ἀλκιβιάδου γνώμῃ.

[1] *Contrary to their custom.*] Of this slowness of the Spartans in condemning we have an example in the case of Pausanias, 1, 132., where Thucydides says it was customary to them; the contrary to which prevailed among the Athenians. For this diversity the opposite characters of the two nations will sufficiently account.

[2] *Demolish his house.*] A punishment, it seems, of oriental origin; for where it is said, at Ezra 6, 11. "let his house be made a dunghill," the demolition of the house is plainly adverted to in the foregoing words. With the Romans this was a frequent mode of *disgracing* as well as punishing.

[3] *Fine.*] This seems to have been, in such cases, levied from a supposition that the action, thus punished, had been committed through corruption, and thus was intended to deprive the criminal of his ill-gotten gain.

[4] *Charge.*] Namely, of want of judgment or treachery and corruption.

[5] *Introduced a custom, &c.*] The translators render, "made a decree." But if that had been the sense intended, the words following would have been adapted to it, as, "that ten men should," &c.; but as such is not the case, it is better to take the phrase in the sense, "made a precedent," which the words will admit.

To this measure the Spartans had before resorted in the case of generals, as Alcidas. No good, however, has ever arisen, either in antient or modern times, from thus hampering a commander. The greatest reverses experienced by the French republic arose from the bad policy of the convention in sending members of their body, as military commissioners, to the armies,

had never been known among them: for they chose ten Spartans as a *committee of counsel* to him, without whose consent he should not have the power to lead the army into the field.

LXIV. In the meanwhile a message reached them from their friends and partisans at Tegea, that unless they came up with speed, Tegea would revolt from them to the Argives and their allies, and, indeed, had all but revolted already. Upon this an aid was raised both of Lacedæmonians and Helots in a body [1], and with a speed such as had never before been witnessed. These marched to Orestéum [2] in Mænalia, and to those of the Arcadians who were their allies, they issued previous orders to assemble and follow them close to Tegea, themselves going in full force as far as Orestéum; and thence sending home the sixth part [3] of their number (consisting of the very old and very young [4]) to keep guard at home, they with the rest of the army proceeded to Tegea. And not long after arrived the allies from the Arcadians. They also sent messages to Corinth, the Bœotians, Phocians, and

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who were even to control the generals. It is obvious that in such a case strict responsibility will be the best dependence, to *diminish* the weight of which, a commander will, for his own sake, desire the advice of his principal officers.

[1] *Helots in a body.*] The πανδημεὶ does not belong, as the translators imagine, both to the Lacedæmonians and the Helots, but to the latter only.

[2] *Orestéum.*] Sometimes written Orestheum and Oresthasium. I prefer Orestéum, as being found in Herodotus.

The situation of this place is uncertain, but it must have been somewhere near Mount Mænalus: and Poppo, in his Proleg. 2, 186., observes (from Pausan. 8, 44, 1 and 2.) that it was situated in the road from Megalopolis to Pallantium and Tegea. It is, therefore, placed in the maps of D'Anville and Cramer in a wrong position; better by Boccage, but probably too near to Megalopolis.

This town is said to have been founded by Orestheus, and afterwards called after Orestes, who there died. See Eurip. Elect. 1275.

[3] *The sixth part.*] This, it should seem, was the smallest part ever apportioned for home defence; the general proportion being *one-third*, as we find in the account of the levies for the first campaign of Lacedæmon against Athens. Hence we may infer the extreme insecurity of human life as well as comfort, at a period which many are accustomed to consider as above all others free and happy.

[4] *Very young.*] Not, as Smith renders, "the younger;" for those would be fittest for military service.

Locrians [5], desiring them to bring succours with all speed to Mantinæa. Now to these the notice was, indeed, short [6]; and it was not easy, unless they were collected together, and waited for each other, to pass through the enemy's country [7], as it lay between and excluded them; nevertheless they used all haste. Meanwhile, the Lacedæmonians, taking such Arcadians as had come up, made an irruption into the territory of Mantinæa, and encamping near the Heracleum [8], ravaged the country.

LXV. The Argives and their allies, at sight of them, occupied a strong position difficult of approach, and formed themselves in order of battle. Immediately the Lacedæmonians advanced [1] towards them. And now they had proceeded within a stone's cast, or arrow's flight, when one of the seniors [2], seeing that they were proceeding against a strong position, shouted out to Agis that "he was aiming to mend evil with evil [3];" meaning that, to retrieve [4] his censurable

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[5] *The Phocians and Locrians.*] These were not mentioned in the former list; but as the number from Bœotia was observed to be far beyond what might be expected, so there is reason to suppose that the Phocians and Locrians were included. Indeed, after the battle of Delium, both those countries were, as well as Megara, so much under the influence of Bœotia, that they were like provinces of it.

[6] *Short.*] Or, too short and sudden. At ἐξ ὀλίγου subaud χρόνου. The passage is thus rendered by Goeller: "sed his quidem nimis subito imperatum est, ut proficiscerentur, nec facile erat, parva cum manu, neque militibus se invicem præstolantibus, agrum hostilem permeare: hic enim obstabat in medio situs."

[7] *The enemy's country.*] Namely, Phlius and other of the N.E. parts of Arcadia.

[8] *Heracleum.*] A temple of Hercules, and somewhere in the road from Tegea to Mantinæa.

[1] *Immediately the Lacedæmonians advanced, &c.*] For Agis, it seems, was anxious to retrieve his credit, and not be accused of *timidity*.

[2] *The seniors.*] "Either," says Mitford, "one of his council of advisers, or one of the elder officers of the army." A very natural interpretation for a *British colonel;* but, nevertheless, considering the marked respect paid to age among the Spartans, it might have been even a private soldier.

[3] *Mend evil with evil.*] A proverbial saying, it should seem. To the examples adduced by the commentators, I add the following. Herod. 3, 53, 14. μὴ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ. Dionys. Hal. 1. 696, 29. ἀξιῶ δέ σε μὴ τοῖς κακοῖς ἰᾶσθαι τὰ κακά. Aristid. 3, 454. οὐ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν — ἰάσατο. Liban. Or. 374. Β. κακὸν κακῷ ἰασάσθαι. Soph. Aj. 363. The *fons locutionis* is Hom. Il. π. 111. κακὸν κακῷ ἐστήρικτο. Critical matter I reserve for my edition.

[4] *Retrieve.*] Ἀνάληψις literally signifies, *reparation*. See the Schol. and Wakefield on Eurip. Ion. 438.

retreat, he was now employing unseasonable forwardness. He then (whether on account of this exclamation, or whether[5] from some other thought at the same time occurring to him) presently drew off his army before the engagement commenced, and proceeding to the Tegean territory, diverted a water-course[6] upon the Mantinæan lands, concerning which, as highly injurious whichever way it fell, the Mantinæans and Tegeans were at variance. His intention, too, was[7], by the diverting of the water, to draw the Argives and their allies from the strong ground, and induce them to come to battle in the plain. Having, then, continued at the water for the whole day, he diverted the stream; while the Argives and their allies, at first struck with amazement at his sudden retreat, knew not what to imagine; then when those, after

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[5] *Whether on account of this exclamation, or whether, &c.*] We may suppose, with Mitford, "that he would be encouraged by the justness of the exclamation to a measure which prudence required, though rashness or acrimony might blame."

[6] *Diverted a water-course.*] It is not easy, by any view of the country as represented by our maps, to conceive how the water could thus be let off to the injury of Mantinæa. That difficulty, however, will be removed by a reference to the minute chorographical sketch to be found in Pausan. 8, 7, 1. ὑπερβάλλοντα δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαντινικὴν διὰ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, πέδιον ἐκδέξεταί σε Ἀργὸν καλούμενον καθάπερ γε καὶ ἔστι· τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κατερχόμενον ἐς αὐτὸ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀργὸν εἶναι τὸ πεδίον ποιεῖ, ἐκώλυέ τε οὐδὲν αὐτὸ πεδίον τοῦτο εἶναι λίμνην, εἰ μὴ τὸ ὕδωρ ἠφανίζετο ἐς χάσμα γῆς· ἀφανισθὲν δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἀνεισι κατὰ τὴν Δεινήν. and 8, 5. 8, 13. 3. and 14, 1 and 3. 22, 6. and 23, 6. The obscurity is also much cleared up by what Gell says (Travels, p. 145.), who speaks of a rivulet between Tripolitza and Piali, and which Cramer represents as a double and forked one. Gell, too, speaks of a subterranean hiatus hereabouts, into which the rivulets of the plain terminate, and which seems at the confluence of the above forks. This is, probably, the same as that mentioned by Dodwell, 2, 423., who says that the waters of the Ophis, together with the water from the Artemisium, would together inundate the plain, were they not absorbed by a chasm through which they find a subterraneous vent. In fact, there are several such in the central parts of Peloponnesus; and we may suppose that it was by diverting the course of the water to one of these, that the inundation here mentioned was effected. Had Mr. Dodwell remembered this passage of Thucydides, he would, probably, have given some information yet more precise.

From the above passage of Pausanias, it is clear that all this part of Peloponnesus was, in very antient times, and after the retirement of the diluvial waters, a chain of petty lakes (like several spots in North America), and that, on these drying up, the waters from the hills, having no natural passage, gradually formed subterraneous vents.

I must not omit to observe that this diverting of water-courses was considered an illegal procedure, and was contrary to the Amphictyonic oath.

[7] *His intention, too, was, &c.*] A no bad piece of generalship.

their retreat, were hidden from view, and themselves followed them not, they again began to hold their commanders in censure, both because the Lacedæmonians, when *before* so fairly caught, were let go, and "*now* that no one follows the runaways, but they are saving themselves unmolestedly [8], and themselves are betrayed." The commanders were, at first, in much chagrin and confusion [9] thereon; but afterwards they led them down from the hill [10], and proceeding to the plain, encamped, with the intention of advancing upon the enemy.

LXVI. On the following day the Argives and their allies ranged themselves in such order as they meant to fight in. The Lacedæmonians, proceeding back [1] from the water to the Heracleum and the same camp, came suddenly in view of the enemy, already in complete order, and descending from the hill. Upon which the Lacedæmonians were at that crisis struck with greater astonishment and consternation than they had ever remembered.[2] Indeed, they had but little time for preparation: however, they immediately and speedily [3] fell into their ranks, Agis, the king, directing, according to law, all the dis-

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[8] *Unmolestedly.*] Smith wrongly applies the κατ' ἡσυχίαν to the *commanders*, rendering "through shameful ignorance."

[9] *Chagrin and confusion.*] Such seems to be the full sense of ἐθορυβήθησαν. They were, doubtless, in alarm lest the enemy should take advantage of this confusion, and attack them; and therefore they resorted to the usual expedient for restoring discipline, *fighting a battle.*

[10] *Led them down from the hill.*] Many other instances there are of armies so infatuated as to abandon high strong positions, and go to fight the enemy in the plain. This has usually been the case with wild and ungovernable troops weary of delay. The battles between the English and Scotch furnish more than one example.

[1] *Proceeding back.*] It is not improbable that this return was produced by the same factious insubordination as the enemy's advance.

[2] *Struck with greater astonishment, &c.*] The ἐξεπλάγησαν is not well rendered by Hobbes and others "were more affrighted;" for that feeling were unsuitable to Lacedæmonians. Smith has better rendered *astonished.* It was, perhaps, a combined feeling of *astonishment*, at the folly of the enemy in abandoning their strong post, and of *trepidation*, when they considered how little time they had to form for battle. Of these two senses (both of which are admitted by the expression) the former is required by the words preceding, the latter by the words following.

[3] *Speedily.*] The excellence of the Lacedæmonian discipline enabled the king to form his order of battle in a shorter time than would have been possible with any other troops then in the known world; and, before the attack could be made, they were prepared to receive it. (Mitford).

positions. For when a king leads the Lacedæmonian army, all things are under his governance [4], and he signifies what shall be done to the *polemarchs* [5], they to the *lochagi* [6], those to the *penteconters*, those again to the *enomotarchs*, and, finally, those to the *enomotia* or each petty corps. Thus the orders, in whatever they wish to be done, quickly move and pass through the whole: for almost all the army of the Lacedæmonians, except a few, are in command over others also in command, and the care of what is to be done is incumbent on many.

LXVII. On the present occasion, at their left wing [1] were posted the Sciritæ [2], who among the Lacedæmonians have

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[4] *For when a king leads, &c.*] The power of the Lacedæmonian kings, like that of most such in the early ages, was chiefly exerted in time of war and battle; in time of peace it was much restricted. See Hudson, who refers to Kragius de Repub. Laced. 4, 4. Much to the present purpose are the following passages. Aristid. 3. 233. *καὶ τοῖς βουλεύμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς χερσὶ πολεμεῖν. ὥσπερ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιχώριον εἶναι δοκεῖ.* Onosand. 89. *Δεῖ δὲ τοῖς πρώτοις ἡγεμόσιν εἰπεῖν· ἐκείνους δὲ ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς μετ' αὐτούς· εἶτα τούτους τοῖς κατόπιν· εἶτα ἐξῆς ἄχρι τῶν τελευταίων.*

[5] *Polemarchs.*] Or generals.

[6] *Lochagi.*] These are, usually, paralleled with our *colonels*. It is, however, impossible accurately to express any of these terms by corresponding ones in the Roman soldiery, much less that of any modern nation. See the authors cited by Duker. On the whole military system of the Spartans Goeller refers to Mueller d. Dorer. t. 2. p. 231, 12. where, inter alia, he remarks that in the Lacedæmonian armies almost all the soldiers were in some command; for, to descend to the enomotia, not only the enomotarchæ were in command, but also the protostatæ, or leaders of the files, were so: and throughout the whole enomotia a protostates and epistates were joined." For details concerning the enomotia Goeller refers to Mueller ubi supra, p. 238. It may be proper, too, to consult Potter, Antiq. 2, 60.

Smith annotates thus: " The Lacedæmonian *mora*, or brigade, consisted of four *lochi*, or battalions, = 2048 men; for a *lochos*, or battalion, consisted of four *pentecosties*, or companies = 512 men; a *pentecosty*, or company, of four *enomatiæ*, or platoons, = 128 men; and each enomatia, or platoon, consisted of 32. This is the account of Thucydides, who computes the platoon by 4 in front and 8 in depth. The platoon consisted, therefore, of 32; which, also × by 4, = 512, the number of a battalion. The number of battalions was seven, which shows the number of Lacedæmonians to have been 3584; and then, with the addition of 600 *Sciritæ*, who were posted on the left, to have amounted, in the whole, to 4184 men. Or again, the whole front line, = 448 × 8, the number in depth, is equal to 3584, + 600 Sciritæ, = 4184."

[1] *At their left wing.*] And, probably, at the termination of it.

[2] *Sciritæ.*] A corps always numbered apart, and at the time of the Peloponnesian war consisting of 600. It always in march led the column,

constantly and alone that place assigned by themselves. Next to these were posted the soldiers who fought under Brasidas in Thrace, and with them the Neodamodes [3] (or recently made free). Next to them in order the Lacedæmonians themselves drew up in battalions, and by them stood, of the Arcadians,

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in camp occupied the wings, and in battle occupied the left. What were the arms they used we know not, except that, from the kind of services to which they were appointed (always the most arduous and dangerous), it could scarcely have been heavy armour. In the most antient times these inhabited a district called Sciritis, bordering on that of Parrhasia in Arcadia. Their military duties seem to have been defined by certain compacts. Their manner of fighting was Arcadian. (Mueller d. Dorer, t. 2. p. 242.)

It may be added from Diodor. Sic. t. 6. 345. that these Sciritæ were always formed apart and in a situation of their own, *with the king;* were always sent to aid those who were hard pressed, and, consisting of the most select troops, always made a great impression in the day of battle. Timæus Lex. Plat. says that they consisted of six hundred men, and were always the first to enter upon the battle, and the last to retreat. Xenophon Cyr. 4, 2, 1. says that they were always foremost in the most laborious and dangerous service.

In these accounts, however, there is somewhat of inconsistency; for if their place was always on the left flank, how could they act as a corps de reserve? No other writer, I believe, but Diodorus says that the king had his station with them. He must, however, be mistaken in this assertion. That place would, probably, be in the *centre*, where, certainly (as we learn further on), Agis was on this occasion. Notwithstanding what Mueller says, they must, I conceive, have been heavy infantry; for how, otherwise, could they occupy an important post in the *line of battle?* As to their being put upon the most difficult and dangerous services, that is not strange, since they had, doubtless, many peculiar advantages; and great privileges must ever be expected to carry with them correspondent obligations to the performance of important duties.

On their *original* state there is no certain information. If it were true that their mode of fighting was Arcadian, I should be inclined to conjecture that the district called Sciritis was formerly part of Arcadia; but that, on the inhabitants forming a close and perpetual connection with Laconia, it came at length to be considered as part of that country; and, being now a frontier province, it was necessary to encourage the people to warlike pursuits by granting them great privileges (something like those granted to the military colonies, or other frontier provinces, by the empire of Russia, as long as Turkey was formidable to that power). From what follows, these Sciritæ appear not to have been considered as Lacedæmonians.

[3] *Neodamodes.*] On these see note supra, c. 34. That these persons, whether superior to manumitted Helots or not, were yet not considered as completely Lacedæmonians, is clear from the words following. And that they *did differ* from manumitted Helots, is countenanced by the words of this sentence; for the Brasidian soldiers just before mentioned were such, and here we find them considered as distinct. Now the term νεὸς may here be comparative, as in the parallel Latin phrase *novi* homines; for even those were often persons whose family was not very *recent.*

the Heræans [4], and after them the Mænalians [5], and on the right wing the Tegeans [6] and a few of the Lacedæmonians [7], who closed the wing. The cavalry was stationed at either wing.[8]

Such was the order of battle formed by the Lacedæmonians. On the side of the enemy, the Mantinæans occupied the right wing, because the battle was in their territory [9]; next them stood such of the Arcadians as were their allies [10], and after them the thousand select troops of the Argives, to whom the state had for a long time afforded the means for being trained in warlike exercises at the public expense [11]; next to these were

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[4] *Heræans.*] Heræa was situated on the right bank of the Alpheus, and not far from Triphylia in Elis. See Pausan. 8. 26, 1. Polyb. 4, 78. It is also mentioned by Livy, Pliny, and other writers referred to by Cellarius. Most, it should seem, if not all of the south-west corner of Arcadia, and the territory on the left bank of the Alpheus, was on the Lacedæmonian side. The place is supposed to have been near the present *Agiani.*

[5] *Mænalians.*] In these are included the troops of Orestéum, which had lately joined the Lacedæmonian alliance. The Parrhasians are not mentioned; but from what was said supra, c. 29., there is no reason to doubt but that they were on the side of the Lacedæmonians.

[6] *On the right wing the Tegeans.*] This situation they claimed as a right; as appears from Herod. 9, 26. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εὑρόμεθα ἐν τοῖσι Πελοποννησίοισι τοῖσι τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀεὶ ἡγεμονεύειν, κοινῆς ἐξόδου γινομένης.

[7] *A few of the Lacedæmonians.*] Perhaps, some corps which by right claimed the post of honour, which was the last place on the right wing.

[8] *Their cavalry was stationed at either wing.*] As usual. So Eurip. Suppl. 660. ἱππότην τ' ὄχλον πρὸς κρασπέδοισι στρατοπέδου τεταγμένων. Xen. Hist. 3, 2, 16. τοὺς δὲ πελτάστας ἐπὶ τὰ κράσπεδα ἑκατερώθεν καθιστάσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας.

[9] *Because the battle was in their territory.*] It seems it was the custom in allied armies to assign this *post of honour* to the troops of the country in which any engagement was to be fought. This was dictated by both prudence and propriety; for here they seemed the principals, and would be likely to fight the best, as having to defend every thing valuable to them.

[10] *Such of the Arcadians as were their allies.*] This must certainly be the sense, and not that which Smith assigns, "the allies from Arcadia;" for were not the Mantinæans Arcadians? The article is put for the possessive pronoun.

[11] *To whom the state had, &c.*] Thus they differed in no respect from the *solidati* of the lower empire, and the *soldiers* of modern times. The words "for a long time" must, I conceive, refer only to the period when, by the reverses of the Lacedæmonians, the Argives began to entertain hopes of recovering their antient sway in Peloponnesus. Indeed, Diod. Sic. 12, 75. expressly says that at that period they selected the youngest and strongest of their citizens, whom they discharged from all other public business, and supplying with support at the public charge, directed them continually to attend to military exercises.

the rest of the Argives, and after them their allies, the Cleonæans and Orneates [12]; and last of all the Athenians, on the left wing, and together with them their own cavalry.[13]

LXVIII. Such was the order and disposition on both sides. The army of the Lacedæmonians appeared to be the larger; but as to recording its number, either of the whole or its parts, I was not able to attain any accurate inform-

ἀριθμὸν γράψαι οὐκ ἂν ἠδυνάμην ἀκριβῶς,

Hence it will appear how erroneous is the version of Smith, "exercised in the study of arms *at the public school* at Argos." The very term παρεῖχε would suggest the above sense of δημοσίᾳ, which is frequent in Thucydides, whereas that assigned by Smith is unheard of in any author.

[12] *Cleonæans and Orneates.*] Or inhabitants of Cleonæ and Orneæ, the former of which was situated in the most northern part of Argolis, and on the borders of Corinthia, on a high hill in the road from Argos to Corinth, as Wasse shows from Xenophon, Plutarch, and Statius. In none of the maps, however (not even Cramer's), is it rightly placed, though its distance from Corinth is correctly laid down by Arrowsmith and Cramer. It is thought to have formerly occupied the place where Sanvasili is now situated; but Dodwell has shown that it was at the present Hourtese. Chandler, c. 57. only remarks some small ruins; but Dodwell, 2, 206. more at large describes the place as "situated upon a circular and insulated hill, which seems to have been completely covered with buildings. On the side of the hill are six antient terrace walls, of the third style of masonry, rising one above another, on which the houses and streets were situated." The place is said to yet retain its name, being called Cligne.

With respect to the origin of the appellation, it is, as usual, referred by geographers to a son of some hero. But it is more rational to refer it to some natural peculiarity; and as κλῶνες is explained by Hesych. αἱ ἐκφύσεις τῶν δένδρων, and Schleusner, in his Lexicon Vet. Test. says it seems in general to denote τὰ ἄκρα, the *top of any thing;* also as we have seen that Cleonæ was situated on the top of a hill, being called by Statius *turritæ*, we may at once perceive the origin of the appellation; for κλῶνες is a contraction for κλεόνες, and κλεόνη differs only in form from κλέων.

Of Orneæ the situation cannot exactly be fixed; for the words of Strabo are very vague. It was, doubtless, somewhere in the north-west corner of Argolis, and, as would appear from the words of Pausanias 2, 25, 5. (τὰ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Ὀρνεῶν ἥ τε Σικυωνία καὶ ἡ Φλιασία ἐστιν) somewhat nearer to Sicyon than Phliasia; at least I cannot think that our maps correctly represent it as being on the south of Phliasia, and with that territory interposed between it and Sicyon.

The origin of the name is by Pausanias referred to a son of Erectheus. That derivation, however, seems doubtful. We may suppose the place to have been so called from its *site*, probably a hill which was much frequented by *birds*. So Psalm 11, 2. "flee as a bird unto the hill." Many modern names of places would support this derivation. So Thisbe in Bœotia, which was on the edge of a rock, both in the time of Homer and now abounds in wild pigeons. See Dodwell's Greece, 1, 258.

[13] *Their own cavalry.*] We may, perhaps, infer from this that the Argives and their allies had some cavalry, though they might be few; for it was not usual to leave a wing without such.

ation [1]; for the number of the Lacedæmonians, by reason of the concealed secrecy of their polity, was not known; and as to the other side, then number has, considering the natural propensity of men to boast of their own number, been disbelieved. However, from the following mode of reckoning, one may form some idea of the number of Lacedæmonians then present. For there were in the battle seven *lochi*, besides the Sciritæ (who were six hundred), and in each lochos there were four pentecosties, and in each pentecosty four enomotiæ. Of each enomotia there fought, in the first rank [2], four. Now, in depth, all were not alike ranged, but as each lochagus thought necessary; however, upon the whole (or on the average), they were stationed eight deep; and the front rank of the whole, besides the Sciritæ, amounted to four hundred and forty-eight.[3]

LXIX. When the armies were ready to engage, hortatory addresses were made on either side by their respective commanders: to the *Mantinæans*, "that the contest would be for their country, and, moreover, for rule or for bondage, — that they might not be deprived of the former, and not again experience [4] the latter:" to the *Argives*, "that the contest was

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[1] *I was not able to attain any accurate information.*] Thus teaching us what credit is due to writers incomparably farther removed from means of information, who pretend to state with precision the force of contending armies. (Mitford).

[2] *First rank.*] Ζυγῷ. A military term used by Ælian, Arrian, Polyb. 18, 12, 5. and 13, 2. 3, 81, 2. 1, 45, 9. 2, 69, 5. Polyæn. 2, 10, 4.

[3] *Amounted to four hundred and forty-eight.*] Mueller (as cited by Goeller) thinks that the difference in depth of the several lochi was purposely ordered, to prevent the enemy from calculating the whole number. "However (he adds), it appears from Thucydides that the total number at the battle of Mantinæa in the lochi amounted to 3544; adding to these the 300 royal body guards, about 400 horse at both wings, and, finally, those guarding the baggage and stationed at the right wing to close the line, perhaps about 500. Thus there would be 4784 heavy infantry. The sixth part had, however, been sent home, which being added, the total number will be 5740; not, indeed, such a number as the warlike fame of the Spartans would lead us to expect, but which, like a snow-ball, would increase to a considerable number by the accession of the quotas from the various allies." Therefore, the rest of the troops in the field consisted of heavy or light infantry from the allies, and light troops of various sorts from the Helots; not to mention the Sciritæ, whom Mueller has not taken into the account, as not, properly speaking, Lacedæmonians.

[4] *Again experience.*] As they had done under the Lacedæmonians.

for their antient dominion, and that they ought not to endure to be deprived for ever of the equal share of authority which they formerly held in Peloponnesus [5], but to avenge themselves on enemies and borderers [6], for multiplied injuries." To the Athenians the arguments urged were, "that it was for their honour, when thus contesting in company with so many and brave associates, not to be outdone by any; and that by conquering the Lacedæmonian or Peloponnesian ground, they would hold their dominion in greater security, and with enlargement, and that never would enemy again proceed to invade their territory." Such was the substance of the exhortations addressed to the Argives and their allies.

But the Lacedæmonians, each of them, and with warlike songs, addressed one to another the exhortation of remembrance, to such as were brave, respecting what they were well aware of, that long-continued practice of deeds is more efficacious than any eloquently-conceived admonition of *words* for *the moment*.[7]

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[5] *The contest was for their antient dominion, &c.*] This passage, Hack and Goeller remark, has reference to antient and fabulous times. It is proper, however, to observe, that the words contain a reference to two things, and two periods: first, the dominion which they exercised in Peloponnesus in the heroic ages, and up to the Trojan war; secondly, that equal portion of authority which they, in after times and up to the Persian war, maintained. Both these are adverted to in Herod. 7, 148. (cited by Hack), where the Argives thus answer to the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, urging them to unite in hostilities against the Persian: ὡς ἑτοῖμοί εἰσι Ἀργεῖοι ποιέειν ταῦτα, τριήκοντα ἔτεα εἰρήνην σπεισάμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοισι, καὶ ἡγεόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ πάσης τῆς συμμαχίης· καίτοι κατά γε τὸ δίκαιον γίνεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἐωῦταν, ἀλλ' ὅμως σφι ἀποχρᾶν κατὰ τὸ ἥμισυ ἡγεομένοισι. At c. 149. the Lacedæmonians offer them the *third*. They, however, lost all by their base selfishness, and want of patriotism. The orator then exhorts them to fight for the *former*, and not to endure being for ever deprived, at least, of the *latter*.

[6] *Enemies and borderers.*] In order to understand this, we must bear in mind that Thucydides every where represents, in the then divided state of Greece, the *borderers* of each territory as its natural *enemies*, and most to be guarded against. Not to multiply quotations, one example will suffice, 4, 92. Ἀθηναίους δὲ, καὶ προσέτι ὁμόρους ὄντας, πολλῷ μάλιστα δεῖ. Πρὸς τε γὰρ τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας πᾶσι τὸ ἀντίπαλον καὶ ἐλεύθερον καθίσταται.

[7] *But the Lacedæmonians, &c.*] Such seems to be the full sense of this perplexed passage, of which Mueller ap. Goeller offers the following construction: Λακεδαιμονίοι δὲ καθ' ἑκάστους τε καὶ μετὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν νόμων τὴν παρακέλευσιν ἐποιοῦντο ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀγαθοῖς οὖσι μεμνῆσθαι, ὧν ἠπίσταντο. And he renders thus: "Lacedæmonii vero tum singuli singulos, tum una cantu bellico invicem se monuerunt, ut eorum, quæ didicissent, pro

LXX. After this came on the engagement, to which the Argives and their allies marched on with vehement impetuosity [1]; but the Lacedæmonians slowly, and to the music of many pipers [2] stationed in the ranks by military law, and not

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fortitudine sua meminissent." There is, however, something exceedingly harsh and truly *Abreschian* in the above construction. The *following* construction I have long considered as at once simple and true: *Λακεδαιμονίοι δὲ καθ' ἑκάστους τε καὶ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐποιοῦντο, μετὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν νόμων, τὴν παρακέλευσιν τῆς μνήμης ἀγαθοῖς οὖσιν (περὶ) ὧν ἠπίσταντο.*

The expression *τὴν παρακέλευσιν τῆς μνήμης* seems to be for *τὴν παρακ. τῆς μνήμης* (*ἕνεκα*). And there is a breviloquentia for *παρακέλευσιν καὶ ὑπόμνημα.*

The best commentary on the passage is a kindred one in the oration of Brasidas, 4, 126. *εἰ μὴ ὑπώπτευον — οὐκ ἂν διδαχὴν ἅμα τῇ παρακελεύσει ἐποιούμην. Νῦν δὲ — βραχεῖ ὑπομνήματι, καὶ παραινέσει τὰ μέγιστα πειράσομαι πείθειν.* With the *λόγων καλῶς ῥηθεῖσαν παραίνεσιν*, I would compare 6, 68. *Αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ παρασκευὴ ἱκανωτέρα μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι θάρσος παρασχεῖν, ἢ καλῶς λεχθέντες λόγοι μετὰ ἀσθενοῦς στρατοπέδου.* And Xen. Cyr. 3, 3, 55. *Θαυμάζοιμ' ἂν εἴ τι πλέον ἂν ὠφελήσειε λόγος καλῶς ῥηθεὶς εἰς ἀνδραγαθίαν.* Mitford well paraphrases thus: "The Lacedæmonians use speeches of exhortation less than any other Greeks; well knowing that discipline, long and carefully practised, gives more confidence to troops than any harangue, however fine, and however ingeniously *adapted* to the occasion."

Now these exhortations were accompanied with what are here called *νόμοι πολεμικοί*, by which are meant military tunes or airs, both vocal and instrumental, but chiefly the former. The Scholiast says they were hortatory (perhaps many of them written by Tyrtæus), and were called *ἐμβατήρια*. And so Hesych., where see the interpreters. Thus they were like our *marches*, except that the latter are purely *instrumental.*

The sense here of *νόμος* is somewhat rare; but it occurs in Xen. Anab. 5, 4., where it is said of the Monosœci rushing to battle, *ἅμα ἐχόρευον νόμῳ τινὶ ἄδοντες*. Lucian, also, 2, 273, 95. represents the Lacedæmonians as going to battle *πρὸς αὐλὸν καὶ ῥυθμὸν, καὶ εὔτακτον ἐμβασιν πόδος*. And Plutarch Lycurg. c. 22. says, that Lycurgus bid the pipers play the Castoræan tune, and himself set off with the *ἐμβατηρίου παίανος*.

This custom, among others, the Lacedæmonians borrowed from the Cretans; as appears from Athen. 517, 2. And we learn from Herod. there cited by Athenæus, that a similar custom prevailed among the Lydians. Such also appears from Polybius and Pausan. 3, 17, 5.

[1] *With vehement impetuosity.*] *Ἐντόνως καὶ ὀργῇ* form an Hendiadys; nor is it necessary, with Gellius and Heringa, to read *ὀργῇ*. The above sense of *ὀργῇ* is confirmed by Pausan. 10, 21. *οἱ δὲ ἐν ὀργῇ καὶ θυμῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους — ἐχώρουν.* and Appian, 2, 464, 82. *ἐπελθὼν αὐτῷ σὺν ὀργῇ.*

[2] *To the music of many pipers.*] It is well remarked by Smith, that Milton had this passage in mind in the following noble passage of his Paradise Lost, b. 1.

> Of depth immeasurable. Anon they move,
> In perfect phalanx, to the Dorian mood
> Of flutes and soft recorders; such as raised
> To highth of noblest temper heroes old,
> Arming to battle, and, instead of rage,
> Deliberate valour breathed, firm, and unmoved
> With dread of death to flight or foul retreat.

for any religious reason[3], but in order that, stepping[4] by measure, they may advance evenly, and their ranks not be disordered, as is usually the case in large armies, in their approaches.

LXXI. While the armies were now closing in combat, King Agis bethought himself of a certain expedient.[5] It is observed that the lines of all armies, in their advances to battle, are rather pushed[6] out towards the right wing; so that either side, with the right wing, outflank and stretch beyond the left of the enemy; and this because each one, through fear, seeks, as much as possible, to shelter his unguarded side under the shield of the man stationed next to him on the right, and thinks that, by so doing, the closeness of the inlocking is their best defence.[7] The cause of this originates in the first man on the right in each file, who is continually desirous to shift off his unguarded side from the enemy, and the rest, from the same fear, follow him. Thus, on the present occasion, the

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[3] *For any religious reason.*] As for the performance of hymns to the gods. So Gellius "rei Divinæ gratiâ." Νόμου, indeed, is found in several MSS., and read by some critics. But it cannot be admitted, not only as being unnecessary to the phrase, ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν πολλῶν (on which see Matth. Gr. Gr.), but because such, I conceive, is never found with it. And, moreover, it would require the article, while νόμῳ scarcely would admit it.

[4] *In order that stepping, &c.*] Mitford well paraphrases thus: "stepping in exact time to the sound of numerous flutes, and thus preserving their front compact and even, without any breaking or floating, the seldom failing defects of extensive lines."

[5] *Bethought himself of adopting a certain expedient.*] From the dispositions adopted by Agis in the preceding campaign, as well as in the present battle, he appears to have been an able general.

[6] *Are rather pushed out.*] Ἐξωθεῖσθαι is a vox solennis de hac re; as Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 350, 8. Arrian, E. A. 2, 10, 8.

[7] *Because each one, &c.*] The passage is thus paraphrased by Mitford: "for, engaging hand to hand, the shield, the principal defence, being borne on the left arm, was less a protection for the right side; and the soldier in the extreme of the right wing, to avoid exposing the undefended part of his body, would always rather incline to the right. The man, then, next on the left, and so every man in the line, would also press rather toward the right, to profit from the protection of his neighbour's shield.

The words περίσχουσι, προστέλλειν, and ξυγλήσεως, as also πρωτοστάτης, ἐξαλλάττειν, and ἐξισῶσαι further on, are military terms, and will be explained and illustrated with examples, in my edition.

Throughout this passage we observe a thorough knowledge of the minutiæ of military affairs, such as none but a military could fully acquire.

Mantinæans far outflanked the wing where the Scirites were posted; and the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans yet more that of the Athenians, inasmuch as their army was the larger. But Agis fearing lest his left should be surrounded, and thinking that the Mantinæans were too far outflanking him [8], gave orders to the Scirites and Brasidean corps to draw off from [9] their present post, thus equalising their left [10] to the right of the Mantinæans; and into the vacant space [11] he orders Hipponoïdes and Aristocles to advance from the right with two brigades of the polemarchs: this he did, thinking that there was yet an abundant force on the right, and that the wing opposed to the Mantinæans would thus be the firmer.

LXXII. It so happened, however (inasmuch as the order was issued at the very onset, and on the sudden), that Aristocles and Hipponoïdes were not disposed [1] to make the movement (and for that were afterwards banished from Sparta, as being thought to have disobeyed out of cowardice [2]), and that the enemy charged; and that when, on the brigades not making the advance, orders were issued to the Sciritæ to again draw up to their line, they were no longer able, nor could they close in. [3] However, the Lacedæmonians, though on that

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[8] *Too far outflanking him.*] Namely, so as to be enabled to come round upon them in the rear.

[9] *Draw off from.*] I am inclined to suspect that for ἐπεξαγάγοντας should be read ὑπεξ. Yet I have observed a similar use of ἐπεξάγειν, in Plutarch Anton. c. 45., unless that passage be *also* corrupt.

[10] *Equalising their left.*] This use of ἐξισῶσαι is rare; but I have observed something like it in Dionys. Hal. Ant. 613, 31. ἀεὶ τὸ κάμνον μέρος ἀνισοῦντες τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐφεδρείαις τεταγμένοις.

[11] *Vacant space.*] The phrase, ἐς τὸ διάκενον, has already occurred at 4, 135.; and this use of διάκενος is, I believe, peculiar to Thucydides. In the very same manner the phrase, ἐς τὸ κενούμενον, is used by Xenophon Œcon. 8, 7. εἰς γὰρ τὸ κενούμενον ἀεὶ ὄπισθεν ἐπέρχονται. Yet there would seem some propriety in the δια: for Arrian, E. A. 3, 14, 3., in a kindred passage, has, παραῤῥηξάντων τὸ τῆς πρώτης φάλαγγος τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐπιστρέψας κατὰ τὸ διέχον.

[1] *Were not disposed.*] i. e. hesitated. While they were hesitating, as thinking the enemy too near, or the movement a most injudicious one, the enemy had closed with the line, and the movement became impossible.

[2] *Cowardice.*] This seems to have been an unjust imputation, cast on them to add bitterness to their punishment; for disobedience of orders would of itself have warranted a punishment even more severe than that of banishment.

[3] *And that when, on the brigades, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense

occasion altogether inferior in military science, yet showed themselves as much superior in personal bravery.[4] For after

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of the very obscure and perplexed passage κελεύσαντος — ξυγλεῖσαι, which has been misapprehended by the translators, and greatly neglected by the commentators. Hack has contributed *something* to the better understanding of the sentence, by suggesting that κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ is not to be taken with οὐ παρῆλθον. But, in other respects, he has failed; and to refer the clause μηδὲ τούτους ξυγλεῖσαι to πολεμίους, is very irregular, and yields a sense wholly unsuitable: the construction seems to be, καὶ (ξυνέβη) ὡς οὐ παρῆλθον οἱ λόχοι, κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκιρίτας πάλιν αὖ σφισι προσμίξαι, μὴ δυνᾶσθαι ἔτι τούτους, μηδὲ ξυγκλεῖσαι. Or if the syntax κελεύσαντος ἐπὶ τινά be thought too anomalous, we may construe thus: οὐ παρῆλθον οἱ λόχοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκιρίτας, κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ σφισι πρόσμιξαι. But that involves scarcely less irregularity of *another* kind, and I therefore acquiesce in the former, especially as such must have been the way in which the passage was taken by the antient commentators, as appears by the subaudition which the Scholiast directs to be made after οὐ παρῆλθον. As to the anomaly of syntax (which, however, is but small, since most verbs that govern a dative, *admit* also of an accusative with ἐπὶ) our author is full of such. At all events, we might remove it by reading for ἐπὶ, ἔτι: for κελεύειν admits also the *accusative*. See Matth. Gr. Gr. § 380.

[4] *However, the Lacedæmonians, though, &c.*] Here, again, difficulties present themselves, which few of the commentators attempt to remove. The sense assigned in the version is such as I have long thought to be inherent in the words of the original; and my opinion is much confirmed by Mitford, who has taken a more correct view of the sense than the translators. He truly observes, that "Smith has certainly missed the sense. Thucydides could not mean here to speak disrespectfully of that military art and discipline of the Lacedæmonians, which, in the preface to his account of this very battle, he has taken occasion to describe, admirable in theory, and well supported by practice; and which, in his account of the battle itself, he shows to have been no less admirable in effect." "Κατὰ πάντα (he adds) must have been intended to relate to the circumstances of the battle, and not to any circumstances of the military art; and by ἐμπειρία has been meant the experience and science of the general, and not the skill of the soldier." To the former of these observations I certainly accede; but I cannot entirely assent to the latter position. It would be harsh so to take κατὰ πάντα; for what fault did Agis commit but that (if, indeed, it were one) of issuing the first order? The second was certainly judicious. And further, to take τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ of the state of the *general only*, is equally at variance with every principle of sound interpretation. The truth is, that the words refer *also*, though, perhaps, in a less degree, to the skill of the soldier. For the Lacedæmonians, notwithstanding their high discipline, seem to have been, by their characteristic tardiness, deficient in those rapid evolutions which often decide the event of a battle. Besides, as Hack observes, the Lacedæmonian army, though very numerous, was *one of all sorts*, including Helots. It must be remembered, too, that the assertion is confined to what took place *on that day* (τότε), and, therefore, in this sense the author's words are fully justified. For the enemy showed no deficiency either in the science of the commanders, or the skill of the privates.

Some recent commentators, as Bauer and Goeller, would remove the difficulty by taking τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ of the skill of the *enemy*; τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ, of the bravery of the *Spartans*. And this method has been adopted by Dr. Mid-

they had come to close fighting with the enemy, the right wing of the Mantinæans did, indeed, rout the Sciritæ and Brasidæans; and the Mantinæans and their allies, with the thousand select Argives, falling on at the interval [5] not yet closed, killed some of the Lacedæmonians [6]; and surrounding them, routed and drove them to their baggage-waggons [7], and slew some veterans there posted. Here, then, the Lacedæmonians were defeated. But in the rest of the field, and especially in the centre (where was King Agis, and around him what are called the three hundred horse [8]), falling upon

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dleton on the Greek Article, p. 127. But, surely, the learned prelate would never have taken up with so groundless a fancy, had it not been convenient so to do, in order to take the passage from the hands of those who opposed his system of the article. He would have been far too clear-sighted not to have perceived how inadmissible is such an interpretation, had not his canon, on the presence or absence of the article, been at least a *mote* in his eye. Yet as he adduced this passage as an example of the use of the article for the possessive pronoun, it might have been sufficient to have rendered, "outdone in their skill, but supreme in their courage." In fact, however, neither in this nor in the other example adduced by the learned prelate, has the article such a sense; and they should both have been referred to a preceding class, namely, of *nouns used in their most abstract sense.*

[5] *At the interval.*] Namely, between the end of the line, and that of the Scirites and Brasidæans, who, it seems, had so far obeyed the orders of the general, as to come forward towards the line, but could not close in.

The διακείμενον of one of the MSS. is for διακενούμενον, on which see supra, c. 71, 8.

[6] *Killed some of the Lacedæmonians.*] This, I conceive, refers not to the Scirites and Brasidæans alone (as the commentators suppose), but also that part of the left wing with which the Scirites should have closed.

[7] *Surrounding them, routed and, &c.*] This must, I think, be understood chiefly of the Scirites and Brasidæans, who, being insulated from the line, were liable to be surrounded. Some of these must have been slain in their retreat to the baggage-waggons; though, strange to say, Thucydides only relates that *some* of the *veterans stationed at the baggage* were slain; which implies no great loss.

[8] *What are called the three hundred horse.*] It would appear by Herodotus, 6, 56. to have been *one* hundred, which was probably the usual number for the king's body guard in battle. But the *total* number seems to have been *three* hundred, all of which would be called out on this occasion, as the levy had been *en masse*. Besides, this number is confirmed by Herodotus himself, 7, 205. and 8, 124.; for there Larcher and Schweighausser have proved that we are to understand the same corps as in this passage of Thucydides. They have also shown from Strabo, 10, 420. seq., that though *called* horse, they were not really mounted. And this is confirmed by the account of Thucydides; for horse were never stationed in the centre, but at the flanks. Thus, then, it would appear that ἱππεῖς was used with the same latitude of signification as the French *chevalier;* and one might suppose that Thucydides refers to this misnomer,

the *veterans* of the Argives, and what are called *the five* battalions[9], also the Cleonæans, Orneates, and such of the Athenians as were stationed by them, they routed them, who, indeed, for the most part, did not stand to exchange blows; but, as soon as the Lacedæmonians advanced, immediately gave way, and some were even trodden under foot, in their haste to avoid being surrounded.

LXXIII. As soon as the army of the Argives and their allies had given way here, those on either side broke asunder, and, at the same time, the right wing of the Lacedæmonians and Tegeans came round the Athenians with their environing[1] line; and thus danger met them on every side, having been partly encompassed, and partly already vanquished. They must, indeed, have suffered most of the whole army, had not the cavalry present with them[2] been exceedingly serviceable[3]; and because it happened that Agis, on perceiving his left wing, which was opposite to the Mantinæans and the *thousand* of the Argives, in a distressed condition, gave orders to the whole army to move towards the vanquished part. Whereupon, in the meantime, the Athenians, on his passing them by, and drawing off the army from them, secured their retreat without molestation, and with them went the vanquished part of the Argives. As to the Mantinæans, and their allies, and the select troops of the Argives, they were no longer of the mind to press upon their enemies; but, seeing their own side to be vanquished, and the enemy charging upon them,

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by subjoining καλουμένους, but that ὠνομασμένους occurs just after in the same sense.

9 *The five battalions.*] On the words πέντε λόχοις the commentators make no remark. To me it seems that the Scholiast has *rightly* proposed to read πεντελόχοις (or rather Πεντελόχοις), which, he truly says, was equivalent to ἀρχιλόχοις, a name signifying the first (or principal) five battalions. Hence, perhaps, may be emended a very corrupt passage of Hesych. Μόρα — τάγμα· παρὰ γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίοις οἱ πατρίλοχοι, Μόρα αὖθις ὀνομασθέντες. where I would read Λακεδ. οἱ γ' ἀρχίλοχοι, and for αὖθις, αὐτοῖς.

1 *Environing.*] i. e. outflanking.

2 *Present with them.*] Not "which went to them," as Hobbes renders; for the (i. e. their own) cavalry was stationed by them, at the end of the line.

3 *Serviceable.*] Namely, in preventing them from being surrounded.

took to flight. Many of the Mantinæans were slain[4]; but of the select troops of the Argives, the greater part effected their escape. The flight, however, and retreat were not precipitate[5], nor to any great distance; for the Lacedæmonians, in battle, fight long, and stand firm to the contest, until they have routed the enemy; but that done, their pursuits are short, and to no great distance.

LXXIV. Such, then, or very nearly so, were the circumstances of the battle, the greatest that had occurred among the Greeks for a considerable time, and fought[6] by the most considerable states. And now the Lacedæmonians, after publicly piling the arms[7] of the enemy's dead, immediately raised a trophy, and stripped the corpses[8]; and having taken up their own dead, and conveyed them to Tegea for interment, they restored those of the enemy under truce. There fell of the Argives, Orneates, and Cleonæans, seven hundred; of the Mantinæans and of the Athenians, with the Æginetes[9], two hundred, and both the commanders. As to the allies of the Lacedæmonians, they were not so hotly engaged as to suffer any loss worth mentioning. Of the Lacedæmonians themselves it was difficult to learn the truth; but they were said to be about three hundred.

LXXV. When the battle was about to be commenced, Plistoanax, the other king[1], advanced to give aid with those above and under the military age; and he had come as far as Tegea,

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4 *Many of the Mantinæans were slain.*] Not *most,* as Hobbes renders; for their loss was but two hundred.

5 *Precipitate.*] On this sense of *βιαῖος* see note on 2, 33.

6 *Fought.*] Ξυνελθοῦσα. Some read ξυνελθούσων: but the common must surely be retained, as being supported by all the MSS. We may render, "conflatum bellum."

7 *Publicly piling the arms.*] Of this I remember no other mention

8 *Stripped the corpses.*] Quod alias facere non solebant. V. Ælian. V. H. 6, 6. et Mueller l. l. (Goeller).

9 *Æginetes.*] These were the colony of Athenians and others planted there, on the expulsion of the Æginetes. See 2, 27.

10 *The other king.*] Lex Spartæ lata, ut scribit Herodotus 5, 75. non licere prodeunte exercitu utrumque regem comitari. Hac tamen lege non obstante Plistoanax, quum bellum Agis gereret adversus Argivos et Mantinenses, duxit et ipse copias ex junioribus et senioribus conscriptas. Vid. Cragium 4, 4. Huds. Adde Muellerum, l. l. p. 105. (Goeller).

when, hearing of the victory [2], he retreated. And those allies who were advancing from Corinth, and beyond the isthmus, the Lacedæmonians sent and turned back, and themselves retreating and dismissing their allies (for the Carnea [3] happened to be at that time), kept the festival. And thus the accusation which had been brought against them by the Greeks, on the score of cowardice, by reason of the calamity in the island, and for their tardiness and want of judgment, was, by this one achievement, completely wiped away, being, as it was thought, forced to cower by fortune, but in mind continuing the same they had ever been.[4]

On the day before this battle, it happened that the Epidaurians, with their whole force, made an irruption into the Argean territory, as destitute of defence, and killed many of those who had been left as guards when the Argives went forth.

And now the three thousand Elean heavy infantry coming up for aid after the battle, and one thousand Athenians in addition to the former force, they, with the allies, immediately went on an expedition against Epidaurus [5], while the Lacedæ-

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[2] *Hearing of the victory.*] Plutarch Agis 33. tells us: *τῷ πρώτῳ φράσαντι τὴν νίκην οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐκ φειδιτίου κρέας ἐπεμψαν εὐαγγέλιον ἀλλὸ δ' οὐδέν.*

[3] *Carnea.*] The Carneian festival occupied the Lacedæmonians at a very inconvenient season for a military people. Regulated, as all the Grecian festivals, by the revolutions of the moon, it began this year about the 7th of August. Its principal ceremonies lasted nine days: but the whole month, named among the Dorian Greeks the Carneian, was, in a degree, dedicated to religious festivity. In the rude ages of the Heracleids and of Lycurgus, this check to military enterprise might be salutary: but in days of more refined and extensive policy, when wars, not of choice but of political necessity, might be to be maintained against states capable of supporting lasting hostilities, such avocations should no longer have been allowed to interrupt public business. (Mitford).

[4] *The accusation which had been brought, &c.*] The passage is well paraphrased by Mitford thus: "The misfortunes, the misconduct, and the apparent slackness of the Lacedæmonians, in the course of the war with Athens, were in consequence no longer attributed to any degeneracy in the people, but to the mismanagement of the leaders, and the chance of war; a contempt which had been gaining for the Spartan institutions and discipline, as if hitherto respected above their worth, was done away; and the Spartan character resumed its wonted superiority."

[5] *And the three thousand Elean, &c.*] Mitford remarks, that "the arrival of a thousand Athenian and three thousand Elian heavy-armed, to join the Argean army, must have enhanced the regret and indignation of all thinking men in the Argean confederacy, at that petulant impatience and unadvised rashness inherent in democratical government, which had superinduced their defeat."

monians kept the Carnea; and, dividing the circuit of the city amongst them, erected a wall of circumvallation. The rest, indeed, gave over the work [6]; but the Athenians, as they were appointed, immediately accomplished the fortifying of the *acra* or hill whereon stood the temple of Juno. And by this time, after draughting a certain quota from each corps as a garrison, they retreated each to their cities; and thus terminated the summer.

LXXVI. Immediately on the commencement of the ensuing winter, the Lacedæmonians, after they had celebrated the Carnean festival, took the field; and, having gone to Tegea, sent forward to Argos pacificatory proposals. There had been, aforetime, among them persons favourably inclined to them, and disposed to put down democracy [1]; and after the event of the late battle, they had far more influence in persuading the many to the proposed accommodation. [2] Their purpose was first to make a treaty with the Lacedæmonians, and again afterwards an alliance [3], and, that measure being carried, to attempt to overturn democracy.[4] And now arrived

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6 *Gave over the work.*] Such is the sense ascribed by all the translators, agreeably to the usual signification of the word. I cannot, however, but suspect that ἐκπαύεσθαι here signifies to cease from work, namely, by *finishing* it; as it is said in Genesis, "on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made: and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made." It is highly improbable that they should abandon it after apportioning out the work. That sense is harsh, and little agreeable to the context.

1 *Overturn democracy.*] Not, "the deposing of the Argive people," as Hobbes renders, who also wrongly joins ἐν Ἄργει with ἦσαν; whereas the τὸν confines it to τὸν δῆμον. Both these errors Hobbes might have avoided by following the Scholiast.

2 *Had far more influence, &c.*] It is no wonder that the late event should have so materially strengthened the aristocratical party, since the heavy calamity suffered was wholly to be attributed to the ungovernable spirit of democracy, and its unfitness to manage the concerns of a state.

3 *First to make a treaty with, &c.*] This cautious measure might be suggested by the late treaties between Athens and Lacedæmon, first of peace, then of alliance. "Having (to use the words of Mitford) thus far used the power of the people as the instrument of their measures, they would then turn those very measures against the power of the people: with assistance from Lacedæmon, they would abolish the authority of the general assembly, and establish oligarchical government."

4 *To overturn democracy.*] "They hinted," to use the words of Mitford, 'that the inconvenience of democratical sway unbalanced, which had been so severely experienced in the circumstances of the battle, would dispose

at Argos Lichas son of Arcesilaus, public host of the Argives, bearing two proposals [5] from the Lacedæmonians; one of which had reference to *war*, if they preferred it; the other to *peace*, if peace they desired.[6] After much debate (for Alcibiades also was present [7]), the party who had held correspondence with the Lacedæmonians, now venturing openly to speak their sentiments, persuaded the Argives to admit the pacificatory proposal, which was this: —

LXXVII. "It seemeth good to the assembly of the Lacedæmonians to come to concord [1] with the Argives, on the following conditions: —

"That they (i. e. the Argives) shall restore their children[2]

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them to hear, with less impatience, of the necessity of trusting executive government to a few.

[5] *And now arrived at Argos, &c.*] There is no doubt but that these proposals were made in consequence of an application from, and correspondence with, the aristocratical party at Argos: as, indeed, appears from what follows. The business, it may be observed, was much facilitated by the occurrence of the Carnea, which suspended, for a time, all prosecution of hostilities.

This Lichas was the person who was so insulted by the Eleans at Olympia. See supra, c. 22.

[6] *One of which had reference, &c.*] Literally, "one how matters should stand, if," &c. It is truly observed by Hack that at καθότι and ὡς we must subaud εἴη or ἔσται. Goeller well renders: "Duas afferebat conditiones, alteram, quemadmodum, si bellum mallent, futurum esset, alteram, quemadmodum, si pacem." The sense has been wholly missed by Smith, though it had been seen by Hobbes.

As to what was the exact nature of the former proposal, neither commentators nor historians inform us. Perhaps it was a modification of the proposal formerly made by the Argives, as to deciding the differences by a certain number of warriors on either side.

[7] *Alcibiades also was present.*] "His watchful acuteness," says Mitford, "had led him to suspect the intrigue, insomuch that he had passed to Argos, purposely to counterwork it." It is, however, more probable that, being ambassador from Athens to Argos, he had continued there all along after the battle.

[1] *Come to concord.*] Or, treat, compositionem facere. A very rare sense, to which I know nothing exactly correspondent in the classical writers. We may, however, compare the phrase ξυμβάλλειν πίστιν in Dionys. Hal. 134, 23. Indeed, there seems to be an allusion to the joining of hands, the most antient and natural symbol of agreement, as also of confederation.

[2] *Children.*] Hostages taken of the Orchomenians: see supra, c. 61.

to the Orchomenians, and their men [3] to the Mænalians, and the men who are at Mantinæa [4] to the Lacedæmonians.

" That they shall evacuate Epidaurus, and demolish the fortification. If, however, the Athenians shall not recede likewise from Epidaurus, they shall be held as enemies to the Argives and the Lacedæmonians, as also to the allies of the Lacedæmonians and the allies of the Argives.

" If, also, the Lacedæmonians have in possession any children, they shall restore them to the several states.

" That, as to the victim of the god, they (i. e. the Lacedæmonians) wish an oath to be taken by the Epidaurians, and to administer it themselves.[5]

" That the states in Peloponnesus, both great and small, be all independent and governed according to the institutions of their ancestors.[6]

" Moreover that if any without Peloponnesus shall enter into the territory of Peloponnesus, to its injury, they shall repel the same, in such a mode as may, on common council held in any place, seem best.

" Furthermore, such states as are allies of the Lacedæmonians out of Peloponnesus shall be in the same condition as the allies of the Lacedæmonians and those of the Argives are, each holding their own territory.

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3 *Men.*] Hostages taken of the Mænalians. This circumstance is not narrated in the history.

4 *The men who are at Mantinæa.*] Hostages of the Arcadians given to the Lacedæmonians, and by them kept in Orchomenus, and at the taking of Orchomenus by the Argive league carried away to Mantinæa. (Hobbes). See supra, c. 61.

5 *That they wish an oath, &c.*] Such seems to be the true sense of the very obscure words of the original, of which the amazing discrepancy of the readings is a sufficient proof how it perplexed the antients. I have followed the reading edited by Bekker and Goeller, which seems to be the best founded. Λῆν is from the old verb λάω, which originally signified *capio*, and then *volo*. The construction is, indeed, somewhat harsh; but such is the case in numerous passages of the *treaties*, both in Thucydides and other historians; and no wonder, as they were usually drawn up, not by scholars, but by men of business. As to the conjectures of Valcknaer, they are too bold to be admitted. Were any conjecture necessary, I should prefer that of Bekker.

The substance of the oath doubtless was, that the Epidaurians would, in future, send the victim for sacrifice.

6 *According to the institutions of their ancestors.*] Mitford renders, " as in the times and according to the customs of their forefathers."

"That the parties, after showing these conditions to their allies, shall, with their consent, agree to the same. If, however, any thing *else* shall seem good to the allies, they shall send a message home with notice thereof."[7]

LXXVIII. This proposal, then, the Argives first accepted, and the army of the Lacedæmonians retired from Tegea homeward. After this communication being now opened to each other, the same persons who negotiated the *treaty* not long after again contrived that the Argives, abandoning the alliance of the Mantinæans, Eleans, and Athenians, should make a treaty of alliance[1] with the Lacedæmonians, in the form following: —

LXXIX. "It hath seemed good to the Lacedæmonians and Argives, on the following conditions: —

"That there shall be a treaty of alliance for fifty years, with the proviso that the parties shall mutually afford to each other trial of judgment on equal and like terms, according to the institutions of their ancestors.[2] That the rest of the cities in Peloponnesus shall participate in the treaty and alliance, as

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[7] *If, however, any thing, &c.*] On the sense of the obscure passage of the original, the perplexity of which is increased by variety of reading, the interpreters are little agreed. I have here followed the text of Goeller, as seeming the best founded. The version of Bredow (approved by Goeller) is as follows: "On notice given both parties may agree with their allies, if they choose; if the allies do not choose, they shall be sent home." The allies were, it seems, to be allowed to send off home as to any thing that might be different to their expectations, for approval by the assembly of their states at home, and not to be compelled to agree to it on the spot.

[1] *A treaty of alliance.*] Σπονδὰς καὶ ξυμμαχίαν seems here and just after to be put by an hendiadys.

[2] *The parties shall mutually afford, &c.*] Such seems to be the full sense, which is inadequately represented by the translators. In case of differences between the cities, each was to submit to be impleaded with the other on the points in dispute on equal terms, and to submit to the award of the referee, or third party. "Here (says Mitford) for the dispute between Athens and Lacedæmon before the war, we want information by what rule of law, by what process, and under what sanction, such litigation between state and state was to be managed." This, however, seems exaggerating the difficulty; though, perhaps, any complete information as to the mode in which these suits between nations were carried on is more to be desired than expected.

The sense of τὰ πάτρια in this connection I have before explained. See I. 1, 146.

independent and states in their own right [3], enjoying their own territory, and affording equal and like judgment, according to the institutions of their ancestors.

" Such as are allies to the Lacedæmonians out of Peloponnesus shall be in the same condition with the Lacedæmonians, and the allies of the Argives shall be in the same condition with the Argives, holding each their own territory.

" If at any time it shall be necessary to send a common expedition any where, the Lacedæmonians and Argives shall agree thereon; deciding as equitably and impartially as possible towards the allies.[4]

" Furthermore, if there shall arise any controverted matters to any of the states [5], either those within or those without Peloponnesus, whether in respect to boundaries, or any other matter, they also shall decide it.[6] If, too, any state of the allies shall have a controversy with another, the parties may, at their pleasure, have recourse to such a state as is indifferent to both; but individuals, citizens of any state [7], shall be judged according to the antient institutions of their respective countries."

LXXX. Such was the treaty and the alliance; and whatever

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[3] *States in their own right.*] i. e. considered by itself, and without reference to another. Αὐτοπόλεις was, probably, a term confined to the Dorians, and does not occur in the classical writers. The whole sentence is, perhaps, the fullest description of national independence to be met with in any of the antient writers. We may imagine, however, that, precise as the definition of independence may be, the weaker were far from enjoying it, especially in obtaining legal redress of injuries from the stronger states.

[4] *Shall consent thereon, deciding, &c.*] This condition seems to place a very predominant power in the hands of the two principals, inconsistent with any complete independence in the lesser. For if a state be not to decide for itself on the important question of war and peace, it will possess but a shadow of independence. Indeed, no petty states thus circumstanced can enjoy it.

[5] *Any of the states.*] i. e. the allied states just mentioned.

[6] *They also shall decide it.*] Not, as Mitford interprets, " it shall be decided by judges to be duly appointed by both;" or, " it shall be lawful to refer the decision to any third city equally friendly to both."

This condition, too, seems to place much power in the hands of the two principals. It appears, however, from what follows, that the contending states were not bound to finally acquiesce in their judgment, but might choose a third state as umpire.

[7] *Individuals, citizens of, &c.*] By these are not meant, as the Scholiast fancies, citizens of the same state, but of different states.

places each held of the allies, taken in the war, or whatever other matters of complaint each had against the other, they were done away[1]. And now, regarding all matters as common, they decreed to receive no herald or embassy from the Athenians, unless they would leave Peloponnesus and evacuate the fortresses[2], and neither to make peace nor carry on war with any otherwise than conjointly. And besides carrying forward other matters with spirit and vehemence[3], they both of them sent ambassadors to the parts of Thrace and to Perdiccas, endeavouring to prevail upon him to communicate oaths with them.[4] He, however, did not immediately abandon the Athenian alliance, but intended it[5], because he saw the Argives had done so; being himself, indeed, from Argos[6]: moreover they renewed the old oaths to the Chalcidæans, and bound themselves by new ones.

The Argives, too, sent ambassadors to the Athenians, desiring them to evacuate the fort in Epidaurus. They, perceiving that their men there were but a handful, compared with the numbers of their fellow-guards[7], sent Demosthenes[8]

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[1] *Whatever places each had, &c.*] At ὅποσα subaud χώρια. I have, however, sometimes thought that the construction might be, καὶ (καϑ') ὅποσα (πράγματα) (ἐν) πολέμῳ, ἢ εἴ εἶχον ἄλλο τι (πρᾶγμα) διελύσαντο (τοῦτο), and respecting any matters arising out of the war, or if they had any other business, they decided it.

[2] *Evacuate the fortresses.*] With reference to the fort lately erected at the hill near Epidaurus (see supra, c. 75.), and probably to Methone in Trœzene, and Pylus.

[3] *Carrying forward other, &c.*] As is natural to men in new undertakings, and especially when they have been thus far successful in them. Then they never know when to stop.

[4] *Communicate oaths with them.*] Literally, "swear in common with them."

[5] *Intended it.*] In this as well as in other affairs he showed a considerable portion of cunning.

[6] *Being himself, indeed, from Argos.*] On the ancestry of Perdiccas, see Herod. 8, 137. seqq.

[7] *Fellow-guards.*] Namely, of the Argives. See supra, c. 75. fin.

[8] *Sent Demosthenes.*] This, it would seem, was a service scarcely worthy of his abilities.* But, in fact, it was a delicate sort of business, which

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* Though we have seen him, from some unexplained cause, unemployed ever since the affairs of Nisæa, and doubtless much to the injury of the state. Had he been employed in *Thrace* instead of Cleon and others, things, we may suppose, would have taken a very different turn. It should seem that he was an object of hatred to the ultra-democrats, and through their influence was long kept out of

to fetch away their troops. He, on his arrival, having made, by way of pretext, a certain gymnastic exercise outside of the fort, when the rest of the garrison [9] had gone forth, shut the gates upon them [10]; and afterwards the Athenians themselves, renewing treaties with the Epidaurians, restored them the fortress.

LXXXI. After the abandonment of the Athenian alliance by the Argives, the Mantinæans, after at first holding out, then unable to maintain themselves without the Argives, themselves also made their peace with the Lacedæmonians, and yielded up their dominion over the cities.[1] Then the Lacedæmonians and Argives (one thousand of each [2]) made a joint armament; and the Lacedæmonians by themselves, after going and bringing the government at Sicyon more into the hands of a few [3], went both together and put down de-

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required much firmness, decision, and management. "Here (Mitford observes) Demosthenes showed his usual ability; he saved the dignity of his republic by giving the affair the appearance of a favour granted by Athens to both Epidaurus and Argos *; and he more essentially served his republic, by restoring, in some degree, a good correspondence with both those cities."

9 *The rest of the garrison.*] Namely, except a small portion of Athenians with himself. Here I read, with Duker, Poppo, and Goeller, from, at least, one good MS., τὸ φρουρικὸν, because the sense requires it, and Dio Cass. doubtless read it in his copy.

10 *Shut the gates upon them.*] Τὰς πυλὰς ἀπέκλεισε. A rare expression, not noticed in Steph. Thes. It occurs, however, in Xen. Anab. 7, 1, 7. and 6, 17. Arrian E. A. 1, 27, 8. Herod. 5, 3, 26. Appian 1, 432. Joseph. 286, 31. and 565, 20. Isæus, p. 60, 19.

1 *Yielded up their dominion over the cities.*] Namely, those in Arcadia which they had seized, as Parrhasia, Orestéum, and others.

2 *A thousand of each.*] The thousand Argives were the *select troops* above mentioned.

3 *After going and bringing the government, &c.*] Or, "made the government rather an oligarchy than a democracy." "A change," as Mitford truly observes, "contrary to that spirit of equity, moderation, and peace, which the terms of their confederacy appeared to hold forth. It seems (he adds) to have been made by commissioners under the escort of the armed force. They would (Mitford thinks) vindicate it by asserting that the constitution of Sicyon was originally oligarchical." If so, they, perhaps, would seek support from the words of the treaty, τὰν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες καττὰ πάτρια.

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office; especially as he also appears to have been not very acceptable to the aristocrats. He was, in truth, as we find by Aristophanes, a mere blunt soldier.

* This, however, will scarcely apply to *Argos*; no favour could surely be supposed; it was rather an act of hostility to it.

mocracy in Argos [4], and then an oligarchy attached to the Lacedæmonian interest was established. These events took place when the winter was on the wane, and spring near at hand. And thus ended the fourteenth year of the war.

March 21. 1853.

YEAR XV. B. C. 419.

LXXXII. At the commencement of the summer, the Dieans [5] in Athos revolted from the Athenians to the Chalcidæans. The Lacedæmonians established affairs [6] in Achæa, which had before not been carried on favourably to them [7]; and now the democratical party at Argos having gradually combined and recovered their courage, and waiting for the season of the gymnopædiæ [8] at Lacedæmon, made an attack on the oligarchs; and a battle arising in the city, the democratical party overcame them; slaying some, and banishing others. As to the Lacedæmonians, they, while their friends had been for a long time sending for them [9], came not, but [at length [10]] adjourning the gymnopædiæ, they went to their succour. Hearing, however, at Tegea that the oligarchical

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[4] *Went and put down democracy in Argos.*] It would seem daring to have attempted so total a revolution with so small a force. But, doubtless, the plan had been some time in preparation, and was now thought mature enough to be put into execution by the same persons who had already, since the peace and alliance with Lacedæmon, governed Argos under the nominal authority of the *people*, and now, throwing off these shackles, usurped the sole authority. How much their eagerness outran their judgment and prudence will be seen in the sequel.

[5] *Dieans.*] See note, supra, c. 32.

[6] *Affairs.*] Namely, those of government.

[7] *Favourably to them.*] Or, "suitably to their institutions." So in a kindred passage at 1, 19. σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδείως ὅπως πολιτεύσωσαι. and 1, 144. μὴ σφίσι ἐπιτηδείως αὐτονομεῖσθαι.

[8] *Gymnopædiæ.*] These were gymnastic games of boys, or dances in honour of Apollo. On which festival Goeller refers to Mueller t. 2. d. Dorer, pp. 312. 322. 338. 343. 389. Ruhnk. on Tim. p. 73., and the interpreters on Herod. 6, 67.

[9] *While their friends had, &c.*] Ἕως here signifies *while*. The ἐκ πλείονος must be taken with μετεπέμποντο, and χρόνον understood. A similar trajectio occurs at 4, 42. προπυθόμενοι δὲ Κορίνθιοι ἐξ Ἄργους ὅτι ἡ στρατία ἥξει τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ πλείονος ἐβοήθησαν. where ἐκ πλείονος must be joined with προπυθόμενοι, not ἐβοήθησαν. Nor need Duker have left the point undecided. Certainly Reiske is completely wrong in joining ἐκ πλείονος with ἀναβαλλόμενοι.

[10] *But at length.*] This sense the δὲ must have.

party were defeated, they were no longer willing to proceed, though entreated to do so by those who had escaped from the affray [11], but retired back home [12], and celebrated the gymnopædiæ; and afterwards, on ambassadors having come [13], both from the Argives in the country and those out of it, and the allies being present, and much alleged by either party, they decided that the Argives of the city had committed injustice, and they resolved to take the field against Argos; but there were many delays and much procrastination.[14] Meanwhile the democratic party at Argos, fearing the vengeance of the Lacedæmonians [15], again called in the aid of the Athenian alliance, and conceiving that it would be the most beneficial step to them, they built long walls to the sea, in order that, should they be hindered from all benefit on the land, the introduction of necessaries by sea, through the aid of the Athenians, might materially assist them. Certain, too, of the other states [16] in Peloponnesus were privy to this plan, and the Argives, with their whole population, themselves (their wives, and their servants) carried forward the building; there came, too, from Athens artificers [17] and stone-masons. And thus ended the summer.

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11 *Though entreated to it by those, &c.*] They expressed a confident hope that affairs might yet be retrieved: in the confusion of such a revolution it would be easy, they said, for so powerful an army to master the city. (Mitford).

12 *Retired back home, &c.*] Had we not these circumstances from the authoritative pen of Thucydides, we should scarcely conceive them possible of a people who could sometimes conduct themselves with so much united dignity and policy as the Lacedæmonians. (Mitford).

13 *Ambassadors having come, &c.*] "This mission (Mitford thinks) betrayed conscious weakness, and, therefore, made the slackness of the Lacedæmonians the more inexcusable." But he forgets that this mission was *after* the return of the Lacedæmonians.

14 *Delays and much procrastination.*] Perpetual with the Lacedæmonians, and which now produced the natural effect of throwing Argos into the arms of Athens.

15 *Fearing the vengeance of the Lacedæmonians.*] Instigated, too, as we may well suppose, by their own exiles.

16 *Other states.*] Namely, those persons therein who were attached to the democratical party. "This measure (says Mitford) was such as the policy of the Athenian government had recommended to many other cities situated (as usual among the early Greeks) near, but not on, the shore."

17 *Artificers.*] Hobbes renders τέκτονες *workmen;* which is a sense too vague: Smith, *carpenters.* But surely those could have nothing to do with such walls. In my note on Matth. 13, 55. I have observed that the word

LXXXIII. At the commencement of winter, the Lacedæmonians having heard that the Argives were raising the walls, went on an expedition to Argos, both themselves and their allies, except the Corinthians.[1] There had been a certain party, even at Argos, which had held correspondence with them. The army was led by Agis son of Archidamus, king of the Lacedæmonians; and the schemes, indeed, for the delivery of the city, which before seemed likely to be effected, could not yet be brought to bear, but the walls which were building they took and demolished; after which, and taking Hysiæ[2], a town of the Argive territory, and putting to death all the freemen who fell into their hands[3], they retired, and dispersed every one to his own city.

After this they warred against Phliasia, and, laying waste its territory, departed. The reason for the outrage was that the Phliasians had received their exiles; for many of them were there inhabiting.

This same winter, too, the Athenians blockaded Macedonia[4], laying to the charge of Perdiccas his having sworn to the

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τέκτων, like the Latin *faber*, denotes an *artificer*, or artisan, as opposed to a *labourer*; and, according to the context, may denote any artificer, whether in wood, stone, or metal. In the New Testament, I have also observed, it has the sense of our old English word *wright*, which meant a *carpenter*. I have, too, refuted the criticism of Campbell, that it nowhere signifies of itself a man of any other occupation; from the present passage of Thucydides, and 6, 44. and 7, 43. where it undoubtedly means *smith*. That *smiths* were employed in the erection of city walls, is certain from other passages, ex. gr. in 6, 44. where, mentioning the preparations for the expedition to Sicily, Thucydides says they took with them λιθολόγους καὶ τέκτονας, and adds, καὶ ὅσα ἐς τειχισμὸν ἐργαλεῖα. Now that these ἐργαλεῖα were of *iron* appears from 7, 18. σίδηρον περιήγγελλον — καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐργαλεῖα ἡτοίμαζον ἐς τὸν ἐπιτειχισμόν. In the first book he mentions that the huge stones of which the walls of Athens were composed were fastened together by cramps of iron; and it was probably so (more or less) in most other city walls.

[1] *Except the Corinthians.*] For it was not their policy that Argos should be destroyed, and thus Lacedæmon become too powerful.

[2] *Hysiæ.*] A petty town about ten miles south of Argos, and not far from the sea; so called, perhaps, from the *brooks* which are near it.

[3] *Putting to death all, &c.*] The enormities, as we have seen, committed in the course of this war, were alike perpetrated by both parties.

[4] *Blockaded Macedonia.*] In a passage like the present, of acknowledged corruption, I feel justified in forsaking the common text, and following conjecture. Now that of Goeller Μακεδόνας Ἀθηναῖοι, Περδίκκᾳ. κ. τ. λ. is certainly preferable to Valcknaer's, and is supported by the Scholiast. He might, too, have confirmed it from l. 1, 117. ναυσὶ κατεκλείσθησαν. and Dio Cass. 442, 32. πολιορκεῖ κατακλείσας. also 270, 68. 509, 73. I had, how-

league of the Argives and Lacedæmonians; and that, on their having prepared to lead a force against the Chalcidæans in Thrace and Amphipolis, under the command of Nicias son of Niceratus, he had falsified his engagements of alliance [5], and the expedition was chiefly broken up by his tergiversation.[6] Therefore he was declared an enemy; and thus ended the winter, and the fifteenth year of the war.

March 13. 1853.

YEAR XVI. B. C. 416.

LXXXIV. On the return of summer, Alcibiades proceeding to Argos with twenty ships, and apprehending three hundred persons who were yet held suspected, and thought to be inclined to the Lacedæmonian interest, had them deposited in some of the neighbouring islands [1] of the Athenian do-

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ever, myself previously struck out the still milder conjecture Μακεδονίαν, which is, I think, the true reading. Yet, though it exactly corresponds to our idiom, I do not remember any example of this use of κατακλείω, *besiege*, or *blockade*, used with an accusativus *rei*.

[5] *Falsified his engagements of alliance.*] This use of ψεύδεσθαι with an accusative is remarkable. To the examples in Steph. Thes. may be added Dionys. Hal. 1, 400, 5. διέψευστο τὰς ὑποσχέσεις. and 1, 438, 32. ὡς ἐψευσμένων τὰς συνθήκας. 481, 48. οὐδεμίαν ἐψεύσατο τῶν ὑποσχέσεων. 554, 1. ἐψεύσαντο τὰς συνθήκας. and 742, 5. συνειδότες ἑαυτοῖς ἐψευσμένοις ἃς πρότερον ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμολογίας. Pausan. 8, 7, 4. σπονδὰς ἐψεύσατο.

[6] *And the expedition was chiefly broken up by his tergiversation.*] Literally, "retreating from his purpose." So Hesych. ἀπάρας. σκεψάμενος. where I would read, with Vossius, σκηψάμενος, tergiversatus. As to the common interpretation here, *departure*, though none of the commentators scruple at it, it is really indefensible. Considering that the Athenians were only *preparing* their armament, it is very improbable that the troops of Perdiccas should have arrived at the rendezvous. That the Scholiast did not adopt the common signification of the term, is plain; but not seeing the true one, he (as Gottleb. observes) does not give a *verbal* explication, but "*sensûs habet rationem*," by explaining it ἀναπεισθέντος, which is for μεταπεισθέντος. Mitford undoubtedly felt the awkwardness of the common interpretation; and, with his usual ingenuity, *divined* the truth, by paraphrasing, "in consequence of the *neglect* of Perdiccas to send the troops." He justly attributes "this scheme of a Thracian war to the restless ambition of Alcibiades, who being but imperfectly gratified with the turn of affairs in Argos, had been looking around for *other* opportunities to promote his own power and consequence, through an extension of the empire of his commonwealth; and particularly carried his views forward to a *war*, in which he would certainly command, and hoped to shine."

[1] *Had them deposited in some of the neighbouring islands, &c.*] This was a usual expedient, either with those who were reserved for trial, as the Mytilenæans, or those who, being thought dangerous in their own country, were

minion. Then the Athenians undertook an expedition against the island of Melos with thirty ships of their own, six of the Chians, and two of the Lesbians [2]; and with one thousand two hundred heavy infantry, and three hundred bowmen and twenty archers of their own, and of their allies and the islanders[3] about one thousand five hundred.

Now the Melians were colonists of the Lacedæmonians [4],

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removed to another, as in the case of some of the Cytherians. See 4, 57. "And (as Mitford observes), among the usual violences of Grecian politics, it may be esteemed a lenient measure."

[2] *Two of the Lesbians.*] We cannot but observe, on every mention of the Lesbians, how very small is the quota which they furnished now, in comparison with what they sent out before their fatal revolt and subsequent reduction by Paches; thus making good the words of Diodotus 3, 46. med. *πῶς οὐ βλάξη, δαπανᾷν καθημένοις διὰ τὸ ἀξύμβατον, καὶ ἦν ἕλωμεν πόλιν, ἐφθαρμένην παραλαβεῖν.* These, however, were doubtless only from Methymna.

[3] *Their allies and the islanders.*] These, though both allies, are here distinguished; the former having some portion of liberty, the latter scarcely any.

[4] *Now the Melians were colonists of the Lacedæmonians.*] On the origin of these people the commentators refer to Herod. 8, 48. Xen. Hist. 2, 2, 3, 9. Plutarch de Virt. Mul. Conon. Narr. 36. Steph. Byz. in v. and Larcher's Essay de Chronolog. p. 396. "When the Tyrrhenes were masters of Lemnos and Imbrus, and made a practice of ravishing the wives of the Athenians at Bauron, a mixed breed was the consequence; whom, as half barbarians, the Athenians drove out of the isles. Thus exiled they repaired to Tænarus, and were useful to the Spartans in their war against the Helots. They were afterwards rewarded for their good services with the freedom of Sparta and liberty of intermarriage. Yet, not being allowed the honour of serving the offices of the state, or a seat in the council, they became afterwards suspected, as caballing together for bad designs, and projecting to overthrow the constitution; the Lacedæmonians, therefore, apprehended them all, and throwing them into prison, kept them confined under a strong guard, till they could find out clear and incontestable evidence against them. The wives of the prisoners came in a body to the prison, and, after much prayer and entreaty, were, at length, admitted by the guard to the sight and discourse of their husbands. When once they had gained access, they ordered them immediately to strip and change clothes with them; to leave them their own, and dressed in those of their wives, to make their escape directly in that disguise. It was done: the women stayed behind, determined to endure whatever might be the consequence; and the guards, deceived by appearances, let out the husbands instead of the wives. They marched off and seized Taygeta; then seduced the Helots to revolt, and promised to support them, which struck a great terror amongst the Spartans. They sent to treat with them, and made up the matter on these conditions: that they should have their wives restored safe to them; should be furnished with money and vessels for removal; and when settled in another country, should be reckoned a colony and kinsmen of the Lacedæmonians. A body of them settled, some time after, in the isle of Melos."

The island is about sixteen miles long, and of the average breadth of six or seven. It is very hilly and of volcanic origin, but extremely fertile. It

and were not disposed to be in subjection to the Athenians, as were the other islanders, but at first kept quiet, holding with neither party; then, after being compelled thereto by the Athenians ravaging their island, they entered into open war. Having, then, encamped on the island with their forces, the commanders (Cleomedes son of Lycomedes, and Tisias [5] son of Tisimachus), previous to commencing any injury to the country, sent ambassadors to make representations. These the Melians would not introduce to the multitude, but bade them speak on the business which brought them there among the magistracy and *the few*. Whereupon the Athenian ambassadors spoke as follows: —

LXXXV. " Since [1] our address is not permitted to be made to *the multitude*, in order that the many, by not hearing

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probably never had any city or town but the one of the same name with the island, *Melos*, now called (as is the island) *Milo*, and situated at the top of a tolerably sized port, defended at its entrance by an old castle. The most complete and, upon the whole, accurate account of Melos, and the present Milo, is given by Tournefort, 1, 114. I know not, however, how he can say that *Thucydides* represents the Melians as enjoying perfect liberty seven hundred years before the Peloponnesian war. It would, however, appear from Syncellus (referred to by Tournefort) that the city was as antient as the age of *Minos*. At the time of Tournefort it was supposed to contain five thousand inhabitants, whereas at present the whole island is thought to contain no more than one thousand. The mineral exhalations, together with the scarcity of good water, render it a somewhat unhealthy spot; and we may suppose that so large an armament as the present would suffer severely.

[5] *Cleomedes son of Lycomedes, and Tisias.*] Officers not before mentioned, and apparently *novi homines*, or persons just coming into notice; also, if I mistake not, of the democratical party, and, it should seem, different from Nicias and Nicostratus alike in politics and in disposition.

This attack on Melos Mitford pronounces a " daring violation of the common rights of mankind, justified by no *plea of necessity;* and he thinks it imputable to the crafty policy of Alcibiades, in order, by thus provoking attack on an island in alliance with Lacedæmon, to draw on a war with that state." This, however, may be going too far. The Athenians had been irritated not only by the failure of the former expedition, but by that active, persevering, and deep hostility which their attack had generated in the Melians.

[1] This *dialogue* is acknowledged to be one of the most difficult portions of the history; and here Duker admits the charge of Dionysius Halicarnassus, that " many things in this part are perplexed, contort, and forced." Both that commentator, however, and Wasse rightly rebut the more serious charge that the whole of this dialogue was made up by Thucydides, without any certain knowledge of what passed, which, it is urged, he could not obtain as being then in Thrace an exile. To this it has been well replied by Aca-

from us at once, in continuity of speech, arguments persuasive and not to be refuted, should be deceived (for well we know

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cias, "that, though in Thrace, he had the best opportunities of coming at the truth, by communication with persons of both parties. Also that it might better be asked of Dionysius whence *he* derived those orations of Æneas, Latinus, and Romulus, and especially that elaborately rhetorical colloquy of Tullius Hostilius with Metius Albanus." When, however, Wasse speaks of the dialogue as "ob varietatem venustè interpositum," he, in fact, admits the very charge in question. To this, therefore, I must demur. That it has beauty, cannot be denied, and that its form, as it is interposed, is far more attractive and interesting than a pair of set orations, is obvious; but that the historian had this in view, is what I cannot admit. He was, there is no reason to doubt, perfectly aware that the communication between the Athenians and Melians was here not by *speeches*, but by *conference* or *dialogue;* and being well informed of the substance of what was said, thought proper to clothe it in his own phraseology, dark it must be granted. Therefore to the remark of Mitford, "that Thucydides has left an account of this conference in detail; meaning, however, apparently not to repeat exactly what passed, but only to give a methodized account of the general arguments," I entirely assent; but as to what he subjoins, "and, perhaps, to express his own opinion on some points, particularly the ungenerous inertness of the Lacedæmonian administration, in a less invidious way than if he had spoken in his own person;" to this I must demur, as being wholly inconsistent with the solemn asseveration of our historian in his preface, c. 22., a passage which is so exceedingly important that it should ever be borne in mind. Thus there is no foundation whatever for the imputation on our author contained in the words following: — "The claim of the strong to command the weak with absolute authority was so familiar among the Greeks, that it seems not to have shocked Thucydides, who, on this occasion, makes the Athenian deputy assert it in the most unqualified manner, professing even a confidence in a continuance of that favour of the gods which had already enabled the Athenian people to exercise so many cruelties, and reduce so many Grecian states to subjection." The censure itself is just; but it does not at all affect our historian, who was far too conscientious and attached to the rights of mankind *not* to be shocked at such a "*claim*," and far too sensible and well informed in natural theology, as far as it was then understood, to believe that the favour of the gods was to be expected by arts of barefaced injustice and atrocious cruelty.

As to the Scholiast's animadversion on Thucydides for "violating custom, by daring to introduce a dialogue instead of set orations," it is wholly groundless, since he has only represented what probably took place. Nor would he have "dared" to form the dialogue, had he not been competently informed as to its contents. And as to "custom," if historians have very rarely introduced dialogues, it has been because they have not had the *means* of coming at the truth of what was said in private conference as in public speech. By the commentators generally, indeed, the introduction of a *set dialogue* in a history seems to be regarded as altogether unprecedented. Such, however, is not the case. I can myself instance one example of it in a dialogue between the *Romans and Goths* at p. 220. et seqq. of Procopius; a composition which, it may be observed, is closely imitated from this of Thucydides.

But to turn to the substance of the dialogue: the arguments used by the Athenians are certainly subtle and various; so that to their address might

that this is the purpose[1] of your thus introducing us to the few), we request you who sit in synod to adopt a yet more cautious measure. Do *you* also, not replying[2] in one continued speech, but at whatever shall seem to be said unsatisfactorily[3], immediately taking us up, canvass our words.[4] And first tell us whether what we say meets your approbation."

Whereupon the counsellors of the Melians spoke as follows: —

LXXXVI. *Mel.* "The fairness[5] of this procedure, of thus leisurely making our sentiments known to each other is not to be impeached[6]; but these hostile manifestations[7] (not future, but already present) seem of a totally different complexion: for we perceive that you yourselves are come as *judges* of what shall be said, and that the issue of it is, in all likelihood, bringing us, if, as relying in the justice of our cause, we do not give way, *war*, and, if we submit to your arguments, enslavement."

LXXXVII. *Ath.* "Nay, if you be met together to reckon

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be applied the words of Polyæn. 6, 6, 2. as said of Pyrrhus: Πύῤῥος συνεξούλευσεν πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου πείθειν τοὺς πολεμίους φόβῳ, πλεονεξίᾳ, ἡδονῇ, οἴκτῳ, δικαίῳ, νομίμῳ, συμφέροντι, δυνατῷ.

[1] *The purpose.*] Literally, "*meaning.*" Φρονεῖ is for βούλεται, as infra, c. 89. On which Goeller refers to Valckn. on Herod. 4, 131. and Krueger on Dionys. p. 172.

[2] *Replying.*] Or, "*speaking.*" Nothing correspondent to this is expressed in the original; but λέγοντες is *implied* at μηδ' ὑμεῖς ἕνι λόγῳ.

[3] *Unsatisfactorily.*] Such seems to be the sense, though a rare one, of ἐπιτηδείως.

[4] *Canvass our words.*] Κρίνετε is usually rendered "answer;" a sense unauthorized and inapposite. Krueger and Goeller render it *dijudicate, discernite*, for διακρίνετε. But the signification above assigned (by which it is taken for ἀνακριν. or ἐξετάζετε) is far more frequent (see Steph. Thes.) and suitable to the context.

[5] *Fairness.*] So ἐπιεικὴς is used at 3, 4, and 9.

[6] *Is not to be impeached.*] Or, "is not impeached by us;" ψέγεται being used for ψέγομεν: a sort of delicacy frequent in this dialogue, and in the oration of the Platæans, l. 3.

[7] *Those hostile manifestations.*] At τὰ τοῦ πολέμου I would supply πράγματα. Nor is αὐτοῦ rightly referred by Duker to διδάσκειν. The true subaudition is πράγματος, i. e. τοῦ ἐν ἐπιεικείᾳ διδάσκειν.

up suspicions of what *may* happen [1], or for any other purpose than, from what is present [2] and before your eyes, to consult for the safety of the city, we have done; but if *this* last be your aim, we will speak on."

LXXXVIII. *Mel.* "It is both reasonable [3] and excusable that persons in such circumstances should turn many ways, both in words and thoughts.[4] However, this our very meeting together is adopted for the purpose alone of saving ourselves. Let, then, the discussion be held, if it must be so, in the mode which you require."

LXXXIX. *Ath.* "Well then, we will neither ourselves, under specious pretences (either as that having put down Median domination, we justly govern, or that we are now avenging ourselves of injuries) expatiate [5] in a lengthened discourse which would produce little conviction; nor would we have you think to move us by alleging, either that it was because ye were Lacedæmonian colonists that ye did not take arms on our side, or that ye have done us no injury; but according to what we either of us really think [6], we would have

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[1] *Reckon up suspicions, &c.*] Gail renders: "Etes-vous assemblés ici pour calculer les soupçons qui peuvent vous fournir les événemens futurs," &c.

[2] *From what is present.*] Or, "under present circumstances," pro præsenti rerum statu; as supra, c. 40.

[3] *Reasonable.*] Or, "natural, and, therefore, probable;" all which senses are closely connected together.

[4] *Turn many ways both, &c.*] i. e. indulge some freedom of expression and scope of imagination. The δοκοῦντας has reference to the ὑπονοίας of the last speaker; and, as Krueger observes, expresses the same sense by a less invidious term.

[5] *We will neither, &c.*] Krueger aptly compares a kindred sentiment at 6, 83. οὐ καλλιεπούμεθα, ὡς τὸν βάρβαρον μόνοι καθελόντες εἰκότως ἄρχομεν. He is, however, not justified in saying that our author, here and at that passage, has omitted enlarging on the arguments, because he had done it at 1, 73. That is quite inconsistent with the fidelity of the *historian*, and the principles by which he assures us, in his preface, 1, 22. he was guided in forming the orations. That the Athenians might *often* treat on the subject (so gratifying to themselves, and invidious to others), is very true; but yet, on occasions like the present, when it could answer little purpose, they doubtless waved it, and avowed the real ground on which they claimed dominion, — the right of the strong to rule the weak.

[6] *Really think.*] One party, that it is injured; and the other, that it will exact.

each aim at accomplishing what is practicable; both parties well knowing[7] that *what is just* is, in human language, and common parlance, canvassed only under the condition of equally-balanced checks; but as to *what is possible*, those that have the upper hand use their power, and the weak grant what they cannot refuse."[8]

XC. *Mel.* "Well, then (for since you thus lay down the principle of putting *interest* in the place of *justice*, we must do the same), we aver that it is for your interest[1] not to overthrow what is for the general good, but that it is for the advantage of those who are at any time in danger, that what is equitable should be accounted as just; and that it is expedient that we should persuade another so that he may be benefited by bearing somewhat under the strict letter of the law.[2]

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[7] *Both parties well knowing.*] This is the most literal sense admitted by the strongly idiomatical expression ἐπισταμένους πρὸς εἰδότας.

[8] *What is just in, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of the truly ænigmatical sentence εἰδότας ὅτι — ξυγχώρουσιν. where κρίνεται signifies *canvass, examine*, as at supra, c. 85. The ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἀνάγκης refers to equally-balanced checks on either party mutually; as in the case adverted to by the Mytilenæan orator, l. 3, 11. τὸ δὲ ἀντίπαλον δέος μόνον πιστὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν· ὁ γὰρ παραβαίνειν τι βουλόμενος, τὸ μὴ προέχων ἂν ἐπελθῶν ἀποτρέπεται.

With respect to the next words, δυνατὰ δὲ οἱ προὔχοντες πράσσουσι, καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεῖς ξυγχωροῦσιν, there is much *vigour* in the version of Hobbes, though it is not quite faithful: "whereas they that have odds of power exact as much as they can, and the weak yield to such conditions as they can get." Hack well expresses the sense thus: "justitiam tum servari ex hominum judicio, cum neutra pars potentior neutra, jura vi perrumpere valeat, sed utraque ab utraque cogi possit, ut jure agat."

With respect to the *sentiment*, there is one very similar in Eurip. Archil. Frag. 16. Ἔσωσα δούλην οὖσαν· οἱ γὰρ ἥσσονες Τοῖς κρείσσοσιν φιλοῦσι δουλεύειν βροτῶν.

[1] *It is for your interest.*] It is strange that Hobbes and others should render, "*our* interest," "profitable for ourselves;" which is against the argument. They were probably misled by the Scholiast, νομίζομεν ἡμῖν προσήκειν, &c. But there the Schol. *Cassel* rightly has ὑμῖν. The sense has been perceived by Duker and Smith.

[2] *But that it is for the advantage, &c.*] Such appears to be the true sense of this obscure passage, which Hobbes renders thus: "That men in danger, if they plead reason and equity, nay, though somewhat without the strict compass of justice, yet it ought ever to do them good." Goeller, after a learned and acute discussion of the context, lays down the following sense: "mortalibus, qui semper in periculo subitæ rerum suarum vicissitudinis versantur, utile esse æqua pro justis esse sive haberi; i. e. jus in æquitate ponere." The words following he renders, "et arbitramur expedire, si quis vel citra quam jus fasque est aliquid perpeti alteri persuadeat." He then remarks, "Quod πείσοντα dicit, non vi sed clementia et justi persua-

And this concerns you more than others, inasmuch as, if frustrated in your views of conquest [3], you would furnish an example [4] to others for the exercise of the severest vengeance."

XCI. *Ath.* "But we, for our part, should not be alarmed at the termination of our empire, even were it to be put down [5]; for not they who *rule others* (as do also the Lacedæmonians, though with them we have now no contest) are objects of fear to the vanquished, but such as, having been subjects, shall at any time attack and master their rulers.[7] And as to the *danger* of that, let it be left to ourselves; but that we are come hither [6] for the enlargement of our empire, and that

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sione a potentioribus agendum esse, si sibi in posterum et ipsi cavere velint, significare." But, however ingenious may be this interpretation, yet, as far as concerns *ἀεὶ ἐν κινδύνῳ γινομένῳ*, &c. it is ill-founded in grammar; and the learned commentator would have spared it, had he remembered the kindred sentiment at 3, 84. fin. *Ἀξιοῦσι τε τοὺς κοινοὺς περὶ τῶν τοιούτων οἱ ἄνθρωποι νόμους, ἀφ' ὧν ἅπασιν ἐλπὶς ὑπόκειται σφαλεῖσι κἂν αὐτοὺς διασώζεσθαι, ἐν ἄλλων τιμωρίαις προκαταλύειν, καὶ μὴ ὑπολείπεσθαι εἴ ποτε ἄρα τις κινδυνεύσας τινος δέήσεται αὐτῶν.* The latter part, too, of the interpretation is questionable; though the sentence is so obscure and imperfectly worded that no certainty can be attained. *Ἔντος τοῦ ἀκρίβους* (for that seems to be the true reading) is well rendered by Goeller, "citra jus summum et strictum."

[3] *Frustrated in your views of conquest.*] i. e. defeated; *σφαλέντες* being used, by delicacy, for the harsher term *νικηθέντες*.

[4] *Furnish an example.*] Or, "precedent to others to exercise towards you the vengeance you had wreaked on others."

[5] *Even should it be put down.*] They contemplate the *possibility* of this, as does Pericles 2, 64. *πάντα γὰρ πέφυκε καὶ ἐλασσοῦσθαι.*

They are not alarmed, they say, at the consequences of loss of empire, nor, therefore, expect subjection.

[6] *For not they who rule others, &c. are objects of fear, &c.*] i. e. (as the Scholiast well explains), "that those who are accustomed to rule are not so much to be dreaded, on suffering defeat from them, as those who have been in subjection; so that they fear not the Lacedæmonians, but their subjects.* For men not accustomed to rule, when they master their rulers, treat them most cruelly." The truth of this position none who have any knowledge of human nature will doubt; and many sad illustrations of it may be found in the history of every age, especially in that of America for the last century. Nay, even in individuals it is found that those who have been slaves make the severest masters of slaves.

[7] *That we are come hither, &c.*] Here again the Scholiast has successfully pointed out the scope of the passage.

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* By which they plainly regard the Melians as *revolted subjects;* perhaps on the pretext that the islands were by right theirs, as lords of the sea.

what we have to say concerns the preservation of your city, this we will tell you plainly; our wish being that we should rule over you without trouble to ourselves, and that you should be preserved, to the advantage of us both."

XCII. *Mel.* "Ay, but how can it be as advantageous for us to serve as it is for you to govern?"

XCIII. *Ath.* "Because to you will result the advantage of submitting before you have suffered the last extremities; and we, by not destroying you, shall be gainers thereby." [1]

XCIV. *Mel.* So, then [2], ye will not, it seems, admit us to remain quiet, so as to be friends instead of enemies, but allies of neither party."

XCV. *Ath.* "No: for [3] your enmity would not so much injure us as would your friendship; *that* would be to those whom we govern a manifest argument of our weakness, but your *hatred* of our power."

XCVI. *Mel.* "What, then, do your subjects so consider equity, as to put on the same footing those who have no relation to or connection with you, and such as, being mostly colonies, have, some of them, after revolt, been conquered?"

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[1] *By not destroying, &c.*] So Diodotus, l. 3, 46. says: Ἡμῖν τε πῶς οὐ βλάβη, δαπανᾶν καθημένοις διὰ τὸ ἀξύμβατον, καὶ ἢν ἕλωμεν πόλιν, ἐφθαρμένην παραλαβεῖν, καὶ τῆς προσόδου τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς στέρεσθαι. And again: Ὥστε δεῖ ἡμᾶς ὁρᾶν ὅπως, μετρίως κολάζοντες, ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔξομεν ἐς χρημάτων λόγον ἰσχυούσαις χρῆσθαι.

[2] *So then, &c.*] The translators all take the sentence as interrogative. But how that can be consistent with ὥστε, it is not easy to see. I agree with Duker that the passage is to be taken *citra interrogationem*. The ὥστε, however, cannot well be rendered *itaque*, and it would be difficult to find any correspondent particle in Latin; though the *English* idiom which I have adopted exactly answers. And though what the Athenians say would seem to be a reply to a question, yet in our own language a construction of this kind is *all but* an interrogation.

[3] *No: for, &c.*] The first and most decisive negative is omitted, by way of delicacy, and the single οὐ is made to serve for both.

XCVII. *Ath.* "Why not?[1] for the reason that neither one nor the other are destitute of justificatory allegations; for they think that those who preserve their freedom, owe it to their power[2], and that it is through fear that we assail them: so that, besides having more to govern, you would afford us *security* by your subjection; especially considered as islanders in respect of the masters of the sea, and weaker (unless you baffle our attempt) than others whom we have subdued."[3]

XCVIII. *Mel.* "But do you not reckon that there is security in the *other course?*[4] For here again, as you, waving arguments of justice, persuade us to submit, for your advantage; so it is necessary for *us* to show you what is for *our* advantage; and, if it should chance to fall out that the same may be yours also, endeavour to persuade you.

"As to those, then, who are now neutral, how will you not make them enemies; since, beholding these proceedings, they must think that you will hereafter come upon *them* too? And herein what else will you do but increase the number of your present enemies, and bring others, against their wills, to be such, who, but for this, never would?"

XCIX. *Ath.* "No: for we reckon that those will not be the bitterer enemies who, resident any where inland, will be long in forming measures of precaution for their freedom; but

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[1] *Why not?*] Or, "ay." This, however, is, through delicacy, left to be supplied.

[2] *Those who preserve their freedom, &c.*] The sense is here strangely misrepresented by Hobbes.

[3] *Especially considered as, &c.*] This sense, which is nearly that assigned by Hobbes, is certainly suitable and agreeable to the context; but it involves some subaudition which even in *Thucydides* may be accounted harsh. Perhaps, therefore, the sense may be this: "Especially as being islanders, and weaker than others, unless you successfully resist us who hold the dominion of the sea." Or the following: "especially since you are, if you fail in the contest, weaker than others, *as being islanders*, than those who have naval force." I see not how Acacius, Duker, and Goeller are justified in rendering εἰ μὴ περιγενοῖσθε by "nobis superiores non fueritis." Here ναυκρατόρων is, with reason, edited by Hack, Bekker, and Goeller. The word, however, does not rest on the authority of Hesychius only, but is used by Sophocles Phil. 1072. and by Herodotus 6, 9. in the very sense here found.

[4] *In the other course.*] Literally, "*that*, namely, in not meddling with those with whom you have no connection."

rather the *islanders*, and those, like yourselves, unsubdued, or those who are irritated at the compulsion of government [1]: for *those* would [2] most of all, by giving way to reckless daring [3], hurry both themselves and us into manifest [4] danger."

C. *Mel.* "Surely, then [5], if *you* make so hazardous a venture, not to lose your empire and those who are under rule, in order to be rid of it; to *us*, at least, who are yet free, were it not the height of baseness and cowardice to shrink from encountering any peril and extremity rather than endure slavery?"

CI. *Ath.* "No: not, at least, if ye judge advisedly: for ye have not here a *contest of valour*, upon equal terms, so that ye should have to avoid disgrace; but rather ye have to consult for your safety, by not making resistance to those who are far your overmatch."

CII. *Mel.* "But well we wot that the affairs of war sometimes take an issue in events more uncertain than according to the respective difference of numbers.[6] As to submitting

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[1] *The compulsion of government.*] So Eurip. Hec. 346. τοῦ ἀναγκαίου χάριν. and Hel. 261. τ' ἀναγκαῖα τοῦ βίου. Æschyl. Agam. 875. Τέρπνον δὲ τἀναγκαῖον ἐκφυγεῖν ἅπαν.

[2] *For those would, &c.*] Namely, if we should suffer them to retain freedom and power.

[3] *Giving way to reckless daring.*] The interpreters have not seen the full sense of τῷ ἀλογίστῳ ἐπιτρέψαντες, where θράσει, if not to be supplied, is in some sort to be understood. So Liban. Or. Parent. c. 77. ἀλογίστῳ θράσει. Procop. 367, 26. θράσει θανατιῶντες ἀλογίστως τινι. where read ἀλογίστῳ.

[4] *Manifest.*] And therefore imminent.

[5] *Surely, then.*] Profecto itaque. Such is the sense of ἦπου ἄρα, which needed not the emendation of Elmsley ἦ τἄρα. On this particle it is truly observed by Hoogev. de Part. p. 265. "Adjecta particula ἄρα ex superioribus veritatem tantum non ἀποδεικτῶς stabilitatem intelligi jubet."

[6] *Events more important than, &c.*] Though the MSS. here vary, and Duker prefers καινοτέρας, yet the common reading is the more learned and apposite one. And it is confirmed by an imitation in Pausan. 8, 33, 2. Ἐπιδείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἔτι τὴν ἰσχὺν μείζονα καὶ θαύματος πλείονος ἢ κατὰ συμφορὰς καὶ εὐπραγίας πόλεων. Goeller well annotates thus: — "Κοιναὶ τύχαι, solent tribui bello, nam proprie sunt *casus, qui utrisque possunt accidere*, adeoque *incerti, ancipites, inexspectati*, si accidunt potentioribus quæ accidere posse non putares. Vide locos allatos a Kruegero ad Dionys. p. 178. Sensus igitur est: *incertiores, magisque ancipites sæpe esse casus bellorum, quam pro multitudinis utrimque ratione.*"

to you, *that* at once [7] excludes all hope; whereas with resolute exertion [8], there may yet be some chance of keeping ourselves up." [9]

CIII. *Ath.* "But Hope (which is the solace of danger [1]), when used by those who are in possession of superfluity, though it may injure, does not ruin them. But as to those who set their all at a cast [2] (for the passion is naturally prodigal), it becomes known only with the ruin of the person; nay when, being discovered, men should beware of it, it yet lurks in the heart.[3] Now this do not ye (who are feeble, and at a single turn of the scale [4]) suffer to be your case, nor assimilate yourselves to the multitude who, after they had it in their power

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7 *At once.*] Or *immediately.* The εὐθὺς must not be taken with εἶξαι.

8 *Exertion.*] This phrase, τὸ δρωμένον, is quite Thucydidean: yet it occurs in Arrian, E. A. 5, 7, 12.

9 *Of keeping ourselves up.*] So Hobbes renders, retaining the metaphor, which is certainly a very forcible one. As the phrase is neglected by the commentators, the following examples may be not unacceptable: — Soph. Œd. Tyr. 50. Ἀρχῆς δὲ τῆς σῆς μηδαμῶς μεμνώμεθα, Στάντες τ' ἐς ὀρθὸν, καὶ πεσόντες ὕστερον: and Elect. 958. Ποῖ γὰρ μενεῖς ῥᾳθυμος; εἰς τίν' ἐλπίδων βλεψάσ' ἔτ' ὀρθήν: Pind. Pyth. 7, 18. ἢ Δωρίδ' ἀποικίαν ἀνικ' ὀρθῷ ἔστασας ἐπὶ σφυρῷ: Max. Tyr. Diss. 13, 4. 1, 239. τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστώσης ὀρθῆς.

10 *Hope, which is the solace of danger.*] Truly and beautifully is it said by Sophocles, Antig. 612. Ἀ γὰρ δὴ πολύπλαγκτος ἐλπὶς Πολλοῖς μὲν ὄνασις ἀνδρῶν, Πολλοῖς δ' ἀπάτα κουφονοων ἐρώτων· Εἰδότι δ' οὐδὲν ἕρπει, Πρὶν πυρὶ θερμῷ πόδα τις προσάρῃ. Theognis Sentent. 637. Ἐλπὶς καὶ κίνδυνος ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ὁμοῖοι, Οὗτοι γὰρ χαλεποὶ δαίμονες ἀμφότεροι. Tibull. 2, 6, 19. Credula vitam spes foret, et fore cras semper ait melius. Eurip. Heracl. 169. Ἐρεῖς τὸ λῷστον, ἐλπιδ' εὑρήσειν μόνον. Καὶ τοῦτο πολλῳ τοῦ παρόντος ἐνδεές. Pind. Olymp. 12, 6. αἵ γε μὲν ἀνδρῶν Πόλλ' ἄνω, ταὶ δ' αὖ κάτω Ψεύδη μεταμώνια, τέμνουσαι, κυλίνδοντ' ἐλπίδες.

11 *Set their all at a cast.*] A metaphor taken from dice.

12 *It yet lurks in the heart.*] Literally, "Does not fail." Such is plainly the sense; though it has been seen only by Smith and Goeller.

13 *At a single turn of the scale.*] A metaphor taken from weighing. Jupiter is represented in Hom. Il. 10, 173. as *weighing* the fates of the Greeks and Trojans in equal scales. The Scholiast and most commentators, however, think there is a reference to Hom. Il. 10, 173. ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς, which passage is well rendered by Pope:

> "Each Greek in this conclusive strife
> Stands on the sharpest edge of death or life."

Here may be compared Procop. 367, 42. οἷς γὰρ ἡ ἐπὶ τριχὸς ἐλπὶς ἔστηκεν, οὐδὲ χρόνου τινα βραχυτάτην ῥοπὴν ἀναπεπτωκέναι ξυνοίδει. Diod. Sic. 9, 82. ὁρῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπὶ ῥοπῆς κειμένην, καὶ φοβούμενος μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις παραδοθεὶς μεθ' ὕβρεως καταστρέψῃ τὸν βίον. Eurip. Hipp. 1158. δέδορκε μέντοι φῶς ἐπὶ σμικρᾶς ῥοπῆς.

to be saved by *human* means, when hard pressed and all visible hopes fail them, resort to such as are invisible [5], divination, oracles, and such other things, whose hopes lead but to destruction.[6]

CIV. *Mel.* "Even *we* (as ye well know) are fully aware how difficult it is to maintain a contest both against your power, and against fortune, seeing that it must be on terms of inequality.[1] However, in *fortune*, at least, we feel confident, under Divine Providence, we shall not be found inferior [2], because being innocent, we are opposed to the unjust[3]; and as to *power*, we trust that our deficiency in that respect will be made up by the Lacedæmonian confederacy, which is obliged (if on no other account, yet by reason of our consanguinity, and from a sense of honour) to help us. And thus we are not altogether so irrationally confident as you think."

CV. *Ath.* "As to the favour of Divine Providence, we think that neither will *that* be found wanting to us; for we are neither requiring nor doing aught at variance with reli-

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5 *All visible hopes fail, &c.*] By the *visible hopes* are meant soldiers, arms, fortresses, wealth, &c. There is a sentiment very similar in Plutarch Mar. 36. οἷα συμβαίνει ταῖς μεγάλαις εὐπορίαις, δεῖ φεύγειν ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ὡς χαλεπωτάτου, καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἐν ἀδήλοις. So also Procop. 298, 22. φιλοῦσι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τοῖς παροῦσι διαπορούμενοι, τὰ ἐσόμενα τερατεύεσθαι. Liban. Or. 339. A. ον ποιήσεις τὰ ὁρωμένα τῶν ἀφανῶν ἰσχυρότερα.

The speaker, however, scarcely does justice to the motive which produces this feeling. Being destined for another and a future existence, man's hopes and fears (especially in the hour of adversity, which show him his weakness and dependence) naturally take that turn; nor, according to the sublime theology of him "who spake as never man spake," is he prepared for his future high destiny till the invisible prevails over the visible, having learnt that "the things which are seen are but temporal, while the things which are not seen are eternal."

6 *Divination, oracles, and such, &c.*] See Note on l. 2, 62. No. 12.

1 *If it should be, &c.*] Smith renders, "matched as we are so unequally:" but that is rather a paraphrase than a version. The version of Hobbes is preferable; yet it is not agreeable to what follows. The εὖ ἴστε is rendered by Hack "nobis credite:" that, however, is a very rare sense, and not very suitable here.

2 *We feel confident that, &c.*] The passage is imitated by Desippus ap. Corp. Byz. Paris, p. 11. B. ὀΘεν οὐκ ἔξω προσδοκίας ἄγομεν, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Θείου ἔσεσθαι ἡμῖν ἄρωγα. There is, too, an apposite sentiment in Æschyl. Choeph. 945. κρατεῖ δὲ πῶς τὸ Θεῖον παρὰ τὸ μὴ ὑπουργεῖν κακοῖς.

3 *Unjust.*] Or *not just;* οὔ δικαίους, it seems, being put, by delicacy, for ἀδίκους.

gion, with the opinion men entertain of the gods, or the sentiments on which they act with regard to each other.[1] For in our sentiments and observances with respect to the *Divine government*, we follow general opinion and custom; and in respect to *men*, we hold that they manifestly, perpetually, and by a natural propensity, assume dominion wherever they obtain power.[2] As to ourselves, we neither framed the law, nor were the first to follow it when laid down[3], but having

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[1] *At variance with religion, with, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense of the obscure passage *οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔξω — πράσσομεν*, on which commentators are divided in opinion. Perhaps the Scholiast has best discerned the sense; but in his exposition of *νομίσεως*, *διὰ τὰ νενομισμένα*, there must be some corruption. Goeller would cancel the *διά*. But that leaves *no* sense, and it would be further necessary to alter *τὰ νενομισμένα* to *τῶν νενομισμένων*. The mildest and most effectual emendation will be to change *διὰ* into *παρὰ*: for the words are not very unlike in MS., and in faded writings might easily be mistaken. There is a similar expression in Isocrat. Nicocl. p. 28. Lang. *οὐδὲν ἔξω τῶν νομιζομένων*. Liban. Or. 236. A. *οὐκ ἔξω τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φυσέως*. Æschyl. Choeph. 511. *πύθεσθαι δ' οὐδὲν ἐστ' ἔξω δρόμου*.

Krueger ap. Goeller construes and renders thus: *οὐδὲν δικαιοῦμεν ἢ πράσσομεν ἔξω τῆς ἀνθρωπείας τῶν ἐς τὸ θεῖον νομίσεως, (καὶ οὐδὲν δικαιοῦμεν ἢ πράσσομεν ἔξω τῆς ἀνθρωπείας) τῶν ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βουλήσεως*, "neque poscimus, neque facimus quidquam, quod vel sancitæ, qua homines deos colunt, observantiæ repugnet, vel ab humano eorum, quæ sibi quisque expetit, acquirendorum studio abhorreat."

[2] *For in our sentiments, &c.*] Such seems to be the sense; though it is somewhat dubious. I shall consider the passage at large in my edition. Suffice it for the present to say, that Bauer has rightly shown that *δόξη* and *σαφῶς* are opposed to each other, and that each is to be joined with *ἄρχειν*. Goeller, too (partly from Reiske and Krueger) well annotates thus: — "His sui moris deos colendi, in homines agendi causam statim subjicit Atheniensis, q. d. recte an secus deos colamus, in dubio est. Nam mera ex opinione imperat numen hominibus. Sed opinio, sic colendos esse deos, est humana, antiquitus nobis tradita, cui servimus. Hoc autem certum est, quicquid alteri imperat, id ei imperat, quia necesse est per naturam rerum, ut potior minori imperet."

The latter part of the sentence has been imitated by Aristid. 2, 391. *νόμος γὰρ ἐστιν οὗτος φύσει κείμενος ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων καταδειχθείς, ἀκούειν τὸν ἥττω τοῦ κρείττονος*. Dionys. Hal. Ant. p. 5, 8. & 488, 25. *ἡμεῖς δὲ κρατίστας ἡγούμεθα κτήσεις, ἃς ἂν πολέμῳ κρατήσαντες λάβωμεν· οὔτε πρῶτοι καταστησάμενοι νόμον τόνδε*, &c. Joseph. 1290, 29. *νόμον γε μὴν ὡρίσθαι, καὶ παρὰ θηρσὶν ἰσχυρότατον, καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, εἴκειν τοῖς δυνατωτέροις, καὶ τὸ κρατεῖν παρ' οἷς ἀκμὴ τῶν ὅπλων εἶναι*. It is strange none of the commentators should have compared an altogether kindred passage in the oration of the Athenians, I. 1, 76.

[3] *We neither formed the law, nor, &c.*] Wasse remarks, that there is reference to the words of Herod. 8, 8. They are, indeed, so very similar, that Thucydides cannot but have had them in mind; and, therefore, together with numerous other passages, they prove the futility of the novel German hypothesis, that Thucydides, when he wrote his history, had not seen that of Herodotus.

received it when in being, and being to leave it ever to exist, we act upon it, knowing that you and others, if placed in the same power with us, would do the same. And thus, with respect to Divine Providence, we, truly, have no reasonable ground to fear, that we shall be worse off than our neighbours. And as for your opinion of the Lacedæmonians, wherein ye trust that *shame*, forsooth, will make them succour you, we bless your innocent simplicity, but commend not your folly.[4] For in regard to *themselves*[5], and the institutions of their country, the Lacedæmonians for the most part cultivate virtue[6]; but with respect to the rest of mankind, though we might have much to say on their conduct towards *them*, we may include most truth in the shortest compass, by averring, "that of all nations we are acquainted with, they most manifestly account for honourable, what is pleasurable[7], and for just, what is profitable." And yet, such a maxim gives little countenance to your present unreasonable expectations of safety."

CVI. *Mel.* "But on this very account, we are especially confident that, with reference to their *interest*, they will not choose, by betraying their colonists the Melians, to become unworthy of the confidence of their well-wishers among the Greeks, and thus to benefit their enemies."

CVII. *Ath.* "So, then, ye are not of opinion, that what is profitable is connected with security, but that the just and the honourable is to be performed, though with danger; a maxim which, upon the whole, the Lacedæmonians least of all venture to act upon?"[1]

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[4] *Commend not your folly.*] Οὐ ζηλοῦμεν τὸ ἄφρον. So Aristoph. Eq. 837. ζηλῶ σε τῆς εὐγλωττίας. See also Butler and Blomfield on Æschyl. P. Vinct. 314.

[5] *In regard to themselves.*] i. e. their private conduct one towards another.

[6] *Cultivate virtue.*] Not "are wont to be generous," as Hobbes renders; for that virtue never thrived in Lacedæmon; and, as the πλεῖστα implies some *omission*, so this was surely one point on which none could with truth commend them.

[7] *Account for honourable, &c.*] So Liban. Epist. 730. καὶ ποιεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν καλων τὰ ἡδεα.

[1] *Venture to act upon.*] The τολμῶσιν is used in the same way as the Virgilian "*aude*, hospes, contemnere opes."

CVIII. *Mel.* "But we conceive, that they will encounter [1] dangers *rather* for our sakes, and will think it fit to be more trusty to us than to others, inasmuch as, with respect to action in Peloponnesus, we are situated near at hand, and, by reason of our affinity of mind and sentiments [2], are more to be relied on than others."

CIX. *Ath.* "Yes, but security as to those who shall have to contest [3] in common, seems to be, not the good-will of those who call in the other party to their aid, but depends upon whether they be decidedly superior in power of action: a maxim which the Lacedæmonians even more than others have regard to. For through distrust of their own power they make their attacks on others, with numerous allies. So that it is very unlikely that they should pass over to an island, we meanwhile being masters of the sea."

CX. *Mel.* "But they would have also many others to send; and wide is the Cretic sea, by which capture on the part of the powerful is more difficult than escape on that of those who wish to avoid observation. And if they should fail in this attempt, they might turn their arms on your territory, and that of your allies, such as Brasidas never reached; and thus, you will no more have to contest about a country which is not yours, but for your own, and that of your allies."

CXI. *Ath.* "Whichever of these events might occur, you would find by experience, and not be ignorant, that never yet rose Athenians from any one siege through fear of others.[4]

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[1] *Encounter.*] Or, undertake. Thus the Scholiast explains ἐγχειρίσασθαι by ἀναδέξασθαι. That, however, though a suitable, is a very unauthorised sense, of which I know no example except in Dio Cass. p. 16, 18. πάντα ὅσα ἐνεχειρίσαντο κατεργάσασθαι. But I suspect that in both passages ἐγχειρήσασθαι is the true reading. And so the Cod. Vindob.

[2] *Affinity of mind and sentiments.*] It is rightly remarked by Hack: "H. l. non tam de cognatione sanguinis agitur, quam de animorum æqualitate, quæ inter propinquos solet usu venire." Here we may compare the well-known "idem velle et idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est."

[3] *Have to contest.*] Or, have the trouble of contesting. Here the English and Greek idioms exactly correspond.

[4] *Never yet rose Athenians, &c.*] Now the Athenians were, in all ages, famed for their skill and courage in sieges. Thus at 1, 102. it is said, that

But be that as it may, we observe that, though professing to consult about the means of preservation, you have never, in all this discourse, said aught whereon men would rely with hope to be saved; but your strongest grounds are *future hopes* [5], while your present means are too slender for preservation [6], compared to the force ranged against you. Utter absurdity of counsel, then, will ye evince, unless, after having dismissed us, ye shall form some more prudent decision. For you would not surely fall into that *shame*, which so utterly ruins men who run into imminent and therefore disgraceful dangers. [7] For many, though foreseeing the perils into which they are hurried, yet are, by the force of a seductive term, so led away, that, overcome by the sound of what is called *dishonour*, they have rushed upon calamities irremediable, and have drawn upon themselves a *disgrace* (even that of folly and madness) worse than fortune can inflict. [8] Such a

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the Lacedæmonians called in the aid of the Athenians to assist them to take Ithome, ὅτι τειχομαχεῖν ἐδόκουν δυνατοὶ εἶναι.

[5] *Your strongest grounds are future hopes.*] This is not ill rendered by Steph. Thes. "futura sperantur." Perhaps, too, there is an adjunct notion of *delay*, which, indeed, Stephens brings foward *first;* and Hudson remarks: "μέλλεσθαι sæpe est apud Thucydiden pro differri, tarde procedere. He would, however, have more truly said μέλλω, pro *cunctor;* for as to the passive μέλλεσθαι, it occurs, I believe, nowhere else in Thucydides; nor do I recollect any example in any other author except Xen. Anab. 3, 4, 47. ἀνέστη, ὡς μὴ μέλλοιτο, ἀλλὰ περαίνοιτο τὰ δέοντα.

Here I would compare Athen. 166. E. λεγοῦσι δὲ οἱ Ταραντῖνοι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὸ φιλοπονεῖσθαι παρασκευάζεσθαι ζῆν, αὐτοὺς δὲ οὐ μέλλειν, ἀλλ' ἤδη βιῶναι. Eurip. Phœn. 407. εἰ δ' ἐλπίδες βόσκουσι φυγάδας — καλοῖς βλέπουσι γ' ὄμμασιν, μέλλουσι δέ.

[6] *Too scanty for preservation.*] At περιγινέσθαι subaud ὥστε. The term signifies *superesse, salvus evadere,* as often in Thucydides.

[7] *You would not surely, &c.*] Such is, I conceive, the true sense of the very obscure passage οὐ γὰρ δὴ — τρέψεσθε. The same view of the sense which I have taken seems to have been that in which the Scholiast considered it. By αἰσχύνην is meant that base shame, *mauvaise honte,* which makes men ashamed to own a fault, or to seem to submit, though their cause be bad. The expression αἰσχροῖς κινδύνοις, it may be observed, is one of more than Lyric boldness, not to say harshness, and denotes such dangers as bring certain destruction on him who runs into them, and also fix on him disgrace as a *fool,* since he rushes on them for no good. See Goeller, who well concludes his note thus: "Ac cum præstet, fortunæ adversæ succumbere, quam contra stimulum calcitrando fortunam culpa liberare; qui hoc committunt, sane merito turpis insipientiæ damnantur. Sunt denique pericula, quæ quis, cum evitare debeat, temere subit."

[8] *For many, though foreseeing, &c.*] This sentence is in some measure exegetical of the preceding, and illustrates the force of αἰσχροῖς κινδύνοις.

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course ye will, if ye counsel wisely, cautiously avoid, and not think it shame to yield to a most potent state, which offers you moderate conditions, namely, of being allies, and enjoying your country, subject only to tribute [9]; and, as a choice is given you between war and security, not, through dogged perversity, chose the worse. [10] For assuredly, such as give no way to their equals, carry themselves respectfully towards their superiors, and show moderation to their inferiors — they have the best chance of prosperity.

"Ponder, then, on these things when we have retired; again and again reflect, that you are consulting about your *country* [11], which (remember) must in and by this one deliberation (as that shall succeed, or fail), be either preserved, or perish." [12]

The use here of ἐπάγωγος, which literally signifies *taking*, has before occurred. With the phrase, *αἰσχύνην αἰσχίω*, I would compare one in Dio Cass. 346, 87. *ὥστε καὶ κατηγορηθῆναι αἰσχύνην αἰσχίστην ὀφλῆναι.* where I would read *κατηγορηθῆναι καὶ α. α. ο.*

Of this *false shame* history furnishes innumerable examples, but none more egregious than the conduct of Charles XII. of Sweden at Bender.

[9] *Subject to tribute.*] The recent commentators all read for *ὑποτελῆ*, *ὑποτελεῖς*: because Thucydides every where applies the term to the *persons* paying tribute, not the *country*. Yet it should seem that the common reading is more Thucydidean. That such a use of the term is not unprecedented, appears from the passages cited by Abresch, from Procopius and other writers, who, though late ones, formed their style on the antient models. He might, too, have added Dio Cass. 1004, 62.

[10] *And as a choice is given, &c.*] So Soph. Philoct. 1100. *εὖτε γε παρὸν φρονῆσαι, τοῦ λῷονος δαίμονος εἵλου τὸ κάκιον ἑλεῖν.* Theocr. Id. 4, 27. *ὅπα καὶ τυ κακᾶς ἠράσσαο νίκας.*

At *φιλονεικῆσαι* I would subaud *πρὸς*.

There are similar passages in Dio Cass. 619, 2. *τὰ χείρονα ἀντὶ ἀμεινόνων ἑλέσθαι.* Dionys. Hal. 465, 45. *παρακαλῶν μὴ τὰ χείρω αἱρεῖσθαι πρὸ τῶν κρειττόνων.* Gregor. ap. Steph. Thes. in v. *μέλλησις. ἑτοιμότης πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μέλλησις πρὸς τὸ βελτίον.*

[11] *That you are consulting about your country.*] So Joseph. 191, 17. *ὡς οὖν τῆς ὑμέτερας αὐτῶν σωτηρίας, καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ὑμῖν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κειμένης οὕτω βουλεύεσθε.*

[12] *Which, remember, must in and by, &c.*] I have long thought that *ἴστε*, the reading of two MSS. and Valla, is the true one; and my opinion has been supported by that of Goeller, who has edited it. I cannot, however, approve of his mode of construction, which seems too contort. It may more simply be laid down as follows: *ἣν (πατρίδα) ἴστε τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθώσασαν, περὶ μιᾶς βουλῆς καὶ ἐς μίαν βουλήν, κ. τ. λ.*

With respect to the *μιᾶς περὶ καὶ ἐς μίαν*, it is almost impossible to express the full sense in English, without such a circumlocution as would destroy the smartness of the term. Nor is it very necessary, for the words seem (notwithstanding Goeller's attempt to strike out a new sense) to be only two ways of expressing the same thing, and employed in con-

CXII. And now the Athenians withdrew from the conference, when the Melians, after private consultation, having decided on the same course as that they had adverted to in the previous debate, returned the following answer: —

"Athenians, our resolution is no other than it was at first, nor will we in one little moment [1] annihilate the liberty of a state which has been now founded seven hundred years [2]; but relying on the fortune, which, under Divine Providence, has thus far preserved us, and on the help of men, even of the Lacedæmonians, we will use our best endeavours for our preservation. We, moreover, make you this offer [3], — "to be friends to both parties, but enemies to neither." Also that you shall retire from our territory, after the ratification of such a treaty as shall be reciprocally agreed upon by both."

CXIII. Such was the answer returned by the Melians. On which the Athenians, now breaking up the conference, make this remark: "Well, then, as far as we can judge by these consultations, you appear to us the only mortals who, by your wishes [4], account the future as clearer than the pre-

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junction, in order to strengthen the sense; as at Romans, 3, 22. *εἰς πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς πιστεύοντας.* Now *μιᾶς περὶ*, scil. *βουλῆς*, would require *κατορθουσαν*, and that for *κατορθώσειν*, as referred to *πατρίδα*, and *περὶ μιᾶς βουλῆς* will have the sense assigned by Portus, "quasi in una anchora constitutum et ab hoc unico consilio vestro pendentem." Whereas as *μίαν βουλὴν* seems to be meant to explain the former *μιᾶς περὶ*, so in *τυχοῦσαν τε καὶ κατορθώσασαν* there is a phrasis frequens for *τυχοῦσαν τε καὶ κατορθῶσασαν, τυχεῖν τε καὶ κατορθώσαι*, and that for the future *κατορθώσειν*: a method of expression resorted to from brevity; and as the phrase, with the participle, was suited to *βουλὴν*, so it was introduced first, and made to supply the place of the other also.

1 *In one little moment.*] Literally, "in a short space of time." So 1, 141. *ἐν βραχεῖ μορίῳ.*

2 *The liberty of a state which, &c.*] Hobbes and Smith render, as if it were meant to be asserted that the liberty of Melos had remained seven hundred years. And so Mitford understands the words. Such, however, is not the sense; though, by what is said, it seems implied that the island had chiefly enjoyed freedom for that period, i. e. as much freedom as colonies were ever allowed by the parent state, which was not much.

3 *Make you this offer.*] A sense implied in that of *invitation*, which is the leading sense of *προκαλεῖσθαι*. It is truly observed by Hack: "Thucydides, brevitatis studiosus, hoc zeugmatis genere utitur, duas res uno verbo complexus."

4 *By your wishes, &c.*] i. e. your wishes make you regard things not yet discernible as if you saw them taking place. So l. 3, 3. *μεῖζον μέρος νεμόντες τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι.*

sent, and visible; but what is unseen and uncertain, you regard as if it were come to pass: and as you have committed much, indeed, to hazard [5] by placing reliance on the Lacedæmonians, and fortune, and hope, so will you be wholly deceived and utterly undone."[6]

CXIV. And now the Athenian ambassadors departed to the camp; and the commanders (since the Melians would not hearken to the terms) immediately set themselves to hostilities, and proceeded to draw a wall of circumvallation around the Melians, dividing the work into allotments among the several states. And after its completion, the Athenians, leaving a garrison, both by land and sea, of themselves and their allies, returned home with the greater part of the army; while the rest remained and maintained the siege of the place.

CXV. About the same time, the Argives making an irruption into the Phliasian territory, and being caught in an ambuscade by the Phliasians and their own exiles, lost to the amount of about eighty. And now the Athenians at Pylus, in their incursions, took considerable spoils from the Lacedæmonians, who, however, did not, even on that account, renounce the treaty, and go to war with them; but only made proclamation, that any one of their people that would, might commit depredations on the Athenians.[1]

The Corinthians, too, made war on the Athenians on account of some private differences; but the rest of the Peloponnesians interfered in the quarrel. And now the Melians, by a sally in the night, stormed that part of the Athenian fortification which fronted the market[2], and having slain some

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[5] *Committed much, indeed, to, &c.*] i. e. thrown yourselves entirely upon. Such is the sense of πλεῖστον παραξεβλημένοι, which has been missed by Hobbes and Smith, though it is pointed out by the Scholiast.

[6] *Wholly deceived and undone.*] This prediction the gross selfishness and ingratitude of the Lacedæmonians made even literally verified.

[1] *Made proclamation that, &c.*] Hence is illustrated Polyb. 4, 26, 7. λάφυρον ἐκήρυξαν.

[2] *The market.*] Ἀγοράν, Duker thinks, cannot designate the agora or market-place of the city, but that of the Athenians, where provisions of all sorts were brought for the use of the garrison; which, he thinks, is plain from what is just after said of the corn and other provisions taken by the Melians.

of the garrison, and fetched as much corn and other necessaries [3] as they were able, they retired and kept quiet. And henceforth the Athenians preserved a better watch; and so the summer ended.

CXVI. In the subsequent winter, the Lacedæmonians being about to make an expedition into the Argive territory, on the religious rites for passage at the borders [1] not proving

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Goeller, however, pronounces this uncertain. I can only say that such was my own opinion before seeing the note of Duker; and the thing seems as certain as may be. For if the city was situated, as it probably was, where Milo now is, the agora would be, as usual, at the centre of the place, and therefore be equally opposite to any part of the circumvallation. If *at the sea*, and on the port, the agora would be, as usual, at the *port;* and therefore the circumvallation could not be carried *round*, and no part of it could be opposite to the agora. Finally, besides the strong confirmation afforded by the words following, I would adduce two passages affording examples of a regular agora in case of siege or blockade. 1, 62. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο πρὸς Ὀλύνθῳ ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ, καὶ ἀγορὰν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπεποίηντο. 3, 6. (speaking of the siege of Mytilene) ναύσταθμὸν δὲ ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀγορᾶς ἡ Μαλέα.

[3] *Fetched as much corn and other necessaries.*] There has been no little difficulty found in the words of the original, partly from corruption of reading, and partly from error of interpretation. The common reading is χρήμασι: but that involves too much absurdity to deserve a moment's attention. See Duker. Four MSS. have χρήματα, which is adopted by Duker and others. But if that be the true reading, it cannot well mean *money* (for it were not likely that the military treasure should be kept in the market), but, as Duker himself admits, necessaries (so Hesych.) χρήματα. οἷς τις δύναται χρῆσθαι); a sense found elsewhere in Thucydides, and which cannot be questioned. Yet Bredow, Hack, Bekker, and Goeller edit χρήσιμα: a conjecture of Wasse and Abresch, and which is found in two MSS. To this, however, I must demur. The MSS. which have this are of the worst sort, and the word appears to be only a gloss on χρήματα; not to say that the *article* would thus be required.

Ὀχήμασι, indeed, had been conjectured by Duker. But he abandoned it on the ground that the Greek writers did not use ὄχημα for ἁμαξαί. Abresch, however (Miscell. Obs. 3, 306.), has proved that point from Aristides, Hesychius, and Pollux. And he might have added Xen. Cyr. 5, 3. 34. ἐπὶ μὲν ὑποζυγίοις καὶ ὀχήμασι, where, by the same error, in some MSS is read χρήμασι. Indeed, ϰ (ο χ) and ϰ are easily confounded. And, considering that the weight of MS. authority is all for —ασι, one might suspect that ὀχήμασι were the true reading here, but that then χρήματα must be supplied at ὅσα πλεῖστα: and ὀχήμασι has something frigid, and not Thucydidean.

[1] *The religious rites for passage at the borders.*] There is here a plena locutio for the elliptical expression ὡς αὐτοῖς τὰ διαβατήρια οὐκ ἐγίγνετο.

It is justly remarked by Mitford "that this was a circumstance little known when able and active men directed public affairs. Once, indeed, we have this religious trick politically accounted for. Encouragement from the friends of oligarchy in Argos induced the Lacedæmonian army to march,

propitious, they retreated. And the Argives, on their delay, seized some [2] of those in the city whom they suspected; while others escaped them.

And now about the same time, the Melians again, at another quarter of the circumvallation, carried the works of the Athenians, the garrison being there but weak. On this occurrence, however, there arriving a reinforcement from Athens, commanded by Philocrates, son of Demeus, the siege being now closely pressed [3], and also some treachery on the part of their own people, the Melians [4] agreed with the Athenians to surrender on condition of having their fate left to *their* determination. And the Athenians put to death all the adult males who fell into their hands [5]; the women and children they made

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and intelligence that the plot was discovered occasioned the stop, which was imputed to forbidden tokens in the sacrifice."

[2] *On their delay, seized some, &c.*] Literally, because of their delay, suspecting some in the city, they seized part, &c. Yet this would seem to imply that the suspicion was occasioned by the delay, which cannot be our author's meaning. The sense seems to be, that, on the delay, advancing, the Argives ventured to seize some whom they had suspected, but whom they would not otherwise have dared to apprehend.

[3] *The siege being closely pressed.*] This implies, what Thucydides does not positively *express*, that the Melians were driven to great straits for want of food. Indeed, the existence of the proverb λίμῳ Μηλίῳ, preserved by the lexicographers, and referred to the present siege, sufficiently proves this.

[4] *Some treachery on the part of their own people, the Melians, &c.*] Discontent arose among the lower people. The chiefs apprehended sedition, with a design to betray them to the enemy; and, doubting their means of prevention, took the desperate resource of surrendering the place, with all in it, to the pleasure of the Athenian people. (Mitford).

[5] *Put to death all the, &c.*] The translators here somewhat miss the sense; and the commentators fail to remark that ὅσους ἔλαβον may seem to denote that *all* the Melians did not perish. Some, it may be supposed, contrived to effect their escape before the bloody order came from Athens. And this might seem to be countenanced by Strabo, who says, Κατέσφαξαν τοὺς πλείους. But, as Goeller rightly observes, there we must read, from the conjecture of Tyrrwhit, for πλείους, Μηλίους.

With respect to the deed itself, it must, I think, be admitted to be the most atrocious barbarity and injustice of the whole Peloponnesian war. "After all that we have gone through (says Mitford) of Grecian history, we must shudder at this. The Athenians had no pretence for any command over the Melians, but that they were stronger. Connected by blood, by habit, and by their form of government, with Lacedæmon, these islanders had, nevertheless, been cautiously inoffensive to Athens, till forced to become enemies. The punishment for this involuntary crime, even to the lower people, supposed all along in some degree friendly, when all were surrendered to the mercy of the Athenians, was no less than what the unfortunate Scionæans had undergone, for what was termed their rebellion."

slaves of! As to the place, they inhabited it themselves, sending afterwards five hundred colonists thither.

He further observes, "With the most unquestionable testimony to facts, which strike with horror when perpetrated by a tribe of savages, we are at a loss to conceive how they could take place in the peculiar country and age of philosophy and the fine arts, where Pericles had spoken and ruled, where Thucydides was then writing, where Socrates was then teaching, where Xenophon, and Plato, and Isocrates were receiving their education, and where the paintings of Parrhasius and Zeuxis, the sculpture of Phidias and Praxiteles, the architecture of Callicrates and Ictinus, and the sublime and chaste dramas of Sophocles and Euripides formed the delight of the people."

Can any thing more strongly prove that, notwithstanding the well-known assertion of Ovid, "Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes emollit Mores nec sinit esse feros," something far more than *literature*, even at its meridian glory, is necessary to humanise the heart; without which, man will be more ferocious than the wild beasts of the desert, and far more insatiable!

Had, indeed, Nicias, Nicostratus, Demosthenes, or Laches been in command at Melos, and not those who were (apparently persons of the democratical party, and in the interest of Alcibiades, Hyperbolus, and others), this stigma would, doubtless, have been spared the Athenians. At the same time, however, allowance must be made for the high-coloured representations, or misrepresentations, which would be sent to Athens, of persons who, in so truly miserable an abode as Melos, must have suffered severely, and would be highly irritated at those on whose account they experienced these evils.

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"Omne ignotum pro magnifico est"

Tacitus - p. 427.

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